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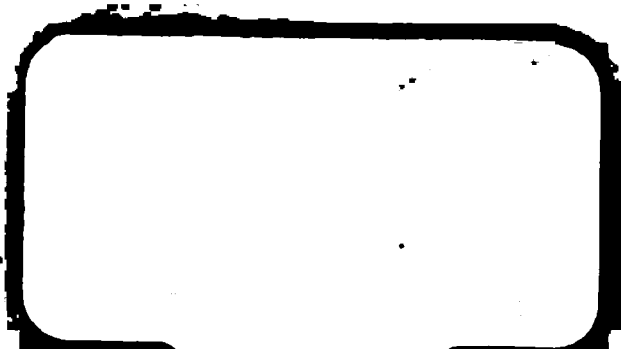
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THE NEW  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1785.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SHORT REVIEW of the STATE of KNOWLEDGE,  
LITERATURE, and TASTE, in this Country, from the  
Accession of HENRY the FOURTH, to the Accession of HENRY  
the SEVENTH.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row.  
MDCCLXXXVI.





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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE farther we proceed in our Undertaking, the greater reason do we find to express our gratitude for the eminent success with which our endeavours to please the Public have been honoured. An encouragement so flattering holds out to us the strongest motive for continuing our solicitude to merit the general approbation; and it is hoped that the purchasers of the Sixth Volume of the New Annual Register will have no reason to complain that we have failed of our accustomed assiduity and diligence. We trust that the different departments of the work will speak for themselves, and justify our expectation of enjoying the same favourable reception which we have hitherto experienced.

In tracing the progress of Knowledge, Literature, and Taste, in Great Britain, we have been obliged, so far as we have already gone, to travel through a comparatively barren country, which afforded only a  
few







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*For the Year 1785.*

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*For the Year 1785.*

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A  
S H O R T V I E W  
O F T H E  
S T A T E O F K N O W L E D G E,  
L I T E R A T U R E, A N D T A S T E,  
I N G R E A T B R I T A I N,

From the ACCESSION of King HENRY the Fourth, to the AC-  
CESSION of King HENRY the Seventh.

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**I**N our last Number, we had the pleasure of recording some considerable improvements with regard to the state of knowledge, literature, and taste, in Great Britain. Wickliffe had boldly advanced to an uncommon enlargement of thinking in religious matters, and Chaucer had displayed a vein of poetry rich and new in this country. From such beginnings important consequences might have been expected; and the writings of these eminent men must have had no small effect on the minds of many individuals. The opinions of Wickliffe appear to have been embraced by a larger number of persons than dared to avow them; and the admirers of Chaucer could not avoid having their understandings and their taste improved by a perusal of his various works.

Still, however, the progress of knowledge was far inferior to what, from auspices so favourable to the cultivation and refinement of the human faculties, might rationally

ally have been predicted. In fact, the period we are now treating of, is one of the most disgraceful, with respect to the subject before us, that can be found in the history of England. It affords but few literary facts and characters on which we can expatiate with much satisfaction. Several circumstances contributed to the neglect of learning; the chief of which undoubtedly was the confusion of the times, arising from the civil wars that were occasioned by the long contests between the two rival houses of York and Lancaster. In the perpetual tumult and din of arms, and amidst the desolations that were spread through the kingdom, little opportunity was afforded for the pursuits of science, and the culture of the polite arts. Ignorance and barbarity obtained new triumphs over the minds of our countrymen.

But previously to these contests, knowledge and literature had begun to decline. Henry the Fourth, at his accession to the crown, was understood to be friendly to the sentiments of Wickliffe. But the conscience of this monarch, like that of most other princes, was not of that obstinate kind which refused to bend itself to political views. When he considered the state of parties, he was convinced that nothing could so effectually strengthen his claims as the support of the clergy; and, therefore, he determined to comply with the requisitions of the great ecclesiastics, however hostile these requisitions might be to the cause of reformation. The severest treatment of the advocates for religious improvements was the price of the church's favour; and it was a price to the payment of which Henry the Fourth readily submitted.

Through the influence of Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, whose character was deformed by superstition and cruelty, a law was obtained against the Lollards, by which the bishops were authorised to imprison all persons suspected of heresy, and to try them in the spiritual court. If these disciples of Wickliffe proved either obstinate or relapsed heretics, the ecclesiastical judge was to call the sheriff of the county, or the chief civil officer of the town, to be present when the sentence of condemnation was pronounced;

## THE STATE OF KNOWLEDGE, &c. in

nounced; upon which the condemned person was immediately to be delivered to the secular magistrate, who was to cause him to be burnt to death, in some elevated place, in the sight of all the people. This statute, which is so reproachful to the principles and manners of the times, was not merely an act of denunciation, but was instantly carried into effect. Upon the strength of it, sir William Sawtre, rector of St. Oswyth, London, was brought to trial before the convocation of the province of Canterbury, at St. Paul's, and received sentence of condemnation. It was an honour to himself, but a disgrace to his country, that he was the first person in England who was burned to death for the adoption of sentiments the truth of which is now admitted by every liberal mind. To another clergyman, William Thorp, whose learning alone would have entitled him to a place in this work, archbishop Arundel did not carry his cruelty quite so far. He committed him, however, to a loathsome prison, the horrors of which probably shortened, as well as embittered his days.

Henry the Fifth, brightly as his name shines on other accounts, was in the same disgraceful situation with that of his father. Indeed, the scheme he had formed with regard to the conquest of France, laid him under a greater necessity of courting the clergy than Henry the Fourth had ever experienced; and the bishops knew how to avail themselves of a crisis which could be converted to the farther establishment of their own power, and to the suppression of a free enquiry into the doctrines of Christianity. Secure in the protection of the crown, persecution now took a bolder flight, and made an attack upon sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, the most illustrious of the followers of Wickliffe. This nobleman, not to mention his other eminent qualities, was distinguished by the vigour and extent of his intellectual powers. To his natural parts he joined all the acquisitions of knowledge and learning which the times he lived in could administer. In religion he attained to a dignity of sentiment which would not be a dishonour to the present age. The man who could say, that his faith was, "That God will ask no more of a Christian in this life than

than to obey the precepts of his blessed law ;” and that “ if any prelate of the church requireth more, or any other kind of obedience, he contemneth Christ, exalteth himself above God, and becometh plainly antichrist,”—the man who could say this in the beginning of the fifteenth century, must have been enlightened far beyond the generality of his contemporaries. His conduct in avowing his opinions was equally open and manly ; and he maintained them at the stake, to which, after several years of severe harraſſment and persecution, he was at length brought by the bigotry and malice of his enemies.

While the abettors of Wickliffe’s tenets were depressed and cruelly treated at home, it is ſome honour to our country, that the doctrines which had been advanced by him contributed to the diffuſion of religious knowledge among foreign nations. Bohemia was the kingdom where his principles were the moſt zealouſly and extenſively adopted, and where they were productive of effects which make no inconfiderable figure in the public hiſtory of Germany.

Amidſt the ardour of the prelates for the ſuppreſſion of novel opinions, and for impeding the progreſs of reformation, it might have been expected that their own favourite ſtudy, that of ſcholastic theology, would have been vigorously purſued. This ſpecies of divinity was, indeed, cultivated to a certain degree ; but it did not appear with the ſplendour which it had aſſumed in former ages. No ſuch luminaries were produced as had heretofore obtained the moſt pompous titles : there were no perſons who attained the appellations of irrefragable, angelic, or ſeraphic doctors. The biſhops chiefly concerned themſelves in ſupporting the general pretenſions of the church, or in framing canons for the maintenance of their ſeparate intereſts. As to the diſputes which were carried on between the regular and ſecular clergy, they are of too little conſequence to be mentioned in a hiſtory of literature.

There was one prelate whoſe mind was enlarged above the common ſtandard of his brethren, but whoſe fortitude was not equal to his knowledge. This was Pococke, biſhop of Chicheſter, who, when examined before archbiſhop Bouchier,



## THE STATE OF KNOWLEDGE, &c. v

Bourchier, was induced to renounce the rational opinions he had embraced. His recantation, however, which was the effect of allurements and terrour, though it preserved his life, could not secure to him the continuance of his exalted station. He was deprived of his see, and was condemned to a retirement, perhaps to a prison, in which he would probably reflect with deep concern upon the timidity of his conduct.

The general ignorance and barbarity of the times are marked by several curious and striking circumstances. When the heroic Maid of Orleans was cruelly put to death, the judges, in their condemnation of her, were influenced by a serious opinion that she was a sorceress, and a worshipper of the devil. Indeed, the infatuation with respect to the belief of witchcraft, must have been irresistible, when it was not in the power of such a distinguished character as Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, to prevent his duchess from being brought to an open trial, and sentenced to a public penance and imprisonment for life, upon an accusation of this kind. But all this will appear the less surprising, when we are informed, that, at the battle of Barnet, the earl of Warwick's forces were thrown into confusion by an unhappy mistake, in consequence of a mist, which was believed to have been raised by friar Bungy, a reputed magician. In such a deplorable condition of the human mind, the clergy had ample encouragement to suppress, with unrelenting rigour, the smallest attempts at reformation, and to bind the laity closer still in the chains of absurdity, error, and superstition.

The state of learning was correspondent to the general darkness of the age. Cornelius Vitellius, an Italian, who read lectures in New College at Oxford, did it with so little effect, that no traces of his having produced any literary improvement have fallen within the compass of our enquiry. The scarcity of books, which had always been a formidable obstruction to the progress of knowledge, was increased during a period wherein long civil wars must, in a great measure, have destroyed both the patronage and the leisure that were necessary to the transcription of manuscripts.

scripts. In almost the whole of the writers to whom the larger part of the fifteenth century gave birth, a want of taste is eminently discernible. They were equally strangers to propriety of sentiment and purity of style; nor was their composition vulgar only, but frequently ungrammatical.

The Latin tongue continued to be the usual vehicle in which the authors of the time conveyed their works to the public. It might, therefore, have been expected that this language would have been cultivated at least as much as it had been in some preceding centuries. But so far was this from being the case, that the learned men we have formerly mentioned may be ranked as pure and classical composers, when compared with the writers of whom we are now speaking. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of Thomas Chaundler, an ecclesiastic of great preferments, and of one or two more, concerning whom Leland and Wood speak in high terms. While the knowledge of the Latin tongue was upon the decline, it will not be thought strange that the study of the Greek language should almost totally be neglected. In vain shall we search for any names that by the cultivation of it conferred honour upon their country. We are not insensible that, in making this assertion, we may be confronted with a catalogue of persons whom some of our antiquaries have highly applauded. But pompous encomiums, unless supported by the evidence of facts, and the production of writings, are entitled to little regard.

If any of our readers should imagine that, while philological and classical literature were thus neglected, the philosophical sciences will be found to have been in a more prosperous condition, they will be wholly disappointed. These sciences were as little attended to as the other parts of learning. We have here no characters to produce which can in any degree be ranked with some that have formerly been noticed. Were we to search into Tanner, Leland, Bale, Pitts, and other writers of that kind, we might draw out a list of persons who were said to have been mathematicians and philosophers, but no traces will be

be met with of their having made any discoveries, or been the authors of any works, which deserve to be recorded.

Medicine, though more studied than natural philosophy in general, does not appear with much greater lustre. Dr. Freind, in his History of Physic, could not find one physician in this period whom he thought worthy of being applauded. The "Dietary for the Preservation of Health," by Dr. Gilbert Kymer, and which is still extant, is said, however, to contain several curious things, and some salutary advices. He was physician to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. Dr. John Fauceby, who stood in the same relation to king Henry the Sixth, obtained a commission from his royal master to discover an universal medicine, called the Elixir of Life, for the cure of all diseases, wounds, and fractures, and for prolonging the health and strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind, to the greatest possible extent of time. This was the folly of the age. It was by an application to the occult sciences, and not by a rational attention to the human oeconomy, to the progress of nature, and the dictates of a judicious experience, that the art of healing was expected to be promoted. Surgery, though the knowledge of it was so much wanted, in consequence of the wars both at home and abroad, in which the nation was perpetually engaged, was in an equally low state. Henry the Fifth found it difficult to procure a sufficient number of surgeons for his army, and their skill was inferior to their number. In the hands of ignorance, many wounded men, who might otherwise have been preserved, probably suffered the loss of their lives.

But while true science was little or not at all regarded, false science received the protection and support of government itself. This was eminently the case in the reign of Henry the Sixth. We have already mentioned this monarch's indulgence to the pretensions of his physician, Dr. John Fauceby. Other alchemists were treated with the like favour and distinction. An extraordinary commission was granted to them, and confirmed by parliament; in which they were authorized to prosecute their endeavours for finding out an universal medicine, and for the transmuta-

tation of baser metals into real and fine gold and silver. By this commission, they were emancipated from the penalties of an act to which the professors of alchemy had been subjected in the beginning of the reign of king Henry the Fourth. Hence it is evident, that our ancestors, instead of growing more enlightened, were become still greater slaves of ignorance and credulity.

History is so natural a study, and, indeed, is an object of such universal concern, that writers in it, of some kind or other, will never be wanting, so long as human beings are capable of holding a pen. Historians, accordingly, the present period affords; but not any that can be put into competition with a Matthew Paris, or a William of Malmshbury. Such as they were, they must not, however, be omitted in a delineation of the literature of the times. The first place is undoubtedly due to Thomas Walsingham, a monk belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's. Two historical works were composed by him, both of which were of considerable extent. The former was entitled "A History of England:" the latter had Normandy for its particular subject; but an account could not be given of that country, without the interspersion of many circumstances which related to English affairs.

Though Walsingham's style is sufficiently defective, his Latinity is not so barbarous as that of many of his contemporaries. His chief merit is, that, notwithstanding his abundant credulity, and his insertion of many idle stories, he gives a more copious narrative of facts than the other annalists of that time, and records things not elsewhere to be found. Upon the whole, the utility of his information, with respect to the events he treats upon, is allowed to be of real importance.

Thomas Otterbourne, a Franciscan friar, was the author of a History of England, from the supposed landing of Brutus to the year 1420. The former part of the work is merely a compilation from older historians, delivered in their own words. When the writer comes down to the times in which he himself lived, he conveys some useful intelligence.

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The Chronicle of John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's, comprizes only twenty years, from 1441 to 1461, including the latter part of king Henry the Sixth's reign: It was the principal object of this historian to relate the affairs of his own abbey; but to the recital of these are added original papers, and an account of various civil events, especially of the two battles of St. Alban's.

Thomas de Elmham, prior of Linton, confined himself to the reign of king Henry the Fifth. On this head he is full and particular, but in a style that is not at all capable of being read with pleasure. Nevertheless, his work is so far valuable, as much of the information it contains was derived from persons of consequence, who had been spectators of many of the transactions which they have enabled our historian to record.

An Italian, who came into England, and who was protected by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was the author of a judicious epitome of Thomas de Elmham's history, to which also he made some additions. Professing to be an imitator of the great Roman historian, Livy, he assumed the name of Titus Livius. When we say that he did not attain either the elevation of sentiment or dignity of style which so eminently distinguished the model he wished to follow, we shall obtain full credit with our readers.

The Annals of William of Worcester, a native of Bristol, and a member of the university of Oxford, have little to recommend them in point of materials, and are contemptible with regard to their mode of composition. They are not, however, wholly destitute of intelligence which cannot be drawn from any other source.

Notwithstanding the numerous faults and absurdities of John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, and which reduce him to a very low scale in the list of writers, various things occur in him that throw a light on the transactions and manners of the times. In most of the authors of this period, the small quantity of good ore which is to be met with, must be extracted from a disgusting heap of dross.

To

## A SHORT VIEW OF

To the historians whose works were composed in Latin, we are to add the name of one who wrote in English. This was Robert Fabian, a merchant and alderman of London, and consequently a member of a corporation which has produced few literary men, and in which many literary men are not, in the nature of the thing, to be expected. His situation, therefore, in life, especially considering the age in which he existed, may be regarded as giving a certain degree of celebrity to his historical character. The chronicle which he composed, and which was entitled by him the "Concordance of Stories," is intelligible in its language, and written with sincerity. Besides the more public facts which it includes, it contains a variety of particulars relative to the city of London. As Fabian's work is carried down to the twentieth year of the reign of king Henry the Seventh, he may in part be considered as belonging to a subsequent period.

A few other historical names might be mentioned; but we have as much enlarged upon the subject as is consistent with the nature of our design.

It is worthy of observation, that we are not to look to the English historians for the best accounts of the public transactions of this age. Foreign writers must be applied to, as the most copious sources of information. To Froissart, Philip de Comines, and Monstrelet, recourse must be had for the fullest, the most interesting, and the most entertaining intelligence concerning the political events and revolutions of our own country.

There is no situation of human affairs, however disagreeable and calamitous, which is not converted by divine Providence to the production of some advantage. Even the civil wars had their use, at least in one respect, as they contributed to the declension of slavery. The contending parties, in order to carry on the purposes of their ambition, and to supply their armies with sufficient forces, were occasionally obliged to set their bondmen at liberty. Some little enlargement of mind upon this subject began likewise to prevail, and experience served to convince our ancestors by degrees, that agriculture and other services  
were



were better performed by hired labourers than by unwilling and refractory slaves. It is certain that, in the period we are writing of, their number considerably decreased; and though this may be thought to have been principally a political event, yet, so far as it might proceed from any justice or liberality of principle, it deserves to be noticed in a history of the progress of knowledge and mental improvement.

The circumstance of there being rival candidates for the crown was favourable to the free form of our government. Our princes, in a situation so critical, being perpetually liable to be cast down from the throne, and standing in need of the support of as many of their subjects as possible, could not make, in general, those strides in arbitrary power which they would probably have done if their claims and their authority had been more firmly established. The constitution was not indeed greatly altered in this age, and it must be allowed that many irregularities were permitted to continue; but yet some advantageous changes were introduced. The rights and qualifications of electors, especially of freeholders, were more accurately ascertained; and the method of enacting laws was conducted with a precision, an order, and a solemnity which had not hitherto been observed. Edward the Fourth, from his intimate connection with the court of Burgundy, had opened his mind to a discernment of the benefits of commerce. Hence he became himself one of the greatest merchants in Europe, and passed several excellent acts for the regulation and encouragement of trade and manufactures. The statutes of Richard the Third were the first that were enacted in English, which alteration, while it was an accession of honour to our native language, was favourable to the right conduct of political government, and to the better administration of justice. Upon the whole, amidst a variety of defects which still subsisted, the constitution and laws of England were considerably improved. The other nations of Europe were not in a condition to be compared with us in this respect. This point is strongly maintained by Fortescue, and is testified by an illustrious foreign historian,



historian \*, who declares it to be his opinion, that of all the states which he knew in the world, England was the country where the commonwealth was best governed, and the people the least oppressed. It must be added, that, during the latter part of these times, the common law of the kingdom was in eminent perfection.

Amidst the scarcity of good writers, two lawyers greatly distinguished themselves in this period. These were sir Thomas Littleton and the lord chief justice Fortescue. Sir Thomas Littleton wrote the famous book on English Tenures, which was commented upon by sir Edward Coke, and which is so much studied by gentlemen of the profession. The celebrity and usefulness of this work have subsisted to our own time; and, notwithstanding the prodigious accession of statutes and reports, the large alterations both in the knowledge and practice of the law, and the accumulation of publications, Littleton, with Coke's Commentary, will ever continue to demand the attention and applause of our ablest advocates.

As an author, and among men of literature in general, Fortescue will probably be regarded as entitled to still greater commendations. Indeed he appears with extraordinary lustre, among the men of that age, in the character of a writer. He composed both in Latin and in his native tongue; and the subjects he treated upon, together with the sentiments which were delivered by him concerning them, will always endear his memory to true Englishmen. In Latin he wrote upon the praises of the laws of England, and in English on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy. In these works he hath done justice to the excellence of our constitution and laws, and has shewn himself to have been a firm friend to the cause of liberty. His admirable tracts form an eternal answer to those who are willing to maintain that there was no freedom in this country previously to the last century, or, as some have asserted, even before the Revolution.

\* Philip de Comines.

From Law we pass on to a very different object, that of Poetry ; an object which is always pleasing to minds that are endued with the principles of sensibility and taste. The period in which Chaucer, Gower, and Langland flourished, was succeeded by an age that did not, in any tolerable degree, sustain the same reputation. There was only one poet in the reign of king Henry the Fourth, and he contributed nothing to the improvement of our versification and language. His real name was John Walton, though he is called Johannes Capellanus. He translated into English verse Boethius's treatise on the Consolation of Philosophy, a work of genius and merit, which in the middle ages was admired above every other composition.

Henry the Fifth, though he is said to have been fond of reading, derives his lustre from his character as a warrior, and not from his patronage of the fine arts. Although his coronation was attended with harpers, who must have accompanied their instruments with heroic rhymes, he was no great encourager of the popular minstrelsy, then in a high state of perfection. When, on his entrance into the city of London in triumph, after the battle of Agincourt, children had been placed to sing verses as he passed, an edict was issued by him, commanding that, for the future, no songs should be recited in praise of the late victory. This humility perhaps was affected ; and, if it was real, doth not appear to have been the result of true wisdom. While his heart was set on performing eminent military exploits, he ought to have cherished the persons who were best able to do justice to his prowess. The little regard, however, which was paid by Henry to the poets, could not prevent their celebration of his warlike actions. Among other productions, a minstrel piece was composed on the siege of Harfleur, and the battle of Agincourt. It was adapted to the harp, and contained some spirited lines ; but the style was barbarous, compared with that of Chaucer and Gower. The improvement of our language was attended to only by a few men, who had enjoyed the advantages of a superior education, and made composition their study.

position is extant which can be considered as asserting his claim to the character. The only work that remains of him is an English translation in prose of a History of the Siege of Rhodes. A crown of laurel was sometimes conferred, in universities, on those who had distinguished themselves by their abilities in the writing of Latin, and especially of Latin verse. Hence the king's laureat might be nothing more than a graduate of this kind, employed in his majesty's service. The laureats appear originally to have written only in Latin, which custom is supposed to have continued till the time of the Reformation.

If the discoveries asserted to have lately been made at Bristol are to be credited, we must introduce the name of a poet far more excellent than any whom we have yet mentioned, and who would confer a glory on this age prodigiously superior to that which hitherto it hath been thought entitled to demand. Our readers will be sensible that we refer to the poems which Chatterton produced as the works of Thomas Rowley, a secular priest of that city, in the fifteenth century. The full discussion of this subject, which affords a very curious literary problem, would be foreign to our design. We know that Chatterton, when little more than fifteen years of age, brought to his friends certain manuscripts, and a greater number of poems said to have been transcribed from manuscripts, all of which were alleged to have been found in an old chest in the bellfrey of St. Mary Redcliffe church, and to contain the genuine productions of this Rowley. We know that these poems are, in many respects, uncommonly beautiful; and that there is something very extraordinary in them, if they were the compositions of a stripling, who had no other advantages of education than what could be derived from the instruction of a common charity school. We know that they exhibit such marks of knowledge, and are otherwise accompanied with circumstances of so surprizing a nature, that it hath been deemed not only a matter of astonishment but even of impossibility, that they should be written by Chatterton. We know that the authenticity of them, and the existence of Rowley, have been maintained by

by some able and learned men, with no small degree of acuteness and ingenuity. On the other hand, very important arguments and authorities have been urged to prove that they are of modern fabrication. That there ever was such a person as Rowley has been called in question, and still more that there could be any poet of that name in the fifteenth century, who was capable of producing the works ascribed to him. It is asked, how he could possibly have been concealed till within these few years, and how he could avoid being celebrated, in the highest terms of applause, by his own contemporaries, and by every succeeding age. As to the manuscripts asserted to have been discovered by Chatterton, doubts, which will not admit of an easy solution, have been raised with regard to the truth of the fact. Independently of all these considerations, it is alleged, that the poems themselves afford the most decisive internal evidence of their being recent productions. This hath been argued, with great force of reasoning, from a variety of concurring circumstances. The style, composition, sentiments, and measure, carry in them the marks of a refinement that was wholly unknown at the period in which they are maintained to have been written. In the abstraction of ideas, in the studied forms of diction, in the harmony of the versification, we are perpetually put in mind of our latest poets. The stanza principally used was not known in this country till the time of Prior. That such a regular piece as the tragedy of *Ellia* should come from Rowley, at the period pretended, is absolutely contrary to every thing of the dramatic kind which existed at that period. The fact seems to have been, that Chatterton originally wrote the poems in the present English language, and afterwards inserted the old words from glossaries and dictionaries. It is remarkable that when we peruse Rowley with dean Milles's learned notes, the moment we turn our eyes from the commentary to the text, the modern air of the latter strikes us in so forcible a manner, that the dean's elaborate arguments lose all power of conviction. It must be added, that many undeniable proofs have been exhibited of the most direct imitation of recent poets, even to the adoption of their very words. These and other considera-

tions have induced a large majority of our ablest antiquaries and critics totally to deny the authenticity of the compositions in question. Should it, however, be allowed, that certain ancient manuscripts were discovered, and that some of them contained fragments of verse, written in the age pretended, Rowley, as we now have him, appears in too questionable a shape to give the fifteenth century the honour of the works published under his name.

But while (Rowley being rejected) it will be found that little true poetry flourished in England during the present period; if we direct our view to the northern kingdom of Great Britain, we shall meet with distinguished excellence in a person of the highest station, the sovereign of the country. We mean James the First, of Scotland, who introduced a new literary epocha in the nation over which he reigned. What originally was a great misfortune to this prince, and a flagrant act of injustice towards him, turned out, in one respect, eminently to his own service, and highly to the advantage of his country. When he was only a youth of thirteen, he was treacherously taken prisoner by the English, and detained, during the term of eighteen years, in a confinement which was often very strict and rigid. His education however, good rudiments of which he had received in Scotland, was not neglected, but attended to with the utmost care. The person appointed to be his governor was sir John Pelham, a gentleman of worth and literature, who omitted nothing that could tend to form the mind and manners of his royal charge. James, being blessed with an admirable genius, and enjoying the ablest masters of the time, made an uncommon proficiency both in bodily exercises and in mental acquirements. To his knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, the last of which he is represented as having written with ease, he added an acquaintance with the philosophy of the age. But the studies to which he was more peculiarly devoted were those of poetry and music. These liberal and pleasing arts formed, in his long and close captivity, the principal consolation of his solitary hours. When he was restored to the possession of his throne, from which he had been so unjustly withheld, his grand object

was

was to enlighten and civilize his countrymen. Many of his exertions to this purpose were accompanied with such a degree of success, that he may be said to have given a new turn to the genius of Scotland. His exertions and success would have been still greater and more illustrious, if he had not been cruelly murdered in the forty-fourth year of his age. Various works were written by him, both in prose and verse, most of which are unfortunately lost. The only remains of him which still exist are of a poetical nature; and it is certain that several of his compositions of this kind are now no longer in being. Four of James's pieces, which have happily escaped the depredations of time, are a "Song on his Mistress;" "The King's Quair;" "Peblis to the Play;" and "Christ's Kirk on the Green." The King's Quair is a poem of large extent, being divided into six cantos. Its theme is the royal author's love to Jane, daughter to the earl of Somerset, a beautiful lady, of whom he became enamoured while a prisoner at the castle of Windsor, and who was afterwards his queen. The misfortunes of his youth, his early and long captivity, the incident which gave rise to his passion, its purity, constancy, and happy issue, are all displayed in the mode of allegorical vision, agreeably to the reigning taste of the age. That the merit of the King's Quair is very great cannot be denied. It is distinguished by its invention and fancy, by its genuine simplicity of sentiment, and by the felicity of its poetical descriptions. Several men of ingenuity and taste have contended that James is little if at all inferior to Chaucer. If the former's Court of Venus be compared to the latter's Court of Love, the royal author will lose nothing by the comparison. The Jane, in particular, of king James, is painted with a beauty and delicacy that are not equalled in Chaucer's Rosalind. It is to be lamented that many of the graces of the King's Quair are concealed, at least from common view, in the antiquity of the language.

The question concerning the writer of Christ's Kirk on the Green is not altogether without its doubts. It hath usually been ascribed to James the Fifth, but the Scottish critics and antiquaries seem lately to have shewn, with a sufficient degree of evidence, that it was written by James



the First. The poem is at this day read with pleasure on account of its poetical language, its ludicrous descriptions, and its free vein of wit and humour: nor doth it come a little recommended by its delineation of the characters and manners of the time. But the Christ's Kirk on the Green is not merely a piece of wit and humour. The author had a patriotic design in view, which was ironically to satirize the awkward management of the bow, and the neglect into which archery had fallen in Scotland, and, by making his subjects sensible of the disgrace they had in this respect incurred, to recall them to the practice of military discipline. Peblis to the Play is a poem similar to Christ's Kirk on the Green.

Three other Scottish poets are named in this period, but they are, on the whole, contemptible, when compared with the monarch of the country. Andrew Winton, a canon regular of St. Andrew's, and prior of the monastery in Lochleven, and who preceded James the First, wrote in verse a very large chronicle of Scotland. Notwithstanding his mode of composition, he ought, perhaps, rather to be considered as an historian than a poet. His work, which is valuable so far as it relates to his own country, and which contains materials not to be met with in Fordun, whom he had never seen, has not yet been published. Its publication would be a desirable accession to the history of North Britain. Holland was the author of a poem entitled "The Howlat," which appears to have described the poetical employments, and the musical entertainments of the age. Henry the Minstrel, who, on account of his being blind from his birth, is usually called Blind Harry, composed the "Life of Wallace." It is a romance, like Barbour's Bruce, but not to be ranked with it in point of excellence. At the same time, it is not destitute of merit, and there are various things in it which cannot fail to gratify the curiosity of the antiquary and the critic.

Having dwelt so largely on the poetical history of this period, for which the materials are more copious than for most other articles, and which will always constitute a prime object in a view of the progress of taste and literature, we proceed to the rest of the polite arts, concerning some of which, however, there is little to be said. Although

though the civil wars of the fifteenth century were a great hindrance to the erection of magnificent buildings, at least by private persons, a skill in architecture, where there was an opportunity of displaying it, was by no means upon the decline. That species of it which hath commonly, though improperly, been styled the Gothic, was gradually improved, and carried to its highest pitch of perfection. Of this several striking examples may be mentioned; such as the chapel of King's College at Cambridge, the Divinity School at Oxford, the collegiate church at Fotheringay, and the chapel of St. George at Windsor. The most admired of these structures is King's College chapel at Cambridge, which was erected by that pious prince Henry the Sixth. It is distinguished by its lightness, loftiness, and beauty, and the contemplation of it will always afford peculiar pleasure to men of taste and judgment.

The metallic arts, which had been pursued with advantage in the preceding age, were not neglected in the present. This was one good effect which arose from the otherwise vain study of alchemy. While the devotees of this false science were seeking for an universal remedy, and were endeavouring to transmute the baser metals into silver and gold, they acquired a more accurate knowledge of the properties of these metals, and arrived at discoveries of considerable utility. When the human mind is aiming to soar to a height which cannot possibly be reached, it may sometimes attain to an elevation which might not in any other way be accomplished.

Though perhaps it may be thought rather foreign to our subject, we cannot help taking notice, that the arts of spinning, throwing, and weaving silk, which in this period were brought into England, were exercised by a company of women in London, called silk-women. In 1445, this female company, in a petition to parliament, complained that their trade was obstructed, and themselves in danger of being reduced to poverty, by the importation of the same kind of articles from Italy. Accordingly, an act was obtained, prohibiting the importation of such articles. Laces, ribbons, and narrow fabrics, but in no large quantities, were the productions of these women. Hence are we to date the origin of the great silk manufacture in our country, in which



the men did not engage till towards the close of the present period. It has frequently been a matter of complaint, that the arts which females could carry on, to the benefit of society, and their own honourable support, should be monopolized by the other sex, whose strength of body would more laudably be consecrated to manly occupations.

Sculpture and statuary did not decline in this age, or fail of receiving ample encouragement. In fact, the artists in these branches had fuller employment, and obtained higher rewards than had been conferred upon them in former times. The very opposition which was made, by the followers of Wickliffe, to the veneration and worship of images, contributed to this event. Hence the clergy were more solicitous to please the people by the elegant and splendid execution of works of this nature: nor were their efforts unsuccessful. The excellent workmanship of the images, the beauty of their appearance, and the richness of their dress, excited the admiration of the larger part of the nation, inflamed their devotion, and fixed them in a firm attachment to the established superstition. There was nothing in which the church displayed a deeper or more effective policy.

Sepulchral architecture, in particular, was advanced to much perfection in the present period. The monuments were adorned with statues, and with figures in basso and alto relievo, and the public taste in this respect called forth the abilities of the sculptor and the statuary. It is to the honour of our country that the English artists were of equal reputation with those of other kingdoms, and were occasionally employed by foreign princes. Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell, and Thomas Poppehowe, were engaged to make the alabaster tomb of John the Fourth, duke of Brittany. The work was executed by them in London, after which they carried it over, and erected it in the cathedral of Nantes. Of five artists who were appointed to construct the monument of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and to adorn it with images, four were natives of England. The images, besides a large one representing the earl, were thirty-two in number. In an age when almost every person of rank and wealth had a monument erected to his memory, with his effigies upon it, either in free-stone, marble,

marblè, or metal, it was impossible but that the zeal and emulation of the artists must have been excited, and some degree of improvement be hence communicated to their arts.

Though painting was in a very inferior state to what it afterwards arose in Italy, and hath since attained in our own country, it was not neglected. In the deficiency of good taste, superstition supplied it with a liberal encouragement. What was wanted in the true principles of the art, was probably attempted to be made up in adventitious ornament. The paintings of the churches were so effectually destroyed in the ardour, or shall we call it the rage, of reformation, that it is difficult to pronounce with exactness concerning their real character and merit. We know, however, from some fragments which are still preserved, that glass painting was greatly cultivated, and often executed with much beauty. This, too, was frequently the case with illuminations of manuscripts. The human figures are for the most part stiff and ungraceful, while the ornaments which accompany them are recommended by a delicacy which is highly pleasing. What the illuminators particularly excelled in, were the clearness and brightness of their colours in general, and especially of their gold and azure. There are instances, though they occur but seldom, in which the passions are forcibly expressed. As to portrait-painting in this period, it was undoubtedly in a low state.

To music, and above all to church-music, no small degree of attention was paid during the fifteenth century. Indeed, it was one necessary part of the clergy's business to captivate the minds of the people in this respect, and to prevent their being allured by the innovators, who contended for a purer form of worship. Church-music was not only practised as an art, but studied as a science in this age; and harmony was superadded to the melody and plain chaunt of the ancient worship. This species of music was cultivated by the laity as well as the clergy. It formed the favourite amusement of persons of the highest rank, and Henry the Fifth is recorded to have been a player upon the organ.

In the history both of the sacred and secular music of this time, James the First, of Scotland, whom we have already celebrated for his poetical and other eminent talents,

makes a capital figure. He is said to have excelled all mankind in the vocal and instrumental parts of this delightful art, to have played on eight different instruments, and to have done it on the harp with the most exquisite skill. His character as a composer was equal to his character as a performer; on which account he has obtained a very extensive and honourable reputation. He was applauded in Italy, above a century after his death, as the father of a new and pleasing kind of melody, which that country condescended to admire and to imitate. This melody, which he invented in the gloom of a prison, while it is plaintive, and was adapted to his situation, has a sweetness in it, which has rendered it inexpressibly pleasing to all persons of true sensibility and taste, in every succeeding age. In short, king James, from his genius, his profound knowledge of musical principles, and his extraordinary performance on the harp, is to be esteemed the inventor of the Scottish vocal music.

One art, in its nature mechanical, but in its practice intimately connected with literature, and which hath been productive of unspeakable advantages to knowledge and learning, and to the general improvement of mankind, was introduced into England during the latter part of the present period. Our readers will easily perceive that we have in view the Art of Printing. It has been asserted that the first book printed in this country was at Oxford, from wooden types, by one Corfellis, in the year 1468. But the story is built on grounds so very insufficient, or at least so very precarious, that it cannot be admitted into our work as a record of authentic history. Caxton is the man to whom the honour of bringing this noble invention into the kingdom is given, by the testimony of all our ancient writers. He introduced it likewise according to its latest and best improvement, the use of metal types. Although it was late in life when he applied himself to the exercise of this art, he pursued it with uncommon vigour and success. The books printed by him were more than fifty in number, and some of them were large volumes. It is not surprising, therefore, that Caxton hath attained a high reputation, and that he hath been esteemed an eminent benefactor to his country. His praise stands upon a firm foundation;

dation; and his memory may be reflected upon with the greater pleasure, as he appears to have been a person of uncommon worth and modesty. Other printers speedily succeeded him; so that the art spread apace, and met with considerable encouragement.

But Caxton comes before us in the character of an author, as well as in that of a printer. He is reckoned among the historians of his age; but in this respect he is intitled to a very small degree of applause. His chief merit is as a translator, many of the books which he printed being versions from foreign writers, made by himself. Considering the low state of knowledge in England at that time, these versions, with whatever indifference we may now look upon them, were works of consequence. It is to be remembered, that the literature of the period consisted principally of translations. The French, for a century or two before, had employed themselves in rendering into their own tongue a number of productions, then held in estimation, chiefly Latin, upon different subjects, religious and civil. These translations, though the originals were in prose, were often done in metre. In the fifteenth century they began to revise and polish their old rude versions, besides which better books were introduced, as the taste of the public continued to improve. Even some of the classics were rendered into French. This circumstance, which was comparatively a great improvement in the learning of that nation, had its effects in our own kingdom. As the language of France was here well understood, and its publications were the favourite amusements of English readers of a higher rank, the knowledge which prevailed in that country became so far the knowledge of England. But this knowledge was increased and diffused by the translation of French books. For though these books were themselves, for the most part, no more than versions from other authors, they were the principal sources of instruction which the age afforded. Caxton, therefore, was very usefully employed in becoming a translator. By himself, or the aid of his friends, a considerable number of pieces were turned into English, and, being printed by him, enriched the state of letters in this country

country with many valuable publications. Ancient literature had not yet made a sufficient progress among us to encourage his publishing the Roman authors in their original tongue. But the French having furnished him with materials, Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and other good writers, were circulated in our own language so early as the close of the fifteenth century. The garb indeed, in which they appeared, was very mean when compared with their native dress: but still the introduction of them, even in so imperfect a form, could not fail of being attended with a desirable accession to the knowledge and taste of our countrymen.

Ignorant as this age too generally was, and little as science was diffused among the higher, as well as the lower, ranks of men, we have the pleasure of recording some eminent patrons of learning. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, whose character is so amiable in our civil history, shines with extraordinary lustre in the point we are now considering. We have already seen that Titus Livius, a learned man, from Italy, was his poet laureat. The duke is celebrated by Occleve as a singular promoter of literature, and the common patron of the scholars of the times. He presented to the university of Oxford a library consisting of six hundred volumes, one hundred and twenty of which only were valued at above a thousand pounds. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, and among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It is greatly to be lamented, that, excepting a beautiful manuscript of Valerius Maximus, the ignorance, the false zeal, or the avarice of the visitors of the university, in Edward the Sixth's reign, destroyed or removed the whole of this sumptuous collection. Whetamstede, who was himself an encourager of learning as well as an historian and a biographer; was in high favour with the duke, and employed by him in collecting valuable books. It was at the recommendation and command of this munificent prince, and under his protection and superintendence, that Lydgate translated Boccacio's *trattise de Casibus Virorum illustrium*. The duke's condescension in conversing with learned ecclesiastics, and his diligence in study, are highly applauded by the translator,  
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by whom his patron is compared to Julius Cæsar, who, amidst all the cares of state, was not ashamed to enter the rhetorical school of Cicero at Rome. Duke Humphrey's patronage was not confined to the scholars alone of his own country. The most celebrated writers of France and Italy solicited his favour, and experienced his liberality. Leonard Aretine, one of the first restorers of the Greek tongue, and of polite literature in general; Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and secretary to the great Cosmo, duke of Milan; Petrus de Monte, of Venice; and Lopus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a translator of the Greek classics into Latin, dedicated works to him; and it appears, from their encomiums, that he was distinguished by an ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and by the eagerness with which he cultivated every branch of knowledge. He also retained in his service a number of learned foreigners, for the express purpose of transcribing and translating ancient manuscripts. Antonio de Beccaari, a Veronese, who was one of these foreigners, turned into Latin the Greek poem of Dionysius Afer de Situ Orbis, and six tracts of Athanasius. The duke hath been represented as an author; but it is a false supposition that he wrote an astronomical tract, entitled "*Tabulæ Directionum*." There is, however, in the library of Gresham college, a scheme of calculations which bears his name. Perhaps there never was a more zealous encourager of literature than Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and we are not a little indebted to Mr. Warton for being the first person who has enabled the public fully to be sensible, in this respect, of the excellence and lustre of the duke's character.

Among the patrons of learning in this period, two other names are to be mentioned, of great and eminent merit. These are John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and Anthony Widville, earl Rivers, brother to the queen of king Edward the Fourth. Nor were they protectors and promoters of science only, but writers themselves. John Tiptoft studied at Baliol college, Oxford, where his rapid progress in knowledge excited much admiration. Having been some time employed in public affairs, he quitted them in order to travel abroad for farther improvement. After he had gone



gone so far as to the Holy Land, he came back to Italy, where he resided three years, and devoted himself entirely to the pursuit of letters. So eminently was he at the head of literature, and so masterly an orator, that when, upon a visit to Rome, he delivered an oration before pope Pius the Second, he drew tears of joy and admiration from that celebrated and learned pontiff. The earl of Worcester expended no small sums in the collecting of books. To the university library of Oxford he presented as many writings as had cost him five hundred marks. The light in which he is now only known to us by his own works, is that of a translator. From his choice in this respect it appears that he had a classical knowledge and taste; for he translated Cicero's two treatises *de Amicitia* and *de Senectute*, and so much of Cæsar's Commentaries as related to British affairs. He translated also the Orations of Publius Cornelius and Caius Flaminius, rivals for the love of Lucretia. Of his original productions no more than a few letters and small pieces are remaining in manuscript. From certain rules, orders, and statutes, which he drew up, by the king's commandment, when constable of England, it is evident that he was well acquainted with the regulations and laws which respected jousts, tournaments, and triumphs.

Equal in birth and accomplishments, and superior in alliance and military exploits, was Anthony Widville, earl Rivers. He does not seem to have had the same advantages of education and improvement that were enjoyed by the earl of Worcester. But whatever these were, he made the best use of them, and, amidst all the tumults of the times, never lost sight of literature. It is greatly to his honour that he was the friend of Caxton, whose new art he patronized with zeal and liberality. The second book printed in England was a work of earl Rivers's. According to the fashion of the times, and agreeably to what was then perhaps the best mode of conveying instruction to the kingdom, he principally employed himself in translations. These were the wise Sayings of the Philosophers, from the Latin of John de Teonville, provost of Paris; the moral Proverbs of Christian of Pisa; and a book, entitled the Cordial, from the French of an author not named. The earl wrote  
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also several ballads against the seven deadly sins. Imperfect as the writings of Tiptoft and Widville may now be deemed, great praise is due to them for their zealous endeavours to promote the cause of learning, and to spread among their countrymen a regard to mental accomplishments. The examples of men so illustrious could not fail of producing some good effects. It must ever be lamented that these two eminent noblemen met with so untimely and unhappy an end; both of them having been beheaded when they were little more than forty years of age. If their existence had been prolonged to the natural term of human life, it is highly probable that they would have rendered very essential services to the interests of science and literature.

Though knowledge in general was in a low state during this period, various measures were pursued which contributed to its future advancement. Some of these have already been noticed, and we shall conclude this article with an account of the erection of public seminaries of education.

At Oxford, Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, founded Lincoln college. The particular design of it was to provide for a rector and seven scholars, who were to make controversial divinity their study, and to be capable of defending the church against the heresies of the disciples of Wicliffe. Thomas Scot, of Rotherham, one of Fleming's successors in the bishoprick of Lincoln, completed the building, and thus was esteemed its second founder.

To Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, Oxford is indebted for All-Souls college. He instituted it for a warden and forty fellows, who were to pray for the souls of those who had fallen in the French wars, and for the souls of all the faithful who had departed this life. Hence the college derived its name. It hath since been applied to better purposes; and it is well known to be a very noble foundation.

Another illustrious seminary at Oxford derives its origin from this period. We refer to Magdalen college, which was founded by William Patten, bishop of Winchester, for a president, forty fellows, thirty scholars, and a variety of officers and servants answerable to the splendour of the institution. This college soon became one of the richest in Europe.

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Three similar establishments were formed, in the same age, at the university of Cambridge. King's college was founded by Henry the Sixth, for one provost, seventy fellows and scholars, three chaplains, six clerks, and a number of other attendants. The original plan was very magnificent, but the execution of it was prevented by the calamities in which that prince was involved. Eton school, the parent of so many eminent scholars, was instituted by Henry as a nursery for King's college.

Margaret, the high-spirited consort of this monarch, did not, in the midst of her political engagements, forget the cause of literature. She was the foundress of Queen's college, which, however, from the misfortunes that soon came upon her, would have been in danger of perishing in its infancy, had it not been preserved by the attention and zeal of Andrew Ducket, its first president. This worthy man, who continued in his office forty years, obtained so many benefactions for the college, that he is justly considered as having rescued it from destruction.

Katharine hall owes its institution to Robert Woodlark, third provost of King's college. It was small in its beginning, but in a course of time grew up to considerable eminence, both with regard to its revenues and the number of its members.

During this period the new schools, as they were then called, were erected at Oxford, by Thomas Hokenorton, abbot of Osney. About the same time, the foundation was laid, in that university, of the magnificent divinity school and library; and the building was at length completed by the successive benefactions of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, cardinal John Kemp, archbishop of York, and his nephew, Thomas Kemp, bishop of London. The erection of the Quadrangle, at Cambridge, containing the public schools, is to be referred to the same age.

Though the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had so long subsisted in England, nothing of the like kind had hitherto taken place in Scotland. The natives of that country, who devoted themselves to the pursuit of learning, were obliged to seek for instruction in foreign parts. But in the beginning of the fifteenth century, a few men of letters

letters at St. Andrew's voluntarily and generously engaged to teach the sciences usually taught, to such as chose to receive their instructions. The names of the persons who first set on foot so laudable a design deserve to be recorded. They are Laurence Lindores, Richard Cornel, John Lister, John Chevez, William Stephen, John Gyll, William Fowles, and William Croiser. Peter Lombard's sentences, the civil and canon laws, logic, and philosophy, were the subjects of the lectures. Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's, who had probably been an original favourer of the scheme, was so highly pleased with the prospect of its success, that he granted a charter, declaring the city to be an university, for the study of divinity, law, medicine, and the liberal arts. This charter, agreeably to the ideas of the time, was confirmed by the pope. That admirable prince, James the First, of Scotland, when he obtained the possession of his crown, soon took notice of the new institution. He gave the members of it many marks of his favour, and sometimes attended their public acts and disputations. Ecclesiastical dignities and benefices were bestowed by him on the most eminent professors; and such of the scholars as distinguished themselves by their literary progress, he noted down for future preferment. To all this he added a fresh charter, containing a grant of several important privileges and immunities. Notwithstanding such pleasing encouragement, the university was very deficient in accommodations and endowments. The students lived wholly at their own expence, and the teachers had no fixed salaries. In this situation the institution continued nearly forty years, when another public spirited prelate, James Kennedy, the successor of Wardlaw, built St. Salvador's college, and endowed it with competent revenues for a principal, six fellows, and six poor scholars. St. Andrew's; though the mother university of Scotland, is inferior to the others in the number of its pupils; the young persons who are sent thither being usually, we apprehend, intended for divinity. In the characters and abilities of its professors, it hath always sustained an honourable reputation; and some of them have been of no small note in the learned world.

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The establishment of an university at St. Andrew's excited the zeal of William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, to have an university in the latter city. Accordingly he obtained an ample bull from the pope for this purpose, which was no sooner brought over than the design was carried into execution. Dr. David Cadrow, who was appointed rector, was the first lecturer in divinity, Dr. John Lennox in civil law, and Dr. Andrew de Garlies, as there is good reason to believe, in medicine. Nearly at the same time was formed the college or faculty of arts, of which Dr. William Elphinston was chosen the first dean, and Dr. Duncan Bunch the first principal. King James the Second of Scotland, by letters-patent under the great seal of this kingdom, took the university of Glasgow under his special protection, and bishop Turnbull granted it, by charter, a variety of powers and privileges. Still, however, its endowments and revenues were very small. The first valuable benefaction to the college of Glasgow, and which gave it a solid foundation and establishment, was derived from the noble family of Hamilton. James, lord Hamilton, and Euphemia, countess of Douglas, his lady, gave a tenement for the accommodation of the regents and students, with four acres of ground adjacent. The motive appears to have been superstitious, but the gift was useful. We need not inform our readers how well the university has preserved its reputation, and that, within the last forty or fifty years in particular, some of the principal writers of the age have been professors at Glasgow. Hutcheson, Leechman, Simpson, More, Adam Smith, Reid, Millar, and Richardson, are names which will readily occur to those who are not strangers to the history of modern literature \*.

\* Henry, Warton, Gilpin, Walpole, Pinkerton, Tytler, Biographia Britannica, &c. &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1785.

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# BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1785.

## CHAPTER I.

*The Crimea acquired by the Russians. Description of the three Provinces of Catharinoslaw, Taurica, and Caucasus. Calamitous State of the Ottoman Empire. Claims of the Emperor on the Dutch. Their internal Disfranchisements. Affair of the Schelde. Mediation of France. Exchange of Bavaria. Affair of Dantzic. Prince of Denmark.*

**W**HILE the kingdom of Great Britain was agitated with fruitless contests between the different parties that divided her senate, the powers of the continent were not idle. The various transactions which were carrying on at this period, in the Eastern and the Western divisions of Europe, will claim a considerable degree of attention from the liberal observer. Among these the first in importance, as well as from its situation the first in order, is the memorable revolution that took place respecting the boundaries of the Russian and the Ottoman empires.

Neither of these countries were ignorant of their true situation. The Turkish government, conscious of degeneracy and internal weakness, were desirous, by a period of quiet and tranquillity, to meliorate their condition; and the views of Amed Halil, the grand vizier, for the reform of their establishments, and the introduction of civility and improvement, were dig-

nified and liberal. The empress, on the other hand, was sensible that she could not have a more favourable opportunity for pressing down the falling lustre of the Ottomans. The commotions of the Crimea, and the savage and ungovernable spirit of the Turkish viceroys, seconded her designs. An intestine rebellion against the khan protected by Russia, was succeeded by a barbarous execution upon the person of his envoy by the governor of Taman.

Nothing could be more contrary to the inclinations of the visier than this violence. The interference of Vergennes, the prime minister of France, was solicited; the offence was expiated in the blood of the criminal; and a treaty of commerce, extremely favourable to the subjects of the czarina, was now negotiated. In the mean time preparations for war were carried on with diligence on all sides. The treaty was concluded on the twenty-first of June 1783.

Little did the court of the grand signior suspect the machinations that were at this moment carrying on against them. The khan of Tartary, whether from his own inclination, or compelled by the power that protected him, signified a desire to resign his sovereignty. The empress prohibited the country from proceeding to elect a successor, and prince Potemkin, a nobleman of great consequence and trust, was sent to take possession of the country in the name of his mistress. The manifesto of Catherine, which he published upon his arrival in the peninsula, was dated on the eighth of April, and the news of this extraordinary transaction arrived at Constantinople a few days after the signature of the treaty.

It were tedious and uninteresting to enquire into all the fluctuations of the Porte, when advertised of so unexpected a blow. Suffice it to say, that no public notice was taken of the usurpation till it was officially notified, on the twentieth of November, by the Russian ambassador. It was doubtless with much struggle and reluctance that the court of Constantinople could be brought to a formal recognition of the proceedings of the empress: but her power was too great and irresistible. The emperor of Germany was at this time in the strictest concert with her government, and was ready to pour an effective and well disciplined army of two hundred thousand men upon the frontiers of Turkey, at a moment's warning. France, though she put a firm and decisive face upon the business, though she prepared a fleet in Toulon, and was about to garrison the island of Candia, was too distant to afford the most valuable succour. The king of Prussia affected not to appear idle and uninterested in the business; but age

had unnerved his vigour, and deprived him of that spirit of fervency and adventure by which he had once been distinguished. In fine, the situation was desperate, and resistance was hopeless. On the ninth of January 1784, the seal of government was fixed to the most ruinous and disgraceful defalcation of empire that, if we take along with us the circumstance of its being accomplished without the smallest bloodshed, was almost ever experienced by a falling state.

In the mean time, if we would form an accurate estimate of the territories which were gained by the empress in pursuance of this treaty, it will be necessary for us to have regard to three different periods in her history. If we compare the southern boundaries of the empire, as they are now defined, with the state in which she inherited them from her predecessors, the contrast will be such as to require a sort of stretch and energy of understanding to take it in at one view. The provinces of Catharinoffaw, Crimea, and Cuban, which were at this time placed under the government of Potemkin, constitute a tract of country capable of much internal improvement, and of high value in respect to navigation and commerce. But these were not all the acquisitions of 1783. By the peace of July 1774, which laid the foundation of the Russian consequence upon the Euxine sea, the Nieper and the Bog were declared to constitute the south-western limits of the two empires. The district of Tartary lying between these rivers, is no other than the first of the provinces we have enumerated. This is the seat of the celebrated port and city of Cherson, a town scarcely to be found in any of our Atlases, but which in celebrity, prosperity, and importance,

ance, has not perhaps been equalled, if we consider its recent standing, by any colony of modern times. Artisans, manufacturers, and merchants, pour into it from all quarters, and the time seems not to be distant when it shall rank as the second port in this extensive empire. The commerce of Cherson was, if we may be allowed the expression, guaranteed and secured to the empress by the cession of Kinburn, which lies opposite to Oczacow, at the mouth of the Nieper.

The gains of Russia, on the western division of the Euxine, were scarcely less important. The straits of Caffa formed the outlet of the sea of Asoph, and the command of them is necessary, in order to give value to the port of that name. Accordingly the empress obtained by the treaty of 1774, a district of the Crimea, which more properly constitutes the straits than the city from which they have usually been denominated. The chief towns of this district are Kerch and Jeniscala. Such were the acquisitions of 1774.

The provinces added to the Russian dominions by the convention of 1783, were the Crimea, the province of Cuban Tartary, and the island of Taman. The Asiatic districts have usually been comprehended under the general appellation of Circassia. Their separation from the rest of that country is recognised to be made by the river of Cuban. Their pretensions appear to be limited in respect of population and improvement, and the empress has accordingly held out the greatest advantages to those who shall be willing to settle in this part of her dominions.

The state of the Crimea is supposed to exhibit a strong contrast to that of its neighbours on the other side the straits. A celebrated tra-

veller, whose lucubrations seem to have been received with a particular degree of attention and respect, the baron de Tott, is forward upon all occasions in drawing a contrast between the Turks and the Tartars, extremely to the advantage of the latter. The Turks, according to this writer, are dull and sluggish, the implicit slaves of absolute power, incapable of instruction and improvement, destitute of liberal thinking, and making up for this deficiency by treacherous imposition and intolerable arrogance. The Tartars, on the contrary, are brisk, lively, and ingenious, affable and courteous to strangers, and desirous of instruction. Those that inhabit the peninsula are represented by him as arrived at a considerable degree of civilization, and much superior to their late masters in every liberal accomplishment.

The views of the empress in acquiring this territory, have been magnificent and sublime. She has entered into the ideas which have been long cherished by the cultivated nations of Europe. We have been used to consider the Greeks as a race of men worthy of every honour. Their ingenuity, their acuteness, their wit, their activity in every pursuit, the boundless degree of improvement of which they are capable, form a perfect contrast to the indolence of their lordly and imperious masters. We can scarcely look back to the more splendid period of Athens, without feeling a sort of enthusiasm in their cause. We are irresistibly led to imagine, that the country, which was the mother of all that is excellent in statuary, in painting, in poetry, in rhetoric, and in morals, must be particularly fitted for unfolding the powers of the human mind. Animated by these considerations, we



wish to see revived among them their ancient freedom, and would be content that their conquerors should be driven back to their proper field, the emasculate and despotic regions of Asia.

We should be apt to question the sincerity of the sovereign of a despotic government, if she pretended to desire to revive the republicanism along with the character of Athens. But her professions have not as yet gone to a length of this sort. Her immediate design has been to invite the Greeks from every province of Turkey into her dominions, and to consolidate them in a manner with her new Tartarian subjects. With this design she has undertaken to abolish the barbarous, and revive the Grecian names of the regions and towns in the peninsula. The name of Crimea will probably henceforth be lost in the revived appellation of Taurica. At the same time that the czarina has attended to the population and culture of her provinces, she has not lost sight of her favourite idea of commerce. In little more than a month from the signature of the treaty, by which the Turks finally ceded their pretensions to her, she declared three free ports in her newly acquired territories. The first of these was the capital of Catharinoslaw, which we have already described. The other two belong to the Chersonesus Taurica, one lying on the south-east, and the other on the western side of the peninsula. The first, formerly called Caffa, has now received the appellation of Theodosia, and the town of Actiar, near Baczisaria, is denominated Sebastopolis. These are her European acquisitions.

The map of country added to the empire of the czarina is large and extensive. Time and observation alone can enable us to form a judg-

ment of its value. Meanwhile it is natural enough to exclaim, when we survey the vast and uncultivated country in various climates, and in different parts of the world, that already acknowledge her power, "What is the use that can result to her from enlarging still more an empire that seems already encumbered by its boundless extent! The advantages of commerce had been fully secured by the peace of 1774. To the peace of 1774 the Russians had been indebted for the port of Cherson, for their possession of the straits of Theodosia, and for the free navigation of the Euxine and the Hellespont. All that is solid in the convention of 1783, was secured by the preceding treaty, and the rest is useless incumbrance and parade. A respect for the tribes of men that bear the denomination of Greek, is obvious and natural. But is it founded in observation and truth? The Greeks of ancient times were venerable and glorious; but those of the present age, do they not appear to be the dullest and most obsequious of slaves, without one grain of the activity, the liberality or the worth that distinguish their ancestors? If it were otherwise, will any principles of religion or morality authorise us to expel from these provinces a nation of men who have been in peaceable possession of many of them for more than three centuries?" To this it might indeed be answered, that the peninsula appears to be very far from a country depopulated and highly barbarous; and that if we have not a right to expel the Ottomans from their European possessions, we have at least a right to co-operate with any oppressed nation on earth for the recovery of their liberties. But the latter of these observations has little to do with

with the proceedings of the empress, and neither of them have the smallest tendency to justify a conduct less veiled with even the shadow of right than any proceeding with which almost any sovereign has dared to insult the world.

But Catharinoflaw, Taurica, and Caucasus, are not the only provinces that have lately vested in the empress. Beside them she has also acquired a footing in the Grecian province of Georgia. Georgia is separated from the region of Caucasus by the inhabitants of southern Circassia. But as these Tartars are only partly under the dominion of the Turks, and partly independent, they are scarcely to be considered as a barrier between the Russians and the Georgians. The latter nation has always been governed by its own sovereigns, among whom two are particularly distinguished, the czar of Imiretta, and Heraclius, czar of Cartalinia, in whose dominions is the city of Teflis. These princes had originally done homage, the latter to the sophi of Persia, and the former to the monarch of Constantinople. Their allegiance, however, had long sat loose upon them, and during the late war between the Turks and the Russians, they had occasionally entered into connection with the northern potentate. It appears, that soon after the Russians had taken possession of Taurica, Heraclius, the feudatory of Persia, formally recognised the empress in the character of paramount; and about twelve months after this, in the autumn of 1784, he sent a person commissioned to represent him, accompanied by his two sons, one of them destined for the army, the other for the church, to reside at the court of Petersburg.

The revolutions in this country

were not unaccompanied with bloodshed. On the fourteenth of October an engagement took place between Heraclius, assisted by a Russian general, and the irregular mountaineers of Caucasus, professing themselves the partisans of the Porte, in which a prince of Hesse Rhinfelds was found among the slain. About the same time a similar engagement took place on the side of the czar of Imiretta, in which he lost the eldest of his sons. This prince had hitherto maintained a kind of neutrality between Russia and Turkey, but, soured by his recent calamity, he now began to alienate himself from the court of Constantinople. The reigning czar died about the conclusion of the year, and on the ninth of January, 1785, his successor imitated the example of Heraclius, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the court of Petersburg.

The loss of Taurica and Caucasus, and the hostile connexions that were formed by the princes of Georgia, were not the only calamities experienced during this period by the Ottoman Porte. The whole empire seemed to exhibit convulsions that foreboded a sudden and calamitous termination. During the year 1784, Bassora was besieged, though unsuccessfully, by the Persian arms; the governors of Nicosia in the island of Cyprus, and of Bagdad, were assassinated by their tumultuous citizens; an alarming insurrection took place at Aleppo; and the valuable province of Egypt was exhausted by intestine divisions and civil war. In the mean time the Ottoman Porte was called upon, first by the emperor, and afterwards by the Spaniard, to restrain the pillages of their nominal subjects in the states of Barbary. Various feeble and

temporising negotiations took place upon the subject; but the Turkish administration seem at length to have found the means of bringing them to a favourable conclusion.

This administration was possessed of prudence, sagacity and wisdom, worthy of a more auspicious theatre. In the midst of threats and denunciations from their neighbours, and of disorders of the most alarming nature within the confines of the empire, their attention was turned to various means of improving and reforming the manners, and giving energy and veneration to the powers of their country. The capitan pacha, or great admiral of Constantinople, made a circuitous voyage of some months, with a considerable squadron, in order to collect the contributions, and infuse awe into the inhabitants of the different provinces. Meanwhile Ahmed Halil, the grand visier, instituted a reform in the corps of janissaries, and made an attempt, but an unsuccessful one, to introduce the European discipline into the Turkish army. At the same time he exhibited the novelty of a public press in the capital, and some volumes of a general history of the Ottoman empire already appeared. But these proceedings, though sage and judicious, were insufficient to succour the critical state of the monarchy he had to govern. The Turkish hauteur could ill brook disgrace and humiliation, and the cession of their valuable provinces rankled at their heart. They were unwilling to ascribe this to its real source, the imbecility of the nation, and their ill humour discovered itself in discontent and murmurs against the administration of the visier.

From the empress of Russia we turn to her illustrious ally. Re-

specting the character of this prince the world has been much divided. Some have described him as a model of policy, sagacity, and liberal thinking; while others have represented him as little else than a compound of whim and caprice, fantastic in his sentiments, and variable in his decisions. The transactions of the period we are to relate will probably suffice to fix our idea of his public character. The conduct and progress of his claims upon the Turks and on the Schelde, and his negotiation, less notorious, but more memorable, with the elector of Bavaria, afford the most copious field for our investigation. We will relate them impartially, and endeavour to point out the philosophical result of the whole.

Among the various imaginations that have been started upon the subject, it is difficult to decide upon the extent of the monarch's views, in the combination that he formed with the Russians, for the purpose of humbling the pride of the Turkish empire. They have been stated as going to the extent of adding Moldavia and Walachia to his existing dominions, and rendering the Danube the southern boundary of his provinces. And they have been exaggerated to the romantic length of expelling the Ottomans from the climates of Europe, and seating himself and his illustrious coadjutor upon the throne of Constantinople. All that has ever been authentically acknowledged to the public, has been a claim upon the Turkish Croatia, on the other side of the Unna, and the towns and fortresses of New and Old Orsowa, together with the free navigation of the Danube from Semlin to the Black Sea. It is not more easy to decide upon the question in respect of policy than in regard to au-  
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thentic information. On the one hand, it would seem a poor and ill-judged ambition to desire to add wide and savage deserts to his dominions, at the very time that Hungary and Transylvania, and the rest of the Ultra-Germanic provinces, rank so extremely low in point of fertility and civilization, and are capable of so unbounded improvements. On the other hand, to consider the emperor as aiming at nothing of this sort, is it not to regard him as the mean and passive instrument for the aggrandizement of the Russian empire, a tool in the hands of the Amazon of the North?

The characteristic of the Austrian sovereign seems to be a restless and insatiable activity. At the very time that he was mustering his troops under the walls of Belk and Belgrade, while at the same time he was executing the most extensive plans of civil and ecclesiastical reform, he cherished in his mind the important claims he had formed upon the Belgic republic, and took several steps in order to their being reduced into practice. To add to the complication and singularity of his situation, he set out from Vienna towards the close of the year, and made a tour of three or four months through the states of Italy. It was at this very time that the treaty was negotiated that gave the czarina so extensive an accession of dominion, and that about six weeks after, on the twenty-fourth of February, the Porte consented to add a stipulation for the free navigation of the Danube, as a supplement to the treaty of Passarowitz. The question, however, respecting the demarcation of the limits, was drawn out into extreme length; and it is scarcely to be doubted that the emperor suffered the favourable mo-

ment to escape him, in which he might have advanced and been indulged in the largest pretensions.

It was the success which the Austrian monarch had experienced in the year 1781, respecting the demolition of the Dutch barrier, that encouraged him to look into the farther pretensions he might form upon his mercantile neighbours. Without specifying a single claim of this sort, in the autumn of the year 1783 he demanded of the republic the appointment of a commission to meet at Brussels, for the accurate ascertaining the boundaries of the Dutch and Austrian Netherlands. While this demand was under the deliberation of the states, on the fourth of November a small detachment of Austrian troops suddenly advanced upon the territories of the republic. One party proceeded to Fort Saint Donat, where they arrived at four o'clock in the morning, and immediately dispossessed the garrison of the states, consisting of the fort-major, a corporal, a vice-corporal, and four privates. At the same time a second detachment arrived at Fort Saint Paul, and made themselves masters of it, suffering a corporal, with his guard of two men, to retire to the garrison of Sluys, in the vicinity of which were these subordinate redoubts.

It were needless to enumerate all the memorials and counter memorials which passed between the emperor and the Dutch during this period. Previously to the surprize of the forts we have mentioned, the Austrian government had made a formal complaint respecting the violation of the burying-ground of the village of Doel, and an infringement upon a claim of fishing in a brook of that neighbourhood. At the time of the seizure of Saint Donat,

Donat, a party of half a dozen Dutch recruits were arrested by order of the emperor, and a formal demand was made of a free navigation beyond fort Lillo, as far as the land of Saftingen, some miles up the Schelde. It was accordingly insisted, that the guardship, which had usually been stationed at fort Lillo, should be immediately withdrawn, as a preliminary to the ensuing conferences.

It is scarcely to be imagined that the attention of a great monarch, however minute and accurate its investigations might be supposed, could really have rested, and fixed an absolute importance upon so petty transactions. In the mean time it is not easy to decide whether this momentary face of things were intended by the Austrian monarch to delude the Dutch into a false security, or whether his conduct is to be ascribed to the uncertainty in which he felt himself respecting the grand object of his claims. The town and district of Maestricht seem to have constituted an object, which was regarded with singular complacency by the emperor. At the same time we cannot conceive that leading and comprehensive consideration, which at this time filled the mouth of every coffee-house politician, could pass unnoticed in the mind of the emperor. The opening of the Schelde towards the sea, might involve consequences in its operation, difficult to calculate, undefinable in their duration, but full of the most inestimable benefits to the Austrian possessions. What Tyre and Alexandria were in the commerce of ancient history, such were Venice and Antwerp about three centuries ago in the history of modern Europe. Though the commerce of Antwerp had been lost, its wealth

had been preserved and accumulated. Nor was the importance of this object a more obvious consideration than the appeal which the claim would make to the common sense and the principles of natural right inherent in the human mind. The noble stream of the Schelde was a benefit which the great creator had bestowed upon the people of Antwerp. To demand and to resume his benefits could never be unjust. They superseded all considerations of local policy and all the concessions of momentary adversity. The Schelde was a possession which could no more be sold or alienated by the people of Antwerp or their lord paramount, than their liberty or their lives.

No period could have been more favourable to the emperor's claims. The Dutch had but just emerged from a most unfortunate war, and were torn and distracted by all the misery of civil dissension. The late war had involved some of the greatest powers in Europe, particularly France; and having obtained a period of tranquillity they were little disposed to engage in fresh hostilities. The present period was even more auspicious than that in which the war had been at its greatest height, since, as it has been well observed, it is less easy to put a body in a state of rest into a state of motion, than to give a new direction to that motion that already exists. As if providence had fought on the side of the emperor, the archbishop elector of Cologne, bishop of Munster, died a few days before, and the prince bishop of Liege, a few days after the commencement of the conferences of Brussels, one on the fifteenth the other on the thirtieth day of April. Maximilian, third brother to the emperor, had been elected coadjutor

coadjutor to the archbishop of Cologne a few years before, and entered upon the succession immediately on the death of his principal. The same prince had been mentioned as a candidate for the bishoprick of Liege. This however would have been too barefaced an engrossment of power on the part of the Austrian, and accordingly, on the twenty-first of July, the count of Hoenfbroech, who was said to be in habits of dependence upon the emperor, was appointed to that see.

In a situation so favourable to his claims, the emperor did not however, advance the pretension, which had long fixed the expectations of Europe, and which perhaps was the only one qualified considerably to meliorate his dominions, or was worthy the attention of a great prince. The list of his demands was delivered in to the plenipotentiaries at Brussels, on the fourth of May, and related chiefly to certain extensions of the limits on the side of Antwerp, of Breda, and of Bois le duc. The forts of Lillo and of Liefkenshoek were to be brought within narrower bounds and those of Kruickshank and Frederic Henry, to be entirely demolished. The inland navigation of the Schelde was demanded beyond Lillo, as far as the land of Sastingen. Requisitions were made of various small sums of money, declared to be debts on the part of the republic, contracted from the beginning to the middle of the present century. The claim of the greatest importance seems to have been that upon the town of Maestricht and the territory of Outre Meuse, a country disjoined from the rest of the Dutch possessions on the side of Flanders. The claims of the emperor were little relished on the

part of the republic, and the states were extremely urgent to obtain the mediation of the court of Versailles.

No situation could bear a more inauspicious aspect, upon the commencement of hostilities against a great and powerful prince than that of the Dutch government. From the commencement of the war with Great Britain, their internal affairs had exhibited nothing but one continued scene of discord, controversy, and confusion. That war had originally been brought on by the measures of the aristocratical party, and had never been acceptable to the mass of the people. On the other hand, the conduct of the war had been spiritless, injudicious, and unsuccessful; and the odium of the miscarriage was laboriously thrown by the states on the prince of Orange and his ministers. A contest had long subsisted between the aristocratical party and Louis, prince of Brunswic, the first military servant of the republic, exclusive of the stadtholder. To prince Louis of Brunswic, Great Britain had originally offered the command of her armies in Germany during the last continental war; and it was only upon his declining the proposal, that the command was conferred upon prince Ferdinand, his younger brother. He had been appointed governor of the reigning prince of Orange during his minority, and was supposed to have a considerable influence over the mind of his pupil. To him many of the miscarriages of the war of 1780 were publicly imputed.

One affair in particular, drew a very general and serious attention. A fleet had been appointed, under the command of admiral count Byland, to join the allied fleet of  
France



France and Spain before Brest, in the month of September, 1782. This fleet had never gone out of port, or taken a single step in pursuance of the orders of government. Their ostensible reason was the want of a sufficient quantity of provisions; but many pretended to suspect that the orders of the states had been secretly countermanded by the administration of the stadtholder. The entire failure which had taken place in the proposed junction, had been regarded with much chagrin by the court of France, and it was partly in consequence of her instances that commissioners were chosen by the states general, in the autumn of 1783, to make an accurate investigation into this inglorious transaction. Their enquiries were drawn into extreme length, and various obstacles were supposed to have been thrown in the way of their proceedings. Many of the officers of the fleet had been sent by order of the stadtholder to distant stations. Count Byland himself made a difficulty in answering questions that seemed of all others most ~~to~~ the purpose of the enquiry. A report was propagated, during the progress of the business, that the admiral had explicitly ascribed the failure to the directions of the stadtholder; a report against which the stadtholder thought fit to enter a public refutation.

The contests between the prince of Orange and the aristocracy were multiplied and divided almost beyond the power of enumeration. With him had usually rested not merely the appointment and dismissal of the officers of the army, as captain-general of the union, but also the nomination to certain magistracies in almost every town of the United Provinces. In scarcely

a single instance was this claim now admitted. It was controverted on all sides, and almost every where with success. The power of the prince of Orange was rapidly declining, and there seemed neither wisdom, nor policy, nor energy, nor firmness on his part, enough to suspend so great a ruin. His unprotected situation had excited the attention of the monarch of Prussia, who had addressed both the states general, and the states of the province of Holland, who were conceived to be most inimical to the prerogatives of the stadtholder, in the month of January 1783. He renewed his representations on this subject in the spring of 1784. These memorials were succeeded by complaints of the intemperance of the Dutch prints, and a demand of certain restrictions on their press, which do not seem to have conferred any particular lustre upon the celebrated Frederic. In the mean time the populace of the towns were not less assiduous nor less zealous in favour of their prince, and they displayed their inclination by parading the streets, by the colour of their cockades, and by repeated tumults. A more serious opposition arose in the magistracies of certain towns, and in the equestrian order. The party which opposed the aristocracy, though nominally one, was supposed to be actuated by different views. The populace exerted themselves with sincerity in favour of the stadtholder, and were unwilling to see their ancient constitution intrenched upon, either by alterations for the better, or alterations for the worse. In the mean time there were others, who regarded the situation of their country with a sagacious and patriotic eye, and who considered with aversion and distaste the enormous

claims which he had advanced in the opening of the conferences. He observed, that nothing was more ardently desired by him than a speedy termination of all differences, and an entire harmony with the government of the republic. Accordingly he offered to depart from his just demand upon Maestricht, and to moderate his other requisitions, in consideration of the free and unlimited navigation of the Schelde, in both its branches to the sea.

But the conclusion of his memorial did not entirely correspond to these amicable and conciliatory professions. He went on to inform the states, that he doubted not they would accept with eagerness so unquestionable a mark of his good will; that he had therefore thought proper to regard the Schelde as open, and to declare its navigation free, from the date of this paper; and that finally, upon the supposition of any insult being committed upon the imperial flag, in the execution of these ideas, he should be obliged to regard such an insult as a direct hostility, and a formal declaration of war on the part of the republic. Conscious that in reality the alteration he had made in his demand was the reverse of any benefit to the United Provinces, he admitted of no discussion, and was desirous that his innovation should be established first, before it was examined.

The answer of the Dutch to the alternative of the emperor was untemperish and peremptory. They regarded the restrained navigation of the Schelde as the most valuable of their possessions. They were persuaded that that prince did not understand the extent of his demand at the time that he made it; and they ascribed it to the sugges-

tion of evil counsellors. They observed, that in establishing such a claim, the emperor must contravene the treaty by which they had been acknowledged as independent states, and the treaty by which he had been put in possession of the Austrian Netherlands. They considered their prosperity, their dignity, and their existence as linked to the perpetual conservation of this sovereignty. They declared it was a pretension from which they could never depart. And they protested against any step they might be obliged to take, in conformity to the custom of nations in vindication of their right, being construed as a violation of those pacific dispositions they wished always to preserve towards his imperial majesty.

The emperor, though not sudden and hasty in the execution of his design, appeared to be resolute. The month of September was dedicated to reflection and preparation. Early in October a small vessel sailed from Antwerp, with the intention of ascertaining whether or not any obstruction would be given to its passage towards the sea. Its departure was accompanied with shouts and acclamations on the part of the inhabitants. From this moment it appeared to them that the trade of their city revived from its ashes. They were again to become the center of commerce, and the emporium of Europe. Riches would flow upon them from every side, and India would pour her tribute at their feet. Their monarch was too wise and politic a sovereign, his troops were too numerous and too well disciplined, for it to be possible he should not establish the right he had asserted. The Dutch could not be so mad, in the decline of  
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their power and the imbecility of discord, as to enter into a war with a monarch who had more than two hundred thousand troops at his command. Both they and other powers of Europe, who might seem most interested in their preservation, were just escaped from war, and would not immediately replunge into its horrors. A prince, so renowned for the comprehension of his views, would not have advanced so far, and appeared so decisive, without knowing before hand in what light his conduct would be regarded by the neighbouring courts. With that of France he was connected in alliance, and there seemed to have been a spirit of collusion between them in many late transactions. While the French government professed the warmest attachment to the United Provinces, they were supposed to have connived at the destruction of the barrier by the emperor. A conduct of the same sort had been suspected in his altercation with the Porte. They trusted that their ancient privileges would be restored without bloodshed, and even in case of a war, they promised themselves every thing from the resoluteness and power of the Austrian monarch.

The imperial brigantine arrived before Lillo and Saftingen on the eighth of October. It was stopped, and an account of its destination demanded by the Dutch naval officer. Pressing and amicable instances were made to its commander to cast anchor and desist from his purpose. His answer was, that the emperor had declared the Schelde to be open, that he had the orders of the emperor for what he did, and that he had no business to consult any other power. Upon his refusal, the Dutch commander first fired a charge

of powder, and next a single ball. But finding these admonitions ineffectual, he at length discharged his whole broadside upon the imperial vessel, but in such a manner as to wound none; or only a single person on board the brigantine. In consequence of this discharge, the Austrian surrendered, and was detained for some days. An order to the Dutch officer is said to have been at this moment upon the road, commanding him to detain the brigantine by every means in his power, but by no means to fire upon it with ball. A few days after this transaction, another Austrian vessel advanced on the side of the sea, and was detained without violence by the Dutch admiral, at the mouth of the Schelde.

Nothing perhaps could exceed the astonishment of the emperor at this proceeding on the part of the republic. Prince Kaunitz, his chancellor, is said uniformly to have protested against any steps of so violent a nature as might occasion the breaking out of a war. Joseph, in the mean time, smiled at the apprehensions and timidity of his minister, and told him that nothing was to be feared on the part of the Dutch; they would never fire. Upon receiving news of the transaction of the eighth of October, Kaunitz immediately wrote to his master, at that time in Hungary, and is said to have conveyed the intelligence in this laconic expression, "But they have fired."

Whatever credit is due to this anecdote, certain it is that the emperor felt his honour wounded, and his character grievously compromised by the issue of the affair. When in a former instance he had demanded the inland navigation of the Schelde, the complaisance of the Dutch immediately withdrew.

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the guard-ship of Lillo till the controversy should be satisfactorily terminated. A forbearance of this sort had perhaps led him to expect a similar degree of forbearance in the present business. At any rate he conceived that a formal protestation on the part of the Dutch, would answer every valuable purpose of a more offensive proceeding. Upon the whole however, it is not easy to reason upon a conduct of the monarch; that seems to have had no valuable purpose in view. If the Dutch would have given up the question when brought before them in this humiliating manner, they would equally have given it up in the more sober and conciliating mode of negotiation. The governor of a great people ought not to lay a stress upon a little sooner or a little later in the establishment of a right, provided it be ultimately established. Firmness and moderation may do much for the character of a monarch; hauteur and caprice must ultimately injure him. It was thus that Louis the Fourteenth excited a jealousy in all his neighbours, when in reality nothing was farther from his view than universal monarchy.

Having advanced so far; it was impossible that the emperor should immediately retract. He recalled his ambassador from the Hague; he ordered count Belgioioso, his plenipotentiary at Brussels, to break up the conferences. This order was carried into execution on the thirtieth of October. He wrote a circular letter to the various courts of Europe, stating the unjustifiable and hostile proceedings of the United Provinces. The Dutch were not behind-hand with the emperor in a measure of this kind, and their circular letter is dated on the third, as the Austrian is dated on the second of November. They laboriously

explain their rights and their proceedings; insist upon the one as unquestionable, and the other as moderate beyond example. They call on the various powers in alliance with them to furnish the auxiliaries stipulated by their respective treaties.

A conduct of this sort seemed to prognosticate an immediate war. The regular harbingers had preceded, and what we may venture almost to style the commencement of hostilities, took place on the seventh of November. The garrisons of Lillo, Frederic-Henry and Cruickshank, fearing a sudden attack on the part of the Austrians, came to a resolution to employ their natural means of defence, and which had been so successfully called into play when Louis invaded their territories in 1672. They cut their dykes, opened their sluices, and laid all the neighbouring country under an inundation. Some imperial patrols having given the alarm during the night, the garrison of Lillo kept up a firing of their cannon for some hours. The advanced posts of the Austrians were put under arms, and fired on their side. An express was dispatched to the prince of Ligne, who commanded the imperial forces. He marched with part of the garrison of Antwerp to the scene of action, but returned without striking a blow. Hostile preparations, in the mean time, were carried on with much diligence on all sides. The Dutch took measures in order to a general muster of all their citizens in arms; they prepared for the election of a new commander in chief, in the room of prince Louis, and finally cast their eyes on monsieur de Maillebois, a French veteran; inundations were effected in various parts of their territories; forty thousand

troops were said to be assembled on the part of their antagonist; and the emperor was expected to arrive at Brussels in person early in the spring. The different powers of Europe were supposed to have enlisted themselves on the opposite sides, and returning to their old habits of alliance, which had suffered a temporary suspension in the war of 1756, the king of Prussia was considered as acting, in concert with France, as the protector of the republic, and the czarina as prepared to exert herself on the part of the Austrian.

Various considerations, however, were calculated to suspend, perhaps finally to divert, the impending storm. The season of the year was particularly unfavourable for the opening a campaign; and it is not impossible that this consideration had its due weight in determining the conduct which had just been held by the emperor. A very dangerous and alarming rebellion now broke out among the wild and uncultivated inhabitants of Transylvania; and this might be expected to occupy the attention of the court of Vienna at least for some months. But what was infinitely the most important consideration, was the part that was now taken by the French government. They had hitherto assumed the character of impartial mediators. They now in some measure threw off the mask, and wore that resolute and decisive face, which the critical situation of affairs appeared to demand. Never was any country placed in a more flattering and honourable situation. Upon her depended the event of peace and war, whether Europe should again experience all the calamities of discord, or recover the fair face of serenity and quiet. Alike the friend of both parties,

her disposition was universally credited to hold a just and equitable balance between them. Her court was not swayed by the dictates of passion and caprice, but its measures were usually governed by the sagacious decisions of a great minister, whose diplomatical knowledge, whose comprehensive views, whose deep research, and whose skill in negotiation, will be remembered to the latest posterity.

The existing situation between France and the republic was by no means favourable to the projects of the emperor. A treaty of alliance had for some time been under discussion, which seems to bear a considerable resemblance to the celebrated family compact. It was to effect rather an union, than a friendship, between the contracting powers. This treaty was believed to be unfinished rather in form than in substance; and its delay was supposed chiefly attributable to the slow and tedious constitution of the Dutch government. In this posture of affairs it was scarcely to be supposed, that the court of Versailles would desert her ally. A letter was accordingly written on the part of the most Christian king, of the date of the twentieth of November, and, according to some accounts, was written in the king's own hand. The contents of this paper bore some resemblance to the circular letter of the states general. In imitation of them the king made an elaborate distinction between the demands of the fourth of May and the new proposal for opening the Schelde. With respect to the former, he held himself neutral; but the latter could not be regarded in the same point of view. Like the states, he considered this navigation, as a right exercised by them for near one hundred and fifty years,

as the establishment of a sacred treaty, as a matter regarded as the corner-stone of their prosperity and even of their existence. With these impressions he strongly urged upon the emperor the listening to the voice of moderation and humanity, and the renewing the conferences under his mediation.

The inducements held out by the French to the emperor were not confined to empty arguments. Considerable preparations were made for the assembling an army. Such officers as had leave of absence were recalled to their station. A considerable force was collecting in the neighbourhood of Luxemburg. The marquis de Verac, who was in habits of intimacy with the count de Vergennes, and who had some months before been designed for the embassy at the Hague, set out for his appointment. In fine, the interposition of the French monarch was not without its effect. The generous and humane aversion for war that was entertained by the emperor was well known. While he imagined that the liberty of the Schelde was to be gained by a firm and resolute external, it was an object considerably dear to him; but when he found that it could be secured only through the horrors of war, his attachment began to cool. He declared his readiness to accept of the proffered mediation, provided the freedom of the Schelde, or the cession of Maastricht, upon which he again seemed to lay the principal stress, together with an exemplary satisfaction for the insult on his flag, were made the preliminaries of a negotiation. Each of the former were peremptorily refused by the Dutch; the latter was a subject that admitted more of discussion. In fine, the first appearance which seemed to

promise the return of tranquility was the concession made by the states, on the twenty-fourth of March 1785. The inundations, which had been made in the neighbourhood of Lillo, as they consisted of salt water, were peculiarly offensive and injurious to the neighbouring peasantry. Upon a representation from the government general of the Austrian Netherlands a compromise was made. The inundation was withdrawn, and the waters resumed their old channels. It may deserve mention, that it was during this interval, and in a statement of general plans for the conduct of the war, given in on the nineteenth of January, that the stadtholder thought fit to recriminate on the states respecting the war with Great Britain and the treaty of the armed neutrality. A conduct like this is an ample specimen of that kind of impolicy and inconsequence, which we have ascribed to the prince of Orange, and which has proved so infinitely detrimental to his interests with the Dutch.

It is singular to observe in how many different affairs, and all of them considerably complicated, the monarch of Germany was involved in at this period. The reformations he is continually making in the different parts of his dominions have long since exceeded the powers of numeration. Their general spirit and tenour are well understood, and we should gain little either of attention or applause were we to attempt to enter minutely into their detail. Two circumstances have struck us in the survey as making little to the credit or honour of their Imperial author. Like the king of Prussia, he has distinguished himself, during the period whose events we are relat-

ing, by his enmity to the liberty of the press, and some edicts were published on that subject. The edict against emigration has no more solid foundation in true philosophy or liberality of sentiment. There is something in a measure of this kind revolting to human nature, flagrantly unjust, and we believe almost constantly inefficacious. If a prince would keep his subjects at home, let him captivate their wills and not imprison their bodies. Let him make his dominions a habitation desirable to the heart of man, and he will have little to fear from his inconstancy and versatility.

We have already mentioned the insurrection in Transilvania. It broke out on the eighteenth of November 1784. Different accounts are not agreed to what cause we are to ascribe the discontent of the insurgents. By the court of Vienna they have usually been represented as a set of banditti, whose only object was plunder and confusion. Some on the other hand have stated them as irritated by the same motives that have created a pretty general spirit of discontent in the kingdom of Hungary; an aversion to the military conscription; a dislike to certain reforms in the administration of justice, which at the same time that they tended to introduce a more regular police, were perhaps calculated to render their government more absolute; a displeasure at the delay of the assembling of a diet and the coronation of their sovereign, the last of which they have ascribed to certain unpalatable ingredients in the composition of the coronation oath. A third party however, in accounting for the troubles of Transilvania, have been surprised that this discontent should

have broken out in the lower class of the people, and where the benefits of liberty are probably little felt and little understood. They have ascribed the insurrection to the intolerable impositions of the lords proprietors of the several fiefs. They have informed us that the military conscription was no sooner published in their country, than they came into the measure with great alacrity and enlisted with ardour; but that when they had possessed themselves of arms, they employed them, not in obedience to the orders of government, but in defence of their natural privileges and in vengeance on their oppressors.

The leader of the insurgents, of the name of Horia, is said to have been advanced in years and to have been at different times convicted of several crimes. The number of those who enlisted under his standard increased with rapidity, and we are told, speedily amounted to fifteen thousand men. Their devastations, which prevailed chiefly on the borders of Turkey, were carried on with cruelty and fury. Two officers of the Austrian army, who were taken prisoners are said to have been impaled by the order of Horia; and, by way of reprisals we are told, the Austrians inflicted the same punishment on the son of the rebel chief, aged no more than thirteen years. Horia himself, together with his coadjutor, Kloscha, a priest of the Greek persuasion, were surprised in the month of January 1785, and, after a tedious examination, were broken on the wheel on the twenty-eighth of February. This and a few more executions terminated the dreadful business.

During these transactions, the attention of the emperor is said to have



have been much engaged in preparations for the election of a successor under the denomination of king of Romans. The prince mentioned for this appointment, was Francis, eldest son of Leopold, grand-duke of Tuscany, and who at this time had not completed his seventeenth year. To facilitate this purpose it was proposed to create a ninth elector, in order to fill up the number of the electoral college. But while the duke of Wirtemberg was the person selected by the emperor and the czarina, the landgrave of Hesse was supposed to have engaged the suffrages of Prussia and France.

The proposed election was a point that necessarily demanded much of conciliation and management on the part of the emperor. The business of the Schelde might be supposed to have engrossed his attention. But, at a time when these and other great affairs were depending, a transaction more extraordinary and memorable was brought to light by the industry and intelligence of the king of Prussia. A negotiation had been for some time depending between the emperor and elector of Bavaria, for an exchange of that electorate for the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands. The bait, that seems to have prevailed with the old and infirm Germanic prince, was the title of monarch. The Netherlands were to be converted into a kingdom, and his future title was to be that of king of Australia.

If it could have been supposed, that the emperor could, in the first place, have stepped quietly into possession of this important territory, and in the next, that he would be suffered to retain it undisturbed, this exchange would have been truly a master-stroke of policy. The

liberties of Germany would from that moment have been an empty name. So great a preponderancy as this revolution would have given him in the constitution of the empire, would have overturned all shadow of power that could have weighed against that of its head. This mighty country would have speedily been consolidated into one mass; its various energies would assume one direction; and Austria would in every sense have ranked with the first powers of Europe. Certain politicians have endeavoured to convince us, that such an event would have been an infallible prelude to universal monarchy. But this sentiment appears to us little better than extravagance; and it may fairly be questioned whether the consolidation of the German empire would not finally prove a benefit to Europe.

But the probability that such an arrangement would have been permitted, or rather, if obstinately persisted in, would not have brought on one of the most bloody and obstinate wars that Europe ever witnessed, was extremely small. The liberties of Germany have long been a favourite object with half the powers on the continent. It has been the glory and the boast of France, for successive centuries, to have been their preserver. Spain, in so important a business, must be supposed to have co-operated with France. The king of Prussia, naturally and unavoidably would have made the extremest exertions, and shed the last drop of his blood, in defence of an object upon which the existence of his dominions depended. A great majority of the princes and the states of Germany must be conceived to have been animated by the same cause. These, when separated are weak, but when

combined are truly formidable. The consequences of the emperor being known to have conceived such a measure, without having been able to carry it into execution, were likely to prove in a high degree unpleasant. It would breed an alienation in the minds of the Germans, which might shake his seat on the imperial throne; and ultimately deprive his family of that valuable succession.

But there is one consideration that places the inconsequence and the ill-designed and unmeaning activity of the emperor in a striking point of view. Either he desired this acquisition of Bavaria, or he did not. If it were not a point of singular importance to him, his conduct was impolitic in the extreme, in risking to create the strongest jealousy and the most deep-rooted enmity in the minds of the Germanic body, for an object of subordinate value. If he were really pursuing with eagerness the affair of Bavaria, what solution are we to give, in what manner are we to explain the transaction of the Scheide? Of what value was the East India company of Ostend, of what consequence the navigation of Antwerp, if they were instantly to be relinquished to another? Is it possible that the policy of the Austrian should be thus liberal, thus philanthropical, thus disinterestedly benevolent? Or did he engage in these contrary transactions merely for the pleasure of creating to himself enemies on every side, of weaving a Gordian knot which nothing but the sword could disentangle?

A transaction not less uncommon and mysterious than that of Bavaria, though less important in its consequences, and memorable in its nature, related to the prince of

Brunswic, ex-field-marshal of the United Provinces. This prince, since his having quitted the territories of the Dutch, had resided at Aix la Chapelle; nor could all the instances of his nephew, the reigning duke of Brunswic, prevail upon him to advance to Wolfenbuttle. Here his conduct was remarked, for the particular attention he affected to pay to the imperial officers, and the pleasure he took in being a witness of their reviews. He is said to have remained on these occasions for two hours together exposed to the wind and the snow, though considerably beyond his grand climacteric. Rancour and revenge seemed to be working in his breast. It was observed with some bitterness by his enemies, that he would never have sworn, when he quitted the territories of the states, always to have regard to their safety, if he had not wished to lull the public into a false security. It was in this situation, and about the month of February, that he is said to have formed a plot for betraying the town of Maestricht into the hands of the emperor. The first accounts of this affair originated with the rhynggrave of Salm, an officer in the Dutch service, who acknowledged his intelligence to have been received from the king of Prussia. The king we are told, though extremely chagrined, when he intended nothing but friendship for the republic, thus to be made appear in the character of an informer, acknowledged that in reality he had communicated some suspicious circumstances, of which he was informed, on the subject to the rhynggrave. So considerable an authority gives weight to the story. Accurate perquisitions were made on the part of the states, but owing to the late period at which they were

were taken up, nothing material transpired. The affair certainly reflected little honour, either on the noble conspirator himself, or, if we are to suppose him to have been involved in the affair, on his imperial employer.

The misunderstanding which occurred between the king of Prussia and the inhabitants of Dantzic, is not without its resemblance to the affair of Antwerp. In one case as in the other, the question in contest was the free navigation of a considerable river. In the former as in the latter, it was the controversy of a weak, an obstinate, and a tumultuous republic, with a prince whose power appeared sufficient to crush them into atoms. But here the comparison fails. The emperor, restless, active and busy, presents to us the spectacle of incessant variation. The king, on the other hand, sagacious in his nature, sublime in his views, and matured by experience, pursues one object with unremitting attention, and neglects no just and suitable exertion for its accomplishment. The event however of the discussion was not entirely to the satisfaction of the monarch of Prussia. He began with the boldest and most peremptory measures, inclosing the city with lines of soldiers and putting it completely under blockade. He imagined, as he had both natural right, and, as he informs us, long prescription on his side, that he should be able by a resolute appearance speedily to bring the republic to reason. But he measured their pertinacity by too low a scale. Other powers, and particularly Poland, remonstrated in their favour; and in compliance with the representations of Stanislaus, the blockade was raised upon conditions, after hav-

ing continued somewhat more than three months, from the beginning of October 1783, to the twentieth of January 1784. The subsequent conferences were of considerable duration. A convention was signed the seventh of September, in which each party departed somewhat from their pretensions. Even this convention however did not completely annihilate the sources of misunderstanding.

Early in the year 1784, a revolution of some importance took place in the administration of the king of Denmark. The prince, his son, completed the sixteenth year of his age in the month of January, and was soon after declared major. In the transactions of a court with which we are so imperfectly acquainted, it is not possible for us to trace the steps by which any considerable event is produced. There is no blending; there are no transitions; a royal declaration appears, and this is the first intelligence we receive upon the subject. The declaration to which we allude was published in the present case on the fourteenth of April. It supersedes the existing cabinet of Denmark, and substitutes in its room a council of five. The persons of whom this council is constituted, were such as had already been familiar with affairs of state, and had shared the administration of their country in happier times. A name the most distinguished in their list is that of the count de Bernstorff. In this council the prince royal presided. The character by which he has been handed to us, is that of a prince, ambitious, industrious, enlightened, and prudent beyond his years. At the same time that honours and emoluments were distributed among the new courtiers,



the queen mother obtained, we are told, a magnificent château in the duchy of Holstein, to which, as she retired there immediately upon her

acquisition of it, her elevation is probably to be considered as an honorary species of banishment.

## CHAPTER II.

*Expeditions against Algiers and Susa. Finances of France. Caisse d'amortissement. America. Perpetual Revenues. Unappropriated Lands. Commerce. Order of the Cincinnati. Nova Scotia.*

**I**N the year 1784 the bombardment of Algiers was repeated by the Spaniards. The combined fleet consisted of four sail of the line, furnished by the court of Madrid, two by the court of Naples, one by the knights of Malta, and two by the court of Lisbon. These last did not join don Antonio Barcelo, the commander in chief, till he was already arrived before the piratical capital. Beside the larger ships, the fleet contained an infinite number of smaller vessels, to the amount of near one hundred and fifty. The Spanish admiral sailed from the port of Carthagená on the twenty-second of June, and his attacks were repeated from the twelfth to the twentieth of July. The preparatives and the exertions, however, of the Algerines were large and well directed, and don Barcelo did not think proper to give a general assault. In the mean time the piratical state, irritated by its repeated sufferings, made, in the close of the month of September, a vigorous attack on the town of Oran, a Spanish settlement on the coast of Africa, west of Algiers. The army consisted of near eight thousand men, and was commanded by the dey in person. They were repulsed however by the Spaniards.

But the principal event of the

period we are describing consisted in the renewed harmony and alliance between the court of Madrid and the court of Lisbon. The latter now openly declared itself a member of the celebrated family compact. The union, in the mean time, was cemented by the double marriage of Gabriel, infant of Spain, to the daughter of the queen of Portugal, and of John, her second son, to the eldest daughter of the prince of Asturias. The alliance was consummated in the months of May and June 1785. It is long since the anxious and exaggerated attention, which was once paid to the balance of power, has been on the decline; and it is not easy to produce two more striking examples of this truth, than that of the Dutch republic throwing itself upon the protection of the court of France, and that of the kingdom of Portugal entering into the closest bonds of alliance with her old enemy and master, the king of Spain.

The court of Madrid was not the only power at this time embroiled with the states of Barbary. The petty republic of Venice, at the same time that it was involved in the singular contest we have had occasion to describe, with the states of Holland, found a new enemy in the bey of Tunis. But in this business

since the European power was charged with being the aggressor. Certain ships, it seems, the property of the Venetians, but whose freights belonged to the Africans, were destroyed in consequence of a suspicion of their being infected with the plague; and the bey demanded an indemnification for his subjects on the part of the republic. It is not easy for us at so great a distance to decide upon the question. The Italian power, of course, makes its cause good in the courts of Europe; and we may perhaps apply, in this case, *Æsop's* fable of the statue of Hercules: "Things would not be thus represented if the lions were the sculptors." The republic however dispatched a squadron of four sail of the line, under the command of the chevalier Lamoignon, to settle the difference. The admiral arrived before Tunis early in the month of September; but not being able to induce the bey to relax from his demands, he sailed, in imitation of the Spaniards, for the inferior town of Susa, which he almost entirely destroyed. A tempest overtook him on his return, which was delayed till the beginning of the winter, and he lost in consequence a ship of eighty guns, which went to the bottom, and every soul on board perished.

It is the peculiarity of modern times to have the subjects of finance for a principal feature in the history of almost all their transactions. This has been particularly the case with France since the appearance of the great names of Turgot and Necker; and the period under our examination being an æra of peace, this great kingdom presents us with few objects more important than that we have mentioned. The minister who presided over the finances

of France, in the close of the year 1783, was M. d'Ormesson, a man respectable from his ancestry, and who appears to have been actuated by sentiments of rectitude and purity. It was his fortune, however, by conforming himself too closely to the elevated ideas of reformation he had formed, to shake the basis of his authority. No set of men had for a long time laboured under so much popular odium and obloquy as the farmers general. As, by the conditions of their tenure, it was their interest to raise the amount of their collections to as great a sum as possible, and as no proper checks seem to exist on their arbitrariness and caprice, their proceedings were not seldom unequal, oppressive and severe. The lease by which these men held their contract had expired in the close of the year 1779, during the administration of Necker. It was soon after renewed for six years upon conditions, all of which seem favourable to the public revenues. The taxes which they had been accustomed to collect, and which had hitherto been farmed in one contract, were now distributed into three classes, only one of which bore the name, though all of them in a great measure retained the nature of *ferme générale*. At the same time the interest of the money advanced by these contractors was reduced, their numbers abridged, and their perquisites diminished. M. Necker, in his *Treatise of the Administration of the Finances of France*, to which we are indebted for considerable light upon the subject, admits that other and greater improvements might be made in future leases, and in a period of peace, but does not seem to have entertained the imagination of altogether changing the nature of the contracts.

tracts. M. d'Ormesson, the present minister, was a bolder reformer. He conceived the plan of putting an end to the sort of guarantee included in the contract on the part of the farmers, and of causing the imposts to be collected for the future immediately on the account of government. Animated with this idea, and disgusted with the abuses he conceived to prevail, the controller general did not think proper to wait for the expiration of the lease, but by an arret of the twenty-fourth of October 1783, declared the contract void in the following January. In the meantime, that he might escape the imputation of violence, he committed the collection of these revenues to the same persons, under the denomination of directors general; and reserved for them, during the term of their lease which had not yet elapsed, the emoluments and perquisites which had originally been considered as annexed to their contract.

The measure however was found too precipitate and daring. We know not whether we are to ascribe it to the firmness of the minister, or to the arrogance of the farmers general, that the consequence of his attempt was his immediate resignation. His successor, who was appointed on the fourth of November, was M. de Calonne, who had distinguished himself honourably in a post of some importance in the French Netherlands, and from whom the expectations of the public seem to have been not inconsiderable. At the same time, a change took place in the administration of the household, and the secretary of state for that department was succeeded by the baron de Breteuil. The arret of the twenty-fourth of November was immediately revoked, but upon new conditions

made with the contractors favourable to the views of government.

One of the earliest measures of M. de Calonne, was relative to the celebrated establishment of the *caisse d'escompte*. The order of the French revenues was somewhat embarrassed in the year 1783, and the minister of the day, among other resources, thought proper to have recourse to the *caisse d'escompte* for a considerable loan. Such was the conjecture we delivered upon the subject of the failure of that bank in our fourth volume, and our idea has been confirmed by what Necker delivers on that subject. The establishment itself he considers as of extreme importance, and scarcely inferior in its ultimate utility to the bank of England. Though their original capital amounted to no more than 500,000*l.* the notes that were found to be in circulation, at the time they suspended payment, did not fall short of 1,800,000*l.* By the happy interference of government, and the sage conduct of the directors, the value of these notes was reduced, in no more than six weeks, to a sum not exceeding half that amount. It presently appeared, that the affairs of the *caisse* were by no means irrecoverably deranged, and that they had in reality never been in a bankrupt state. Accordingly certain new regulations were entered upon by the proprietors on the fourteenth of November, which received the sanction of government on the twenty-third of November following. The principal object of these regulations was to prohibit the notes from exceeding, for the present, the sum of 1,170,000*l.* and to create an additional capital of 125,000*l.* by means of a new subscription. From this moment the affairs of the bank have been in the most flourishing state, and the shares have

have always been sold at a large premium. The only instance in which it has since become an object of ministerial interference, was in the adjustment of their dividend for the last half year of 1784. The point at which the comptroller-general wished to fix it was at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. He was afterwards prevailed upon to suffer them to divide at the rate of five per cent.

An operation of considerable importance to M. de Calonne respected the loan of 8,330,000*l.* which had been opened in December 1782, but which had only been filled to the amount of one half the proposed sum. It was essential to the national credit that this loan should now be closed. The money however was as much wanted as ever, and the new minister must of course open a loan for the remaining sum upon more attractive terms. The terms of the original loan had been an interest of five per cent. with a capital, redeemable by installments, in the course of fifteen years. The new loan of M. de Calonne was opened on the sixteenth of December 1783. The money was to be borrowed on annuities, and the terms, like those of the most eligible loans of this kind that were made by Mr. Necker, were nine per cent. upon a single life, and eight per cent. upon two lives. To this was added a lottery of annuities to the amount of 635,000*l.* the tickets of which were distributed as a bonum to the subscribers to the loan. The mode of borrowing upon annuities has been condemned by Necker, and is condemned in the preamble to this very loan; but the most enlightened financier must submit to necessity. The principal defect of this mode of proceeding seems to lie in this circumstance, that government cannot, like private societies

for the insurance of lives, discriminate between the different probabilities that attend different ages, sexes, and degrees of health, and of consequence is liable to be imposed upon by the gamester and the speculatist. A second loan was made by M. de Calonne for the sum of 5,000,000*l.* sterling, in the month of December 1784. The loan bore an interest of five per cent. was accompanied with a lottery, and was declared redeemable in twenty years.

But the greatest financial operation of the year 1784, was the creation of a new *caisse d'amortissement*, or sinking fund, by an arret of the thirty-first of August. It is a little remarkable that the national debt of England, and that of France, amount nearly to the same sum; and it may therefore be additionally worth our attention to watch the proceedings of the neighbouring power upon this important subject. The plan of the *caisse d'amortissement* is simple and moderate. Its leading idea is the paying annually by government into the hands of a board, set apart for that purpose, the entire interest of the existing national debt, whether in stock or annuities; together with an additional annual sum of 120,000*l.* The annuities that will be annually extinguished are estimated in the arret at 50,000*l.* The sum, therefore, which is set apart for the redemption of the national debt, will annually increase in this amount. The operation of the arret is limited to the term of twenty-five years; and during that term the annual receipt of the *caisse d'amortissement* is declared unalterable, and incapable of being diverted to any other object. Of consequence it appears, from a train of accurate calculations, that the sum thus destined to the redemption of the debt, will be equal in

in the close of the year 1809 to 32,625,000*l.* At the same time the amount of national debt, which will be redeemed in consequence of the conditions upon which the several loans were made, will be equal to 20,062,500*l.* The annuities which will of course expire, conformably to this calculation, will constitute the sum of 1,250,000*l.* Of consequence the debt extinguished will be about 54,000,000*l.* and the interest, as well in annuity as upon stock that will be extinguished, will amount nearly to the sum of 3,800,000*l.* per annum.

The subject of national debts was never better understood than at the period in which we write. The amount to which they have already risen is so vast, that it requires a degree of experience and familiarity to be able to comprehend their nature and effects. At first sight, and during a considerable lapse of years, they were regarded as an object of unmixed astonishment and horror. Every one looked forward to the fatal period, when this vast bubble of the imagination must burst in its career, and involve millions in poverty and ruin. The sudden destruction of an annuity of nine or ten millions per annum, was an event which the mind was scarcely adequate to conceive. The consequence seemed to be the overthrow of all government, the destruction of all civilisation, the introduction of anarchy, and confusion, and a state in the last degree savage and barbarous. The event was considered not only as probable but inevitable, and speculators in politics, like speculators in religion, foretold the destruction of the beast, and the annihilation of the world.

It can scarcely be affirmed that a sudden end can now be put to the mode of carrying on war upon loans.

It has been adopted throughout Europe, and is like the vast standing armies that are maintained upon the continent, which it would seem to be madness for any power to disband, unless it could first bring the neighbouring powers to agree upon a similar reduction. But if we must give up the idea of putting an end to the mode of borrowing money on the part of government, it will scarcely be disputed that we ought to give up the idea of extinguishing the existing debt. These sentiments, so obvious and incontrovertible, have of late made innumerable converts, who have treated the very idea of a sinking fund as worthy only of the chimerical brain of a dreaming projector. They have displayed to us, with much emphasis, how much wiser policy it would be to leave the money, which has formerly been turned into this channel, in the pockets of the subject. War must again arise, taxes must be again imposed. If you would have the people able to bear those new burthens, which inevitably accompany a state of emergency, you must lighten their shoulders in a period of tranquility. Let the capital of which you are disposed to drain them, be laid out upon commerce and agriculture, and it will yield a twentyfold increase. Beside, every new tax has a tendency to decrease the produce of an old one. A true politician would rather seek at his leisure to increase the revenue, by remitting the existing taxes, than by imposing additional ones.

In the mean time it may not be unnatural to fear, that while we are recoiling from one extreme, we may be in danger of falling into another. If the debt is not to be extinguished, it does not therefore follow that it is not to be kept within certain bounds,

bounds. There are limits, beyond which the resources of a people will not go. And if in this country, for example, we are able to pay an annuity of ten millions, we must not hastily conclude, that we shall be able at any future period to pay an annuity of twenty, or thirty, or fifty millions per annum. If the national debt is always to be increased, and never to be diminished, it is impossible to fix upon any point at which it shall stop. Such a mode of proceeding seems to involve inevitable ruin. A medium is therefore to be discovered, without exhausting the vigour and resources of the country, so as to prevent all future exertion. And nearly such a medium perhaps, is that which has been fixed on by M. de Calonne. To say that the nation is able to pay the existing interest, including the annuities, is a concession that ought readily to be granted by the enemies of a sinking fund. But if they are able to pay an interest of eight or nine millions per annum, it should seem that they are also able to pay, without much inconvenience, the sum of 120,000*l.* per annum, which is the original stock of the *caisse d'amortissement*. If the system of the French government, for employing the sum thus accumulated in the business of redemption, be equally politic with that by which it is created, a considerable degree of merit seems justly ascribable to the comptroller general.

Various were the regulations attempted by M. de Calonne for the improvement of the revenues. He revised the restrictions that had hitherto been employed for the suppression of contraband commodities; and he was supposed particularly qualified for this office, by the circumstance of his having resided

for some time in the French Netherlands, the chief scene of the contraband trade. He endeavoured to encourage the commerce of the Baltic, and the American colonies, by the introduction of bounties and immunities, at the same time that certain ports in these islands were opened for the purpose of general trade. These regulations might possibly be productive of temporary advantage. They certainly are not founded upon those unprejudiced and comprehensive views which are alone worthy of a great minister in the close of the eighteenth century. They originate in petty views of monopoly, and the idea of forcing commerce into particular channels, though no truth be more notorious, than that commerce is then most flourishing, when it is most left to itself.

The exertions of France with respect to foreign countries during this period, were calculated to give her eclat and dignity among the nations, at the same time that they did not expose her to the risque and the calamities of war. An agreement had been entered into, in the close of the year 1783, by the courts of Versailles and Constantinople, in consequence of which, upon the event of a war, a temporary cession of Candia was to be made to the French, and a fleet was to sail for the assistance of the Turks, which was at this time fitting out in Toulon. In the autumn of the year 1784, when the danger of war seemed most imminent between the emperor and the Dutch, some steps were taken for the forming two armies of observation, on the side of the Netherlands and the three bishopricks, which were destined to be commanded, one of them by marshal Broglio, and the other by the count de Stainville. During  
the



the course of this year, Geneva was evacuated by the troops of France; and a new treaty of commerce and alliance was concluded with the court of Sweden.

The council of war, which had been commissioned to try the count de Grasse, and the other captains of the fleet which had been defeated by admiral Rodney, put an end to their session on the twenty-first of May 1784. The commander in chief, together with the majority of the officers, were honourably acquitted; a few were subjected to a slight censure, among whom were M. Bougainville, the celebrated circumnavigator. But the reception which was bestowed on M. du Suffren, who arrived about the same time from the East Indies, was of a very different nature. All ranks and orders of men vied with each other who should shew the most gratitude and attachment to this great and successful commander. The compliment which was paid him by the queen, whether we consider it as a mark of the sensibility of her character, or the elegance of her taste, perhaps deserves to be recorded. Introducing him to the dauphin, a boy of three years old, she is said to have employed these remarkable words: "This, sir, is M. du Suffren, to whom we owe the greatest obligations. Observe him well, and remember his name; it is one of the first of those that you must learn to repeat, in order that you may never forget it."

The revenues of America were still in a posture of disorder, discredit, and distress. We stated in the fourth volume of our history the various steps that had been taken by the general congress down to the spring of the year 1783, to create a revenue adequate to the expences of government, and the in-

terest of the public debt, which had been the consequence of the war: They had pointed out the respective sums which ought to be furnished for this purpose by each state, in proportion to its populousness, cultivation, and wealth. Finding this measure ineffectual, they had proposed a duty of five per cent. upon all commodities imported from other countries into America. Finally, they had published a recommendation on the eighteenth of May in the year we have mentioned, which they had represented as the dernier resort of the American tranquility, prosperity and credit. This recommendation perhaps exhibited the wisest, the most politic, and moderate of all expedients for accomplishing the purpose it had in view, the creating a permanent income proportioned to the burthen of the national debt. It included however, and it was highly proper it should include, a clause in favour of that duty of five per cent. which was of all imposts the lightest and most unexceptionable. But the circumstance was in some measure unfavourable to the success of the measure. Exclusive of every other objection that might have been started from a groundless prejudice against the imaginary power and encroachments of congress, it was not to be supposed, that the very duty, which had been rejected by some states and demurred by others, would be acceded to without difficulty when brought forward under a different form. The province of Virginia was the first to exhibit the patriotic example of complying with the just and honourable requisition. It was slowly and gradually that it was brought under discussion in the other states. Rhode Island, and the province of Massachusetts, did not decide

decide upon the measure before the summer of the year 1784. By the latter it was honourably adopted upon the coolest and most deliberate examination. By the former the tax of five per cent. had been warmly and passionately rejected in 1782; they were equally peremptory in the present instance. A third state, that of New York, did not come expressly to the question till so late as the spring of 1785. At that time they rejected the recommendation of congress, in the month of March by a majority of two, and in that of April by a majority of four voices. But the business was not yet closed. The recommendation of congress received the sanction of a considerable majority of the states; and as it has not been practised, in the progress of this measure, to decide upon it at once, and then dismiss it for ever, a reasonable expectation might be formed that it would be crowned with ultimate success. It was originally directed by congress, that the permanent revenue should not take place, till the act by which it was constituted had been adopted in every part by all the states. This condition was mollified as it passed through the subordinate legislatures: and some of the assemblies, in the act which made the measure their own, required the assent only of twelve, and others only of eleven of the provinces. It was probable therefore, that the measure might be so moderated and qualified, as at length to produce the effect that was so ardently desired by the most enlightened statesmen of the new republic.

It had been usual however, for the congress to enter upon the most deliberate examination of the state of their finances about the month of April in every year; and from

this practice they could not safely depart. Accordingly, in the spring of the year 1784, the subject was once again brought under their discussion, though the great object of their recommendation was extremely far from being accomplished. Whether they considered this delay as amounting to a defeat, or, on the contrary, expected that their proposal would be crowned with ultimate, though late success, in either case the amount was the same. The expences of the general government, and the interest of the debts both abroad and at home, were still going on, and could not possibly wait for the slow and gradual conquest that might be gained over suspicion, inexperience and prejudice. One of the measures which in this circumstance was adopted by the legislature, impressed with the consciousness of their inability of meeting every claim, was to declare, that the two first of the objects we have enumerated should first engage their attention; and that, for the interest of the sums that might be due to the domestic creditors, it would be necessary, for the present, to pay them not in money, but in certificates signed by the superintendant of the finances. These certificates were made payable instead of money into the treasuries of the respective states, only with this provision, that three fourths of the sums paid by individuals into the exchequer of the states, and three fourths of the sums paid by the states into the general treasury, should be paid in money, and only one fourth by means of the certificates.

On the day previous to the adoption of this measure, which received the sanction of the legislature on the twenty-eighth day of April, the congress published, in the same manner in which they had been



been accustomed to do on former occasions, an account of the sums which would be necessary for the support of government during the year 1784. This was stated by them at 857,821l. The general congress, at the same time that they pointed out the necessity of the immediate production of this sum, complained warmly of the delay which had already been induced upon the establishment of the permanent revenue, and urged, with importunity, the adoption of greater harmony and immediate dispatch. They had done their duty; and there were no other means that could be devised for the preservation of public faith and the support of national credit. America was now to make her choice between good government and anarchy; between political consideration and commercial honour on the one hand, and contempt and bankruptcy and ruin on the other.

Of all the sources of American revenue there was none that promised to be so useful and productive as that which was proposed to be created by the sale of the inland and uncultivated territories of the states. These are of a vast and immeasurable extent, being only bounded by the river Mississippi on the west, and on the east by the Appalachian mountains and the five lakes of Canada. But unfortunately this, like all the other American resources, could only be realised slowly and by degrees, while the necessities of government were pressing and indispensable. In order to vest the power of sale in the general congress, two trains of negotiation have been requisite; the first with the provincial assemblies of the individual states, and the second with the northern and the eastern Indian nations. The first of these appears

to be in some measure in train. Carolina, Virginia and New York have passed acts of cession nearly in the terms required by congress. With the native Indians the affair is more inauspicious and uncertain. Great Britain, after the peace of 1763, as she possessed all the civilised and cultivated parts of America, was able to maintain a considerable degree of veneration and respect among the savage tribes. The United States; on the contrary, have reverted to the situation in which England was placed before the acquisition of Canada. They have one set of European enemies to the north, and another to the west of their dominions. The English and the Spaniards have, or are pretended to have, tampered with the Indians, the neighbours of the new republic. Certain it is that these wild and barbarous hords have made incursions on the western settlements of America, the progress of which has every where been marked with devastation and bloodshed.

The invasion of the Indians was not beheld by the different legislatures with tranquillity and indifference. Their assaults were sought to be repelled sometimes by force, and sometimes by treaty. In particular a grand negotiation was opened, by commissioners appointed for that purpose by the general congress and by the assembly of Pennsylvania, with the six nations who reside on the northern division of that state, and on the western side of the province of New York. The conferences were opened at Fort Stanwix; and, beside the plenipotentiaries selected for that purpose, several other illustrious characters assisted upon the occasion. Among these were general Washington, M. de Marbois consul general of France, and the marquis de la Fayette

ette. The French nobleman in particular was extremely active upon the occasion, and appears to have gained considerable influence over the Indian deputies by his eloquence and address. The peace was concluded on the fourteenth of October 1784. Hostages were given by the Indians, a general liberation of prisoners stipulated, and a cession made to an immense extent of uninhabited territory. But though the treaty was concluded with the representatives of India, it does not seem to have been very popular with their constituents at home. They were in no hurry to ratify the conditions that had been granted by their deputies. The northern as well as the western Indians remained in a considerable degree disaffected to the United States.

The natural consequence of this situation was, that the most flourishing of the country settlements were most exposed to their barbarous incursions. Among these one of the most considerable is the province of Kentucky, an extensive country, stretching from the Apalachian and Allegany mountains, on the west, as far as the Ohio. This country was first settled during the height of the war. It is said in many of its parts to be temperate, beautiful and fertile. It has attained to a considerable degree of prosperity; and from being ten years before almost wholly uninhabited, its population was computed in the year 1784 at between twenty and thirty thousand souls.

But the province of Kentucky yields in every respect of cultivation and advantage to the celebrated settlement of Vermont. This country had spirit and strength enough to enter its claim to an independence of New York, to which it originally belonged, at a time  
1785.

when the national independence of the thirteen colonies themselves was far from ascertained. They were of course harshly treated by the province which claimed a sovereignty over them, and even by the general congress. But the kind of discountenance in which they were held did not discourage them. Blood was repeatedly shed in skirmishes between them and the subjects of New York; but their resolution was undaunted, and they declared their determination rather to withdraw themselves from the confederation of the United States, than submit to the kind of subordination that was designed for them. In this state of separation, and in the winter of 1784, their inhabitants were computed at thirty-eight thousand, and the expences of their government at 600*l.* per annum. Fifteen years before there was not a single habitation over the vast surface of this whole country. At length the kind of hardihood they displayed, and the prosperity that seemed to attend them under the roughness of their early discipline, obtained for them greater consideration and a more favourable treatment. They received a kind of indirect countenance from the united congress; and, induced by the prospect that was held out to them, they elected, about the month of January 1785, three deputies to represent them in the assembly of the states.

But the proposed melioration of the American finances is to proceed, not from the lands already appropriated, but from those which, being ceded by the native Indians, or by the provincial congresses of the respective states, shall be appropriated, according to the plan laid down, by the wisdom and policy of the united legislature. An act  
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by the general congress upon this subject, which is dated on the twentieth of May 1785, will assist our ideas both of the value of the resource, and of the particular regulations that will probably be adopted on this important subject. The territory to which it relates, is bounded on the north by the lake Erie, and on the south, by a line drawn from east to west, from the spot, where the most northerly branch of the Ohio confines upon the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. This region is directed to be divided into districts of six miles square; and each of these districts again to be subdivided into portions of one mile square, or six hundred and forty acres respectively. Of these districts, one seventh is directed to be distributed gratis to the soldiers having served in the last war. Three districts, bordering upon the Erie, are reserved for the officers, soldiers and refugees of Canada and Nova Scotia, and a similar portion is reserved for the converted and civilised Indians. The remaining districts are to be sold without reserve; the first being put up to sale entire, and the second in the portions we have mentioned of one mile square, and so on alternately. Of the districts one portion or thirty-sixth part, is to be sold for the creation of a fund, for the support of public schools in the respective districts. Four portions are to be sold for the benefit of the United States, who also reserve to themselves one third of the profits of all mines of gold, silver, iron, and lead. The remainder are to be sold for the benefit of the respective states, in proportion as they shall have contributed, by their cession of territory, to the creation of the object of the sale.

‘There is nothing that has less contributed to the good order and reputation of the United States, than the violent and immoderate inclination they manifested to enter into commerce. Commerce, in its very nature, requires wealth and capital to support it. The States of America are to be considered as in a state of political infancy, as they are in a state of poverty. The way in which nations naturally rise to competence and prosperity, is, in the first place, by the exertion of their internal industry, by the improvements of agriculture and the creation of manufactures. Trade is a sort of fluid, which must have a spring and reservoir in itself, or it will serve little purpose, either of fertility or beauty, to cause it to spread in a shallow stream over a wide extent of ground. But the Americans, unconscious or inattentive to these truths, set out with giving extensive orders to the merchants of various countries. As their military exertions and spirit had been admired, and as success had attended their achievements, the applause they obtained naturally produced a confidence in their subsequent prosperity. Their orders were fulfilled with avidity, and the consequence was every where bankruptcy and loss. A remarkable instance of the spirit we have described in the Americans, is to be found in a law, passed by the assembly of Connecticut in the month of May 1784, under the denomination of a law for the encouragement of arts and commerce. By this law aliens, who settled in the port of Connecticut, with the consent of the majority of the inhabitants, were intitled to all the rights of citizens; all ships employed four months of the year in foreign

foreign commerce, were exempted from taxes during the term of their being so employed; and every stranger settling in these places, who should bring with him 2000*l.* in money or should import annually from Europe, Asia, or Africa, goods to the value of 3000*l.* was exempted, for seven years, or during the term of his importation, from all taxes. Perhaps this is the first instance in which any country has avowedly encouraged an importation greater than its exportation. Such a proceeding is not only to the last degree impolitic, but necessarily tends in the end to the disgrace and discredit of the country that adopts it. Every part of the United States however has not fallen into the same error, and some proceedings have recently been held by the province of Massachusetts of a very different description.

The trade of America was conceived to have been one of the first objects of France in the assistance she lent to their rising government; and she has accordingly held out various advantages to their commerce. L'Orient and Bayonne, as well as Dunkirk and Marseilles, were declared free ports for the American vessels. The French had in a former instance granted permission to the Americans to touch for provisions at the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, in their way to the East Indies and to China. An additional permission was granted in the year 1784, allowing them to trade ultimately with these islands, and either to sell the American productions to the inhabitants, or to exchange them for their goods, or the merchandize of India and China.

We noticed in our fourth volume, the discontent of the Americans with the proclamation of the

English privy council, limiting the commerce between that continent and our West-Indian Islands, to British bottoms. Many of the states passed provisional acts, throwing similar restrictions upon the British commerce by way of reprisals. It was with a view of the same kind that the congress came to a resolution, in May 1784, to recommend to the different legislatures, to vest in the United States, for the term of fifteen years, a power of prohibiting the importation or exportation of every species of merchandise or provisions, in vessels belonging to any power, with which the states shall not have formed a treaty of commerce. To the exercise of these powers, they stated the consent of nine states as previously requisite. The prohibition however respecting the English islands was not confined to the sort of jealousy or animosity peculiar to ourselves. France and Spain, about this time entered into similar regulations, in the spirit of our navigation laws. The commerce of America was subject to one other disadvantage, besides those we have mentioned. Incapable of imposing any motives of fear, policy, or profit, they were particularly exposed to the depredations of the pirates of Barbary.

We have formerly stated the motives which induced the general congress to quit the residence of Philadelphia in the month of June 1783. The inhabitants of that city, sensible of the advantages they should derive from retaining in their walls this venerable body, employed every measure to induce their return. The congress however refused itself to their instances, and on the twentieth of October 1783, came to a resolution to sit alternately, in situations selected for the purpose,

pose, upon the banks of the Delaware, and upon those of the Potomac. Their design was to obtain a cession, from the states bordering upon these rivers, of certain lands which were to hold immediately of the general congress, and upon which they should erect such buildings as should be necessary for the public convenience. In the mean time, till these measures should be carried into effect, they resolved to sit alternately at the town of Trenton in New Jersey, and at Annapolis, the capital of the province of Maryland.

Great praise was undoubtedly due to the moderate and peaceable spirit with which the officers and soldiers of the army separated in the close of the year 1783. Incapable of satisfying their just demands, the states had every thing to fear from that peremptory and untemperish spirit, which is usually the fruit of a considerable series of military service. But, though they merited much commendation, by thus giving to the character of citizens a decisive preponderance over the character of soldiers, there was however one measure in which they were engaged, which was more questionable and ambiguous in its nature. This was the institution of the celebrated order of the Cincinnati. The instrument of their association is dated at Annapolis, on the twenty-first of November 1783. The persons, of whom the order was to be composed, were the officers who had served in the American army during the war. The order was made hereditary to them and their eldest male posterity; and, in failure of such posterity, in the collateral branches, who might be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members. Other citizens of the Ame-

rican states, were made capable of being received as honorary members, but for their lives only, and with an express provision, that their number in each state should not exceed the proportion of one to four of the officers, and their descendants. The society were to hold general meetings, in their respective states, and meetings of particular districts. The state-meetings were to take place once in twelve months, and the general meetings at least once in three years. The professed objects of the society were, to yield an incessant attention to preserve inviolate the rights and liberties of human nature; to display an unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective states, a spirit of union and national honour; and to render permanent, particularly by acts of substantial beneficence, the cordial affection subsisting among the officers. For this purpose, each member was to subscribe one month of his pay to the general treasury; and this fund was to be increased by donations, which might be made, as well by persons not of the society, as by its immediate members. The interest of this money only, was to be expended in acts of charity. The society was to be distinguished by an order of gold, suspended by a deep blue ribbon, edged with white, emblematical of the union of America and France. The officers of the French army serving in America were made honorary members. General Washington, so early as the month of October 1783, subscribes himself president of the order of the Cincinnati.

Never perhaps was a foundation more deep and less equivocal laid for a new order in the state, than in the instrument we have described. This self-created body extend-



ed its existence over every part of America, assumed early the peculiar and tremendous privilege of hereditary honour, avowed some of its principal objects to be political and collected influence, and, in fine, adopted the most known and infallible source of power in the creation of a fund, always to be increasing, and never to be alienated. It can scarcely be imagined that a plan so deep, so direct, and so digested, could be formed at hazard, and not proceed from the invention of a sagacious mind, that perfectly understood the effects he was about to produce. It is astonishing that in the United States of America, where all honorary titles were prohibited, where they had forbidden their subjects to accept of the compliment of knighthood from a foreign state, that such an institution should have passed in silence. It is wonderful that many American officers and particularly the illustrious Washington, whose integrity was unquestionable, and whose characteristic quality had ever been wariness and caution, should have been deceived in a business of so extreme magnitude. His conduct in this affair, is perhaps the only blot, that can be fixed upon the character of this venerable hero. It is impossible however, wholly to exculpate him. If he understood the tendency of his conduct, his ideas of liberty must have been less pure and elevated than they have been represented to be; and if he rushed into the measure blindfold, he must still be considered as wanting in some degree, that penetration and presence of mind so necessary to complete his character.

The person to whom the honour was destined of awakening and enlightening his countrymen upon

this important subject, was Ædanus Burke, one of the chief justices of the states of South Carolina. A pamphlet was published by this gentleman soon after the original introduction of the order, in which he illustrated all the ill consequences that might be expected to result from it. If the Americans had been cold and supine in the first instance, it was however easy to awaken their public spirit into patriotic jealousy. No sooner was the idea of danger started than the impression flew with the utmost rapidity through the whole continent. Early in the year 1784, the provinces of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts declared the institution unjustifiable, and their resolution to discountenance it. The province of Rhode Island even went to the length of annulling the privileges of all the subjects of its state, who should be members of this society, and declaring them incapable of any office under government. In consequence of the alarm that was taken, the Cincinnati, in their first general meeting convened at Philadelphia, on the third of May 1784, thought proper to new-model the institution of their society. They professed to withdraw the claim of hereditary honour, to disclaim all interference with political subjects, and to place their funds under the immediate cognizance of the several legislatures, through the medium of a general charter. They hesitated not to relinquish every thing of their new constitution, except their personal friendships, of which they could not be divested, and the acts of beneficence, which it was their intention should flow from them. With these professions however, they retained their funds, their general meetings and their ribbons. It remains for the wisdom of the legislatures

gislatures to decide, or for experience to demonstrate, how far these circumstances keep alive the danger that was originally apprehended.

It may perhaps be proper to record among the events of the period before us, the institution of a doctor Seabury, in Connecticut, and a doctor Smith, in the province of Pennsylvania, to be bishops according to the forms of the church of England. Application was made on the part of each of these gentlemen, to obtain from the bench of bishops in this country, the ceremony of consecration; and each was refused. The motive assigned in the latter case, was certain innovations, that were supposed to have been made by the episcopalians in America, in the established liturgy. Doctor Seabury had recourse for consecration to the non-juring bishops of Ireland, the affair of doctor Smith, we believe, is not yet terminated.

The little encouragement the loyalists experienced in their attempts to return to their native country, afforded slender hopes of their final restoration. The precipitance of this set of men, and the procrastination of congress, had caused their affair to be nearly decided, previously to the recommendation of the fourteenth of January 1784, and that paper seems to have made no alteration in their circumstances. One of the methods adopted by the British administration, to relieve the distress in which they had involved themselves by their inordinate attachment to this country, was the assignment of unoccupied lands in the province of Nova Scotia. It was probably with a view to this circumstance that Mr. Parr was appointed governor of that country, and sent out with

suitable instructions in the autumn of 1782, by the nobleman under whose auspices the peace was concluded. In the month of May 1783, the foundation was laid of a new town at Port Roseway, near the southernmost point of the peninsula, which received, from the patron of the governor, the appellation of Shelburne. This establishment seems to have made a considerable progress, and the settlers were computed at upwards of nine thousand, who were furnished by government with tools, clothing and provisions. About a mile from the town of Shelburne was erected, what was styled the Black Town, which exhibited the uncommon and agreeable spectacle of a colony of twelve hundred free negroes, at the distance of one half of the globe from their original country. We have however had melancholy proof, in the streets and environs of the metropolis, that this establishment was by no means adequate to the humane and indispensable purpose it was destined to serve.

Besides the establishment of Shelburne, a considerable and equally important settlement was made upon the continent to which the peninsula is affixed, and near the mouth of the river St. John. This town has received the appellation of New Brunswick; and on the second of August 1784, it was erected into the metropolis of an independent province, of which colonel Thomas Carleton was appointed the governor. The general question of colonization we are not now to examine. It is not necessary for us to represent how great a part of Great Britain remains waste and uncultivated, and how much its population and wealth falls short of what they might be made. We need not

not inquire into the truth of the assertion, by which colonies are stated to be a continual drain upon the mother country during their imbecility, and the rivals of her power, and the rebels of her jurisdiction, when arrived to a state of maturity. It may be proper however to take notice of a melancholy

proof afforded in the present case, that the country of Nova Scotia is not in a state of extreme prosperity. We allude to the strong and repeated representations that were made by the magistrates of Shelburne, during the months of January and March 1785, upon the subject of famine.

## C H A P. III.

*Ireland. Meeting at Dungannon. Meeting of Parliament. National Convention. Bill of Reform rejected. Change of Ministry. Arrival of the Duke of Rutland. Protecting Duties. Riots. Bill respecting the Liberty of the Press. Prerogation.*

**T**HE enthusiasm for liberty, which first took its rise among the people of America, had an important and extensive spread in various parts of the world, and it is probable that its effects have not yet subsided. But no where was this spirit transfused with more vigour and with greater success than among the people of Ireland. The acquisitions they had made in respect of community and constitution in the years 1779 and 1782, were of the highest value. But they had not yet done every thing, and their passion for political renovation was not satiated. For some time it seemed at a loss for an object suited to the magnitude of its efforts. The face of the country might be compared to the appearance of the ocean previously to the storm. The waves were blackened, and the waters in undulation, but the tempest had not yet decided upon their direction and course. At length the consideration suggested itself of a parliamentary reform. Undoubtedly, if liberty be either a matter of intrinsic value or indefeasible right, the commons of the nation where it exists, cannot be too fully and ad-

equately represented. Such a representation as that which now existed in Ireland, where the sentiments of the house of commons and the sentiments of the people were ever at variance, seemed less to constitute any estimable prerogative, than to remind the nation how far they were from possessing any valuable liberty.

If the idea of a reform in their representation suggested itself later to the people of Ireland than to the people of England and of Scotland, they appeared however inclined to compensate this oversight by rapid, decisive, and untempering measures in their pursuit of it. The subject was first taken up with seriousness and effect, by the delegates of forty-five volunteer corps, assembled on the first of July 1783, at Lisburne in the county of Antrim. The most considerable steps entered upon on this occasion, were, the inviting the volunteers of Ulster to a general meeting on the eighth of September; and the appointing a committee to assemble in the meantime at Belfast, and to correspond with some of the most distinguished characters in the island of Great



Britain, who were understood to be friends to a parliamentary reform. To behold great nations, such as America and Ireland, corresponding with the most enlightened men in the world, upon their political situations, was an object reserved for this late age of refinement, illumination, and philosophy. The chairman of this committee was Mr. William Sharman, a lieutenant-colonel in the volunteer army, and the persons, to whom their letters were addressed, were the duke of Richmond, the earl of Effingham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wyvil, major Cartwright, Dr. Price, and Dr. John Jebb. From Mr. Pitt it does not appear that they obtained any answer. The reply of the duke of Richmond was remarkably nervous, spirited and manly, and recommended with great force the large and comprehensive plan of universal representation, which is known to have been patronized by that nobleman. His principal argument was, "that all plans, that were merely of a speculative nature, had been found insufficient to interest and animate the great body of the people, from whose earnestness alone any reform was to be expected. A long exclusion from any share in the legislation of their country, had rendered the great mass of the people indifferent, whether the monopoly that subsisted, continued in the hands of a more or less extended company; or whether it were divided by them into shares of somewhat more or less just proportion. They had been so often deceived, that they were scarcely now disposed to confide in any set of men. Nothing, but self-evident conviction, that a measure tended effectually to the recovery of their rights, could, or indeed ought, to interest them in its favour."

The partial and isolated meetings to which that of Lisburne had led the way, were followed by a grand meeting of delegates for the province of Ulster, which was held at Dungannon in the county of Tyrone, in pursuance of the designation that was made at Lisburne. At this meeting there appeared several very distinguished characters, particularly the earl of Charlemont, and Mr. Thomas Conolly, a man of the most extensive property. But the person who rendered himself most conspicuous upon the occasion was the earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry. It was even reported, that this nobleman had set on foot a subscription to erect an elegant building at Dungannon for the accommodation of future meetings of a similar nature; that he contributed 500*l.* towards carrying the plan into execution; and that he made one of his sons, a very young boy, insert his name as a subscriber of 50*l.* The resolutions proposed at this meeting were carried unanimously, and expressed, with precision and perspicuity, the principles upon which it was intended their reform should be founded. One of the most important, was for the choosing by ballot a committee of five persons from each county, to represent the volunteer army in a grand national convention, to be held at Dublin on the tenth day of November. They also agreed upon an address to the volunteers of the other three provinces into which the kingdom is distributed. This address was received with great unanimity, and the province of Leinster first, and afterwards that of Munster, held assemblies, and adopted measures similar to those of the meeting of Dungannon.

Such was the posture of the affairs

fairs of the reform, when the new parliament, whose election had been proclaimed in July, met on the fourteenth of October. The earl of Northington, the lord lieutenant, opened the session with a speech, in which he congratulated them on the full possession and enjoyment of those constitutional and commercial advantages, which had been so lately obtained. He observed, that Great Britain had testified her sacred regard to the adjustment by the most unequivocal proofs of sincerity and good faith. He stated the establishment of peace as affording them an opportunity of turning their undivided attention on the means of increasing the national prosperity. He recommended to their consideration laws, for regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and for making a new establishment of the post-office, conformably to the principles of equality that had lately been introduced. He recommended the linen manufacture, the fishery, and the distressed Genevans. It well became the generosity of the people of Ireland to extend their protection to these ingenious and industrious men. But in forming this establishment, they would doubtless consider it as a part of their duty to avoid unnecessary expence, and ultimately to secure the utmost advantages to their country. He anticipated the greatest national benefits from the wisdom and temper of the new parliament. He assured them of every good disposition of himself and the sovereign in the furtherance of their real welfare. He had entered upon his administration with an honest ambition of meriting their good opinion, and he indulged the warmest hope of obtaining it.

The first day of the session was employed in voting addresses to the king and the lord lieutenant. The thanks of both houses were also

voted to the different volunteer corps of Ireland for their zeal to second the magistrates in the execution of the laws, and to defend the country from foreign enemies. The motion was brought forward in the house of lords by the duke of Leinster, and in the house of commons by lord Sudley, son to the earl of Arran. The next day an address was also voted to earl Temple, their late lord lieutenant, on the motion of the earl of Mornington.

But the first business of considerable importance was a resolution moved by sir Henry Cavendish, on the twenty-eighth of October, "That the condition of the country rendered it absolutely necessary that all practicable retrenchments should be made consistent with the true interests of the kingdom, and the honourable support of his majesty's revenue." The principal circumstance upon which the resolution was grounded by its author was, that the debt of Ireland was now little short of two millions; while in the year 1755 there was a credit due to the nation of upwards of 400,000l.

The discussion of this resolution was rendered particularly memorable by the misunderstanding that took place on occasion of it, between Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan. Controversies of a personal nature do not directly constitute the subject of general history. But such a one, as that to which we have alluded, tends so greatly to illustrate the state of civilization, refinement and eloquence, in the country which was the seat of it, as well as the abilities and genius of the two most considerable men in that kingdom, that it will be found to deserve to make an exception to the general rule. Mr. Flood took up the question in the style of the most peremptory opposition. He was alto-

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nished to find the least appearance of dissatisfaction with the motion rising on the side of government. The dissatisfaction ought to have originated on the other side; for the resolution did not go far enough. In lord Townshend's administration the courtiers of that day thought they had done enough, when they had introduced an amendment upon a motion of the minority in the very words of the present resolution. He had not therefore thought that any man on the side of government would have opposed the question. He had rather supposed that they would have called out in triumph to let it pass; that they would have exulted to see the new commons, the new country, Ireland, in its emancipated and dignified state, tolerate the nonsense that was current in lord Townshend's administration. He was as willing as any man to pay compliments to ministry both there and in England, to allow them every degree of credit for their honourable intentions; and when he heard œconomy recommended from the throne, he was astonished to find any opposition to the present motion. Indeed he believed the words of that recommendation were by some accident misplaced, or that government had not yet digested the plan of retrenchment. It should not have immediately followed the mention of the Genevan colony, a body of virtuous men, who, to avoid the most ignominious slavery, had sought an asylum in the arms of Ireland. It was not the proper place to use the word œconomy; it there disgraced the generous act of men who had just recovered their own liberty; by placing it there, Ireland might lose a great deal of honour, but could save very little money. But it was not in little things that

they were to look for relief. Their œconomy must not descend into detail, but must attach upon establishments, or they would plunge every day deeper in ruin. They must retrench their own expences, and not leave it to others to œconomise for them. He concluded with moving as an amendment, "That the military establishment in its present state afforded room for effectual retrenchment."

The reply of Mr. Grattan, in opposition to the amendment of Mr. Flood, consisted chiefly of invective upon his past conduct, particularly while he had a seat in the cabinet during the lieutenancy of lord Harcourt. For himself he should not take up the time of the house in apologizing for infirmity, or the affectation of infirmity, as Mr. Flood had done; he should not enter into a defence of his character, as he had never been guilty of apostacy. To the invective of Mr. Grattan it was replied by his antagonist, that every member of the house could bear witness to the infirmity he had mentioned, and that it showed little candour to make a nocturnal attack upon that infirmity. But he was not afraid to meet the right honourable member at any time, or upon any ground. He would stand poorly in his own estimation, and in his country's opinion, if he did not stand far above him. He did not come there dressed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people. He was not one who had promised to bring in a bill of rights, yet neither brought in the bill, nor permitted any other person to do it. He was not one who had threatened to impeach the chief justice of the king's bench for acting under an English law, and afterwards shrunk from that business. He was not the author of the

the simple repeal. He had not come at midnight, and attempted, by a vote of that house, to arrest the progress of reason, and stifle the voice of the people. He was not the mendicant patriot, who was bought by his country for a sum of money, and then sold his country for prompt payment. A man of warm imagination and a brilliant fancy might sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and for a moment fall into error; but a man of a sound head could not have made so egregious a mistake, and a man of an honest heart would not have persisted in it after it was discovered. For himself, the whole force of what had been said against him rested upon this, that he once accepted an office. But was a man the less a patriot for being an honest servant of the crown? He had taken as great a part, with the first office of the state at his back, as ever the right honourable gentleman did with mendicancy behind him.

Mr. Grattan replied particularly to several of the charges made upon him by Mr. Flood. But it was not the slander of the bad tongue of a bad character that could defame him. He maintained his reputation in public and in private life. No man, who was not himself dishonoured, could say he ever deceived him; no country had ever called him a cheat. But he could suppose a man of a different character, a man, not now in that house, but who formerly might have been there. He would suppose it his constant practice to abuse every man who differed from him, and to betray every man who trusted him. He would suppose him active, and he would divide his life into three stages. In the first he was intemperate, in the second corrupt, and

in the third seditious. Suppose him a great egotist, his honour equal to his oath, and he would stop him, and say, "Sir, your talents are not so great as your life is infamous. You were silent for years, and you were silent for money. When affairs of consequence to the nation were debating, you might be seen passing by these doors, like a guilty spirit, just waiting for the moment of putting the question, that you might drop in, and give your venal vote. Or you might be seen hovering over the dome, like an ill-omened bird of night, with sepulchral notes, a cadaverous aspect, and a broken beak, ready to stoop and pounce upon your prey. You can be trusted by no man. The people cannot trust you; the ministers cannot trust you. You deal out the most impartial treachery to both. You tell the nation it is ruined by other men, while it is sold by you. You fled from the embargo; you fled from the sugar bill; you fled from the mutiny bill. I therefore tell you, in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard, you are not an honest man."

The warmth of debate had carried the speakers thus far, and the repeated calls of the house to hear the two members had been too loud to admit of any interruption, when the speaker at length found an opportunity to interfere, and put an end to the dissension. The persevering exertions of the house were equally successful in preventing the contest from being followed by any more fatal consequences. The amendment of Mr. Flood was rejected by the house. The previous question was now moved upon the resolution of sir Henry Cavendish by Mr. Monck Mason, and was sup-

supported by Mr. Thomas Pelham, the secretary to the lord lieutenant. If there ever was any question that Mr. Pelham was ready and desirous to enter upon immediately, it was the present; for he concurred in the intention of it. But he conceived, it ought not to have been introduced previously to the accounts of government having been regularly brought before parliament. The consideration of the resolution of sir Henry Cavendish was agreed to be deferred.

On the third of November, Mr. Flood moved his amendment to the resolution of sir Henry Cavendish, as a principal question, in the form of an address to the king, acquainting him, that, "since the augmentation of the army had taken place, additional burthens had been laid on the people, and the debt of the kingdom had gone on increasing." He observed, in support of his motion, that the country was in the most imminent danger of being plunged into an abyss of poverty and wretchedness; that to reduce the civil list would be frivolous, pitiful, and courting the name of œconomy, while they discarded the substance; that so materially did their present expenditure exceed their income, that the whole civil list being struck off would by no means be sufficient; and that a military reduction afforded the only solid ground for œconomy. It was replied to Mr. Flood by Mr. Yelverton, the attorney general, that parliament had not yet examined the circumstances of the nation, and that they might not be so bad as they were now represented. If government could in any way support the army, its reduction ought surely to be the last object of retrenchment. When the trade of Ireland was fettered by the most

arbitrary laws, when by a mutiny bill the subjects of that country were adjudged to the loss of life and limb by the laws of another, the augmentation was then cheerfully granted. Since that time Britain had been humbled, and Ireland had regained its rank among the nations. Their commerce was free as air, and was protected by the navy of England, for the maintenance of which they did not pay a shilling. Was Ireland capable of defending it with its naval force, consisting of six revenue cutters? And what was required of them? That they should maintain three thousand men for the defence of the West Indian islands. Was it wise, was it generous, was it just to refuse them?

Sir Hercules Langrishe, one of the commissioners of the Irish customs, pursued the argument of Mr. Yelverton. He gave all credit to Mr. Flood, who, with the largeness of mind that distinguished all his efforts, laid his hand at once on the army as the fruitful source of retrenchment. He admitted it was so; but in making a sacrifice to œconomy, they should beware of sacrificing a higher duty. Beside retrenchment, there were other concerns that should fill their mind. National character and national honour were not to be forgotten. Very different from the language of the address now recommended, had been the language of the address of 1779. To have made them consistent, on the former occasion they ought to have said to England, "Remove those restrictions that oppress us, and we will set bounds to our liberality. We will diminish our supplies, we will disband our army. Open to us every source of prosperity that Britain has acquired by the blood of her inha-



inhabitants and the expenditure of millions, and we will contribute less than ever to the common cause." No. These were not her sentiments when she demanded, nor would this language be adopted by Ireland now she had obtained her rights. The motion of Mr. Flood was supported by Mr. Gardiner, member for the county of Dublin, sir Henry Cavendish, Mr. Dennis Browne, and Mr. Molyneux. It was opposed by sir Samuel Bradstreet and Mr. Hartley, members for the city of Dublin, Mr. Conolly and Mr. Grattan. Upon the division the numbers appeared for the address 58, against it 132. The motion was renewed by Mr. Flood upon occasion of sir Henry Cavendish's resolution, which was brought forward again, with the concert of administration, on the tenth day of November.

During the period of which we are treating, several popular enquiries and resolutions were brought forward on the part of opposition. An investigation was made by Mr. Dennis Browne into the disbursement of 100,000*l.* which had been voted by the Irish parliament, for the raising of seamen, in consequence of its being suspected that a part of this sum had been diverted for the raising of six regiments of fencibles. In the committee of supply, November the tenth, it was moved by sir Edward Newenham, member for the county of Dublin, that the term of six months be substituted instead of that of fifteen, the usual duration of the vote of supply. Early in December the question of a tax upon absentees was brought forward by Mr. Molyneux, about the same time with a motion for a censure of the house of commons upon the measure of raising the fencible regiments. But all these

questions were defeated by the friends of government. A bill of indemnity, in favour of those persons who had suspended the laws respecting the exportation of corn, which was originally brought forward under their auspices, experienced, in consequence of some impropriety in its form, the same fate. In the mean time an augmentation was voted to the salaries of the lord lieutenant and his secretary; and a resolution proposed by lord viscount Mountmorres, "That, in the present state of the kingdom, it was expedient that there should be a session of parliament held every year," received the sanction of the house of lords.

While these questions were the subject of debate in either house of parliament, the delegates of the volunteer army of Ireland met in national convention on the tenth of November, pursuant to the resolution that had been taken at Dungannon. Their first measure was to elect the earl of Charlemont president of their assembly. On the day following they proceeded, on the motion of the earl of Bristol, to the appointment of a committee, for the purpose of preparing a specific plan of parliamentary reform. By this committee a number of resolutions were digested, which were separately submitted to the convention at large on the twenty-eighth of November. The object proposed in these resolutions was in substance, "That every protestant, in any city or borough, possessed of a freehold of 2*l.* per annum, should be entitled to vote in the election of members for that city or borough. That every protestant, possessed of a leasehold interest, which, at its original creation, was for thirty-one years, or upwards, and of which fifteen years

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were unexpired, should have the same privilege. That no person should be permitted to vote at the election of any representative, unless he were resident in the county, city, or borough to be represented, except his right of voting were constituted by a property of 20*l.* per annum. That decayed boroughs should be enabled to return representatives by an extension of franchise to the neighbouring parish or parishes. That all boroughs should be deemed to be decayed which did not contain a number of electors, exclusive of those who were entitled to suffrage by the circumstance of being housekeepers, of not less than two hundred for the province of Ulster, one hundred for the provinces of Munster and Connaught, and seventy for the province of Leinster. That the sheriff should take the suffrages of the electors, by deputy, on the same day, at their respective places of residence. That all suffrages should be given *viva voce*, and not by ballot. That no person should be permitted to vote, who had not registered his qualification twelve months previous to the day of election. That every person accepting a pension, otherwise than for life, or a term of twenty-one years, should be deemed incapable of sitting in parliament. That every person accepting a pension of this last sort, or any place of profit under the crown, should thereby vacate his seat in parliament. That every member of parliament should take and subscribe an oath, declaring, that he had neither directly nor indirectly given entertainment, provisions, employment, or money, with the view of obtaining the suffrage of any elector; and that he would not suffer any person of his relations, or on his account to ac-

cept of any employment, pension, or sum of money, from the crown, so long as he continued to serve in parliament. Finally, that the duration of parliament should not exceed the term of three years." These resolutions appeared to meet the sense of the convention in general, and were voted with great unanimity. The trifling opposition that was raised, was directed, not against the principles of the system, but against a few of its particular provisions, and originated chiefly with lord viscount Farnham.

The next day, in pursuance of a notice he had given in the national convention, Mr. Henry Flood moved the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament. He did not think it necessary, in this stage of the business, to enter into any discussion of the subject; and his motion was seconded by Mr. William Brownlow.

The debate was opened by Mr. Yelverton, the attorney general. He said that the question did not deserve to be discussed, but that it ought to be regarded as an insult on the house. If the bill originated, as it was notorious it did, with a body of armed men, they should decidedly set their face against the receiving it. They did not sit there to receive propositions at the point of the bayonet. He entertained an extreme reverence for the volunteers, who had conferred the most essential services on their country. But, when they formed themselves into a political body, to discuss the modes of reforming parliament, and to regulate the affairs of the nation, when by the rude employment of arms they would probe the wounds of the constitution, he would set himself against them at

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once. The question was now, whether the national convention or the parliament of Ireland were to legislate for that country. What was it they had so lately seen? Armed men drawn up in files in the streets, in order to open a path for other armed men, repairing in fastidious parade to a general assembly, and displaying all the ostentation of a real parliament. Would they submit to this? Was it decent for parliament to enter into a sort of compromise with this congress? Were the members of that house free in their deliberations while this military congress was sitting? No; it was necessary they should say to the volunteers, You have obtained constitution and commerce, and now, instead of dictating to the legislature of the kingdom, go to your own homes, change your attire, and turn your swords into instruments of agriculture.

Mr. Flood replied to Mr. Yelverton. He desired the house to bear him witness, that he had not been the person to introduce the volunteers into this debate. He asked them, whether they would not receive the bill from himself and Mr. Brownlow, offering it in their individual capacity as members of parliament? He had not introduced the volunteers; but if they were aspersed, he would defend their conduct against all the world. They were told, that they were in the recent possession of a free constitution, and that they would not find fault with that constitution. And by whom was it that these benefits were obtained? By the volunteers. Why had not Mr. Yelverton made a declamation against them, when they lined their streets, when parliament passed through ranks of those virtuous armed citizens, to demand the rights

of an insulted nation? He had then been one of their body, but he was now their accuser. Why had not their assistance at that time been rejected? It was now too late. Would they tell England, and would they tell all the world, that every thing that had been done for that country, as it had proceeded from the same channel, was irregular and indefensible? If the root was vitiated, then every thing founded on it must also be vitiated. The argument appeared to him to be the language of absurdity, mixed with an ingratitude, little becoming the nation at any time, and least of all at this particular period. To state this as a motive for refusing the bill, was a mode of proceeding, that showed the rottenness of the cause it was intended to serve. The volunteers had justly been represented as an example of patriotism and moderation, to which the annals of the world did not afford a parallel. Should the volunteers and the parliament ever be involved in opposition to each other, little thanks would be due to the men, who now endeavoured to inflame the house of commons against them. If the moderation of the volunteers were not greater than the wisdom of their accusers, miserable indeed must be the confusion that would result.

Mr. Grattan declared himself decidedly the friend of a parliamentary reform. It had always been his favourite object to increase by this means the power of the people. He was glad to investigate the subject, let it come from what quarter it would; nor did the circumstances of its introduction seem to him to give it a questionable shape. He loved to blend the idea of the parliament and the volun-



lunteers. They had concurred in establishing the constitution in the last parliament, and he hoped they would complete the great work in the present. He had early recommended so auspicious an union, and it should be the study of his life to preserve it.

The motion of Mr. Flood was supported by sir Edward Newenham, sir Henry Hartstonge, lord Kingsborough, son to the earl of Kingston, Mr. George Ogle, Mr. John O'Neil, Mr. Dennis Browne, and Mr. Hartley. It was opposed with particular warmth by Mr. Fitzgibbon and Mr. Thomas Conolly, who were assisted by Mr. Gardiner and sir Hercules Langrishe. Mr. Pelham, secretary to the lord lieutenant, voted on the same side. The house divided, at half after two in the morning, ayes 77, noes 157. But the party of administration were not contented with the victory they had obtained. They were desirous of fixing a conclusive stigma on the measures of the national convention. Immediately after Mr. Flood's motion had been rejected, it was therefore moved by Mr. Yelverton, "That it was now necessary to declare that the house would support the rights and privileges of parliament against all encroachments." This resolution being carried by a great majority, an address was moved by Mr. Thomas Conolly "to be presented to the king, expressive of the blessings they enjoyed under his auspices, and assuring him that they were determined to support inviolate the present constitution with their lives and fortunes." The address was ordered to be carried up to the house of lords for their concurrence, which it received on the first of December. A protest was entered upon the journals of the house of peers

against this address by the earls of Charlemont and Aldborough, and lords viscount Powerscourt and Mountmorres.

Mr. Flood reported, on the first of December, to the convention of delegates the conduct of the house of commons; when they came to a resolution for carrying on individually such investigations as might be necessary to complete the plan of parliamentary reform. On the next day, an address to the sovereign was moved by Mr. Flood, "in the name of the delegates of all the volunteers of Ireland, expressive of their loyalty; claiming the merits of their past exertions; and imploring the king that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the parliamentary representation of that kingdom remedied by the legislature in some reasonable degree, might not be imputed to any spirit of innovation; but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow-subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms." The address was accepted, and the convention adjourned sine die.

The parliament of Ireland adjourned for the Christmas recess on the twenty-second of December; but not before the news had reached them of the change of ministry in England, and the dismissal of the friends of the duke of Portland. This revolution appears to have been beheld with great complacency by the friends of liberty in Ireland. They rejoiced in the disgrace of a set of men, partly made up of those who had been most willing to delay all concessions to the sister kingdom, and partly of men whom they represented as having courted popularity without principle, in the first place, in order finally to sacrifice the interests

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of such as they deluded to confide in them. In the mean time they augured well respecting the success of their own claims, under the auspices of ministers, who had been most eager and loud in all the preliminaries to a parliamentary reform in Great Britain.

But if the favourable prospect which opened upon them on the side of England tended to inspire them with a serene and tranquil confidence, it did not however lull them into inaction and repose. No fewer than thirty petitions, in favour of the projected reform, were prepared during this interval, and presented upon the meeting of parliament, which reassembled on the eighteenth of February, 1784. In the mean time the court of London had proceeded to the appointment of the duke of Rutland to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, with Mr. Thomas Orde for his chief secretary; and that nobleman arrived in Dublin on the twenty-fourth day of the same month.

On the thirteenth of March, Mr. Flood, who a little before had taken his seat in the English parliament, and was now returned from Great Britain, renewed his motion, for leave to bring in a bill to rectify certain defects in the representation of the people. He observed, that when the measure had lately been proposed, it had been the pleasure of the house to put a negative upon it by anticipation, and to declare they would not suffer the bill even to be brought in. The subject had been sent back to the people; and the accurate discussion which it had consequently encountered, could only be equalled by the ardour with which it was adopted. He was particularly anxious to remove the objection of innovation. He

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asked, whether it was possible, that it could have been the original constitution of the country, that individuals should be permitted to send into the house two, four, and six members of parliament. If the constitution had been perverted, the argument of innovation applied to the enemies, and not to the friends of reform. He reasoned in favour of the idea from the circumstance of the two great members of the house of commons in England, at the head of two powerful contending interests, being agreed in the necessity of a parliamentary reform. These men would not have been found uniting in such sentiments, if they had not perceived the inclinations of the people evidently fixed on a measure of this sort. He declared that when the subject had first been suggested to him, he had felt at once all the obstacles it had to encounter, and that it could never be effected but by the interposition of the whole body of the nation. He had accordingly received the proposition with hesitation and coolness. The people had believed him at best a lukewarm friend, and some, very possibly, a secret enemy to the measure. But when he saw the country united in its favour, when he saw a certain description of men exerting themselves in support of it, whom he should ever esteem, and who could not with decency be disparaged in Ireland, so long as that house continued the seat of legislation, it was not possible for him any longer to withhold his support.

Mr. Brownlow appeared desirous of conciliating the favour of the new administration by the compliments he belloyed upon them. He said they had manifested a greater disposition to meet the wishes of the people than had ever before

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been experienced in that country. The present chief governor had a large share of popularity. The voice of the people was with him and his connexions, and he could affirm that it would be his own fault, or the fault of his advisers, if ever he forfeited it. He had therefore every reason to expect their support to a measure which the first minister in England, and the first minister in Ireland, had both of them been active to countenance in their own country. Sir Edward Newenham perfectly coincided with the sentiments of Mr. Brownlow. He remarked that the vices of the existing representation were too notorious for any one to dare to deny them; and he called upon parliament to exert themselves to destroy them, at a time when government was decidedly in their favour, when a Pitt was at the head of administration, and a Manners was their viceroy.

Mr. Fitzgibbon, whom it had been one of the last measures of the administration of lord Northington to appoint to the post of attorney general, when Mr. Yelverton was promoted to that of lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, declared, that when the mover and seconder of the proposition appeared in the character in which he had long known and respected them, no man would be more willing to give their system a fair discussion than himself. The affair now came before parliament in a fair and legal mode, by the petitions of the people in their capacity of freeholders, and he conceived so much respect was due to them, as to give every degree of attention to their request; though he would not pledge himself, if the bill should be rejected, that he might not on a future day move to

expunge every memorial of it from the journals of the house. Mr. Monck Mason reasoned against the principle of the bill from the fact which he asserted, that at this moment the number of electors was greater in that kingdom than it had been in the reign of James the First, when the representation of Ireland was originally established. He took upon himself to maintain, that the consequences of the reform would be diametrically opposite to those which were expected from it. He called upon the house to remember that the most eminent characters of Great Britain, that Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, had not been introduced into parliament by the election of cities or counties; and that they would never have found their way into that assembly, if a door had not been opened to them by those rotten boroughs, the existence of which was now so vehemently deprecated. Had it not been by this means that Ireland had obtained the services of Mr. Grattan, to whom she owed her independence, and all the advantages of an open trade and a free constitution? Were this fantastic system of reform introduced, the country would indeed be represented by men of wealth and family interest, but it would be from that moment deprived of the service of abilities, of industry, of genius and honest ambition. The bill was suffered to be brought to a second reading, which took place on the twentieth of March, when it was rejected on a division, ayes 85, noes 159.

It appears to have been the design of the late administration of Ireland, to have brought forward certain questions in parliament, the object of which should be the establishment of a system of economy, par-

particularly in the collection of the national revenues. Mr. Pelham, the secretary of lord Northington, had pledged himself that a scheme was in contemplation; and it was generally understood that it would be brought forward under the auspices of Mr. Grattan. The revolution which had taken place, in the British ministry, deprived the system of the patronage and support of the set of men who were then in power. Meanwhile Mr. Grattan, on the fifteenth of March, brought forward certain propositions relative to the subject, in a committee of the whole house, which had been voted for this purpose. The substance of these resolutions was, "that no additional salaries should be granted; that there should, on the first day of every session, be presented to the house a list of all officers, pensions and salaries under the head of revenue; that the pensions and salaries already granted should cease upon the expiration of the term for which they were given; that the collectors should reside in their respective districts; that the surveyors general should not receive an indefinite sum, and that they should be paid by a fair valuation of the time they employed; that pensions should be regulated upon the old foot, of forty-nine years previous service; and that the officers of the revenue should rise by gradation." The principal fact by which Mr. Grattan supported his system, was, that in the year 1758, the expence incurred in the collection of the revenue was 81,000*l.* and that in the year 1783 it amounted to the sum of 184,000*l.* He acknowledged that the produce of the revenue had greatly increased in that term; but he did not admit this to be a reason for any sort of

increase in the expence of the collection. If the number of officers had increased, the addition had been unnecessary; and with respect to trouble, it was as easy for one man to collect two shillings as to collect one. In 1758 the revenue had been collected for a premium of 13*l.* per cent, and in 1783 the premium amounted to 16*l.* per cent. The collection might in reality be made with a drawback of only 10*l.* or even 8*l.* per cent. Mr. Grattan went on to instance a variety of officers and expences that were unnecessary, and ought to be abolished.

The first resolution of Mr. Grattan was opposed by Mr. Beresford and Mr. Monck Mason, commissioners of the Irish customs, and Mr. Fitzgibbon, attorney general. It was said that the motion must be regarded as an attack upon the prerogative of the crown; and that such an attack was in the last degree absurd, when it had been acknowledged by Mr. Grattan himself, that his proposal had not been dictated by any past abuse of the prerogative, but was merely intended to prevent the mismanagement that might take place in future. The resolution which was combated was negatived without a division, and the other motions were separately put and received the unanimous approbation of the house. All further progress in digesting and giving the sanction of the legislature to this measure was, we believe, suspended, during the session, by the tumults and the warmer and more temporary questions that soon after broke out in the kingdom, and engrossed the attention and discussions of parliament.

It had long been notorious, that the free trade, which had been

gained to the Irish nation, had not been attended with all those advantages which its sanguine friends had been induced to expect. The manufacturers and the lower classes of the community were still exposed to the utmost distress; and the attention of the country at length began to be generally turned to those obvious truths; that all trade, to be prosperous abroad, must lay the foundation of its success at home; that the broadest and most extensive commerce must have begun with a small vent and a limited consumption; and that, if manufactures expected ultimately to grow into request in distant parts of the world, they must at all events be originally established by the reputation they bore, and the demand they occasioned in their native country. The general voice of the people of Ireland called for protecting duties, duties, that should bear heavy on the similar productions of other countries, and should in a manner compel, by the price they bore, the inhabitants of Ireland to consume the produce of native ingenuity and industry. It was not to be supposed, that a plan of this sort could be very palatable to the government of England.

So early as the twenty-first of October 1783, a committee was moved for by Mr. Gardiner, representative for the county of Dublin, to take into consideration the state of the manufactures of that kingdom. On the twentieth of November, a day, on which a question was moved relative to the subject, the avenues to the house, where the parliament assembled, were crowded with a number of distressed manufacturers. Indeed the urgency of the case was now so extreme as scarcely to admit of a moment's delay; and the condition of the indigent workmen

was such, as in a manner to supersede all laws, and to reduce the police of the city of Dublin to a state of confusion and anarchy. The unfrequented streets were full of assassination and robbery; nor would the misery of the inhabitants probably have stopped at these partial excesses, if it had not been for the exertions of spirited and opulent individuals, who entered into an association for their relief. The duke of Leinster, who was at the head of this project, sold a considerable part of his plate to increase the fund of those who were perishing with cold and hunger. The duke of Rutland, upon his arrival in the kingdom, distributed the sum of one thousand guineas. In the mean time Mr. Gardiner, who had undertaken to be the champion of the manufacturers, embraced the opportunity of the Christmas recess to repair to England, to confer with the sovereign and the English ministers on this important subject. His conferences were not attended with all those salutary effects he had hoped to derive from them.

On the thirty-first of March, the day appointed for taking into consideration the report of the committee, Mr. Gardiner proposed that the house should enter into three preliminary resolutions: "First, That many of the trading people in the kingdom were in the greatest calamity and distress: Secondly, That the importation of foreign articles had considerably increased for a series of years, and continued to increase: Thirdly, That it was necessary for parliament to interfere, and alleviate the distresses of the people."

In the course of what Mr. Gardiner offered in support of these resolutions, he earnestly deprecated its



its being imputed to him that so late a day had been chosen to enter upon this momentous business. He had wished for a much earlier period; but he had submitted to the will of the house. He was far from intending to interrupt the cordiality that ought to subsist between the two countries. His design was not to embarrass the existing administration; such had never been his practice. He had conceived it to be his duty to support government, as far as it was consistent with the interests of his country, and the lights of conscience. His object was to furnish materials to men more able than himself, and to bring under the observation of government objects of a general utility.

He contrasted the condition of the people of Ireland with that of the people of England. He asked what was the reason of so vast a difference? Were Irishmen less capable by nature of earning a livelihood than their neighbours? Was there any disadvantage in the nature of their climate, or was the situation of their country, a situation adapted to render them the general mart of Europe, such as to prevent their prosperity? No people were more laborious, more ingenious or active. There was not any branch of manufacture in which they were encouraged, which they had not carried to a high degree of perfection. If then the evil did not arise from any of these causes, to what was it to be attributed but to the vast importation of foreign articles, by which a home consumption was denied, and their manufactures nipped in the bud? Now what were the remedies they had endeavoured to provide? A non-importation agreement, which, while it lasted, had some effect, but which

was but temporary, and he feared had established a permanent evil. Another expedient had been the opening the export trade. For himself he should never arraign that measure. It had been conducted by persons he should ever revere, and of the principles of whom he could never think without an emotion he was unable to express. But he must declare his opinion, that to secure to Ireland an export trade, was to begin at the wrong end, and that a privilege of this sort, without a home consumption, could never be productive of any advantage.

Convinced, therefore, that the remedies which had already been applied were ineffectual, Mr Gardiner called upon the house to copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries by protecting their manufactures at home. Before England protected her manufactures, the balance of trade had been against her; but since that time it had been so much in her favour, that they now saw her great, feared and respected, at the end of an unfortunate war, and with a debt of 240,000,000 l. to support, a grandeur at which no nation but the Romans had ever arrived. Mr. Gardiner argued in favour of the protecting duties, from the fact, that in the year 1677, the quantity of woolens exported from Ireland, after supplying in full the home consumption, amounted to 70,000 l.; that the balance of trade in favour of Ireland had been 400,000 l., and that the decline of her national prosperity was to be dated from the unjust restriction of 1688. He added, that though he confined himself at present to the woollen manufacture, his system was more extensive. It reached to paper, to iron, and a variety of other  
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articles, which he intended successively to submit to the consideration of the house.

Mr. Gardiner was supported by Sir Edward Newenham, Mr. Hartly, and Mr. Warren, who had lately succeeded Sir Samuel Bradstreet as representative for the city of Dublin. It was observed by this gentleman, that his office of sheriff particularly enabled him to ascertain the extreme misery of the labouring artisans. That he had sometimes seen in the most inclement season of the year nine or ten naked persons sheltering themselves in roofless out-houses, or shrinking into the corner of a damp cellar, without the comfort of a fire to refresh their languishing bodies. The question was opposed by Mr. Foster, Mr. Robert Langrishe, and Sir Lucius O'Brien. They maintained, that the consequence of protecting duties would be like that of the non-importation agreement; that cloth would be manufactured of the worst quality, and vended at the most extravagant price. The measure would ruin their linen trade to Great Britain, the value of which was 1,500,000*l.* in order to cherish a woollen trade which did not exceed 50,000*l.* Indeed nothing was more ridiculous than to talk of prohibiting duties, at the very time that, if the minds of men had not been seduced from their looms to the politics of the house of commons, they would not have had a pound of native wool to employ in their manufactures. In pursuance of these ideas, it was moved by Mr. Foster, that the house immediately resolve itself into a committee of ways and means to take the report of the committee of manufactures into consideration. The question having been put on Mr. Foster's motion, the numbers appeared, ayes

110, noes 36. This question having been gained by the friends of administration, Mr. Gardiner said he would not trouble the committee with the resolutions he had offered to the house, but would submit to them a motion more adapted to their designation. He accordingly moved, that a duty of two shillings and six pence per yard be imposed on all drapery imported into that kingdom. The resolution was rejected by a very great majority.

If the populace of Dublin were guilty of partial excesses and outrages during the period in which this favourite system had been in contemplation, it must be easy to imagine how great was their rage and how severe their disappointment when all their hopes were suddenly blasted in the rejection of Mr. Gardiner's resolutions. Perhaps an example can scarcely be cited in which the popularity of a new administration had so soon run its career as in the present instance. The duke of Rutland landed in Dublin on the twenty-fourth of February amidst the acclamations and applause of every description of men. In the short interval between that period and the thirty-first of March, Mr. Flood's bill of parliamentary reform had been rejected, Mr. Grattan's proposal of economical regulation had been defeated, and finally the commercial system of Mr. Gardiner had been repulsed with ignominy and contempt. These proceedings were calculated to alienate persons of every class who attached themselves to the immunities and prosperity of Ireland. But the distress of the manufacturers was more immediate and untempering. On the Monday following, the fifth day of April, a troop of riotous persons forced their way into the gallery and the body of

of the house of commons, and demeaned themselves in a style of the greatest violence and insult, reproaching the members with having sold themselves to Great Britain, and calling upon them to distribute among the wretched manufacturers a part of the hire of their iniquity. The riot however appears to have been speedily quelled, and two of the principals in the violence were taken into custody and committed to Newgate.

Mr. Foster had been one of the objects against which their resentment had been pointed, and upon this occasion he became a decisive leader in the reprisals and peremptory measures that it was thought proper to adopt. Resolutions were formed, censuring "Mr. Thomas Green the lord mayor, for not having taken any step to prevent the tumults, though he had received sufficient notice for that purpose, and for not acting with the caution and prudence that became a chief magistrate." At the same time Mr. Foster fixed his attention on the licentiousness of the Dublin newspapers, and successively moved that the printers, proprietors, and publishers should be taken into custody. In the mean time the spirit of the lower orders of the people was kept afloat by the circumstance of a Mr. Robinson, a justice of peace of the city of Dublin, repeatedly setting at liberty such persons, who were molested for their concern in the conduct of the news-papers, as were brought before him. These were the proceedings of the sixth, and the seventh days of April.

It was on the last of these days that Mr. Foster moved for leave to bring in his celebrated bill, "for securing the liberty of the press by preventing the publication of libels." The provisions of the bill

were in substance, "that the real printer and proprietor of every news-paper should make an affidavit of his name and place of residence to be lodged in the stamp-office, the same to be considered as conclusive evidence in cases of prosecution for libels; that the printer and proprietor should enter into a recognizance of 500*l.* to answer all civil suits that might be instituted against him in that character; that he should be restrained by a penalty from receiving money under pretence of inserting or leaving out any slandrous publications; finally, that the hawker of any unstamped, inflammatory, or libellous paper, should be compelled to prove from whom he received it, and should be subjected to imprisonment *ipso facto*, under a warrant of a justice of the peace.

The arguments by which the bill was supported were the extreme licentiousness of the Irish press, which was said to exceed that of any other country. The Volunteer's Journal was particularly cited, as teeming daily with exhortations and excitements to assassination. It was remarked by Mr. Fitzgibbon, that whatever might formerly have been thought respecting the impotence and inefficiency of such publications, the contrary now appeared in the most unquestionable manner. There were, he said, persons in prison, from whom government had received intelligence of a conspiracy to assassinate no less than seven members of that house. The price of assassination was fixed, and the murderers actually furnished with fire-arms and bayonets. He had the honour to be one of the gentlemen who were marked out for proscription. And though he were as little under the influence of terror as any man, yet his



his life and his fortune, every faculty of his soul, and the last guinea of his property, should be employed to extirpate from the land a race of miscreants by which indeed it had not been till very lately disgraced. It is proper we should add for the honour of Ireland, that the indictment preferred in consequence of these informations against Mr. Andrews, for plotting to assassinate certain members of parliament, was thrown out by the grand jury of the county of Dublin, and a prosecution for perjury commenced against the informers. The bill respecting the liberty of the press was read a first time on the eighth, and a second on the tenth of April.

On occasion of the second reading, it was moved by sir Edward Crofton, member for the county of Roscommon, "That the further consideration of the measure be postponed to the first of August." In this motion he was supported by Mr. Robert Boyd, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Hussey, recorder of the city of Dublin, and sir Edward Newenham. Sir Edward Newenham particularly blamed Mr. Foster for persisting in a motion of the last importance, when the majority of the members were gone into the country, in confidence that nothing of moment would be introduced. He called upon the secretary to the lord lieutenant to oppose it, and show that a Rutland in England was a Rutland in Ireland, by a consistency of conduct in support of the wishes of the people. He warned the house, by adopting the personal resentment of individuals, against convulsing the nation; for all Ireland would be against a measure, which struck at the remaining liberties of that country. The measure was supported with extreme eagerness by Mr. Foster, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and Mr. John Scott, the

prime serjeant. It was also openly countenanced by Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Monck Mason, and sir Henry Cavendish. The question being put on sir Edward Crofton's amendment, the numbers appeared, ayes 20, noes 71.

Though it evidently appeared, that administration would be able to carry the measure by a vast majority, yet they were desirous in this critical situation to meet in some measure the objections of the minority, in order that the business might ultimately wear the appearance of entire concert. They therefore in the committee on the twelfth of April, withdrew the most obnoxious provisions relative to the recognizance, and the discretionary imprisonment of the hawkers, and professed to retain no more than the clause, compelling the printer of a news-paper to make known his real name, together with so much of the other clauses as were necessary to carry that principle into effect. This modification of the bill appeared to meet the sense of the opposition, and those persons who had undertaken to obstruct its progress, together with Mr. Henry Grattan, expressed their approbation of the bill in its present form.

In the house of lords it was not received with the same unanimity. Lord Mountgarret particularly distinguished himself in opposition to the measure. He had wished to see parliament better employed at this time. He had repeatedly suggested his fears that the free trade was a shadow and a name; and he had wished to see that house employed, deliberately and with freedom from every sort of prejudice, in the investigation of this great business. Instead of this, their attention was to be engrossed by a few nonsensical paragraphs in

in a news paper ; a matter of little importance to the community at large, however it might hurt the feelings of an individual. He was no advocate for licentious publications, but the liberty of the press was a matter that should not be lightly handled. It was among the inherent rights of mankind. It was the palladium of general freedom, and Ireland was indebted to it for all her rights and all her advantages. If the house were willing to understand the true character of the bill, it would become them to look back to its original tenour. It had been brought in fraught with clauses of the most oppressive and tyrannical nature. A clause for compelling a man to give security in a large sum of money, for crimes not yet committed, but for supposititious delinquencies ; and another empowering a justice of the peace to take away the liberty of the subject, though ignorant of his crime, and probably totally illiterate, without the benefit of his natural right, the trial by jury. A bill, drawn up in this spirit, and striking at so inestimable an immunity, should never have his approbation.

The individual against whom the house of commons appeared principally to point its resentment, was Mr. Matthew Carey, who had been apprehended on suspicion of his being the proprietor of the *Volunteers Journal*. The cause of this man was generously undertaken by Mr. Molyneux, Mr. William Jones, member for Lisburne, Mr. Griffith, Sir Edward Newenham, and Sir Edward Crofton. A motion however, by a great majority, carried a resolution on the nineteenth of April, that he should be removed to the prison of Newgate, and on the twenty-first, in consequence of a complaint entered by Mr. Carey,

against the treatment he had received from the serjeant at arms, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Gardiner, that the conduct of the officer had been firm, prudent and humane. In the mean time the printers that had been enlarged, entered respectively into actions against government for infringement of their rights, and false imprisonment.

The peremptory and decisive measures of administration were not beheld with silence and indifference by the nation of Ireland. The inhabitants of Belfast, in the county of Antrim, who had frequently taken a lead in the popular transactions and undertakings of their countrymen, assembled on the 12th of April, and drew up a petition against the bill for securing the liberty of the press, which was presented to the house of lords by the earl of Charlemont. They complained of the measure as tending to annihilate the rights of opinion and discussion in the people respecting the conduct of public characters. They expressed their dissatisfaction at the period of the year in which the measure had been introduced, and the unexampled rapidity with which it was hurrying through parliament. They added, " that the popular branch of the legislature was now in such a state of annihilation, that the opinion of the representatives was no longer the opinion of the body represented ; that, in consequence, the constitution as well as the commerce of the kingdom, were not efficaciously protected by a house of parliament, which disdained to concur with the people, or to acquiesce in their just demands."

On the same day with the assembly of Belfast, the parishioners of St. Michael, in the city of Dublin, assembled.

communicative hand. If the Irish were not really the countrymen and fellow-subjects of the English, why should we sacrifice to them all our favourite ideas of monopoly, and our superior claims in every market? Such were the jealousies that had been bred between the two countries. No ministry could have supported the unpopularity in Britain of countervailing the imposition of protecting duties in Ireland. If the Irish would obtain them, it must be by violence and compulsion. From that moment they must look out for other allies, for other confederates, and other protectors than the court of London.

The system of equal regulations of trade seemed, out of all comparison, more fair, manly, and philanthropical. By means of this system, the two countries, so far as related to trade, would become as it were level and united. The trade of Ireland ought in that case to have been regarded by the impartial inhabitants of the towns of England with no more aversion and dislike than the trade of Exeter, or the trade of York. The refinements of commercial predilection have never yet been carried to the absurd degree of enacting laws, to give to one county a decisive advantage over another, in any species of manufacture. In reality, in the eye of the philosopher, it would have been the people of Ireland, and not the people of England, who would have made a sacrifice to the general good, in the establishment of equal commerce. Regulations of this sort would in no degree have done so much for them as protecting duties. They would still have had to labour under the disadvantages of infant arts, unformed manufactures, and inferior capitals. But these sacrifices were but tempo-

rary, and the general good demanded them at their hands.

But if the ardour of the people of Ireland was abated by the prospects that were suggested to them, their situation was too critical to permit them to expect, in complete inaction, a distant and an uncertain remedy. Exclusively of the general poverty of the nation, and the immediate distress of her labouring artificers, the unpopularity of the administration, which seemed to have reached its greatest height, goaded the country in general to measures of ill humour and dissatisfaction. The idea in particular of adopting, at least as a temporary refuge, an agreement of non-importation, seems to have met with universal approbation. It was received in almost every town in all the provinces of Ireland, by every party and every denomination. It was even sanctioned by the consent of the grand jury of the city of Dublin, who had generally, upon all occasions, been under the controul of the court.

But the people of Ireland were not short-sighted and improvident enough to imagine, that the obtaining any particular regulations would heal all the calamities and grievances of their government. The parliamentary reform, which had been rejected in the house of commons with marks of the extremest ignominy and contempt in the first instance, and by greater numbers, though with more decency in the second, still occupied the uninterrupted attention of the nation. The resolutions and acts of the last session by no means tended to reconcile them to their house of commons, as it was then constituted. They beheld, with all the bitterness of indignation and abhorrence, the measures that had then been carried. They saw the money of the

the country lavishly expended, and all ideas of retrenchment and œconomy rejected. They saw all their other grievances crowned by a vindictive invasion of the liberty of the press, by the violent arrest of various printers, publishers, and proprietors, and by the suspension that had been given, and the limitations that had been prescribed, to the trial by jury. Animated by a thousand feelings of injury endured, and of honest patriotism, the volunteers of Ireland, in various corps, entered into resolutions, recommending it, as a measure of the greatest utility, that every virtuous and industrious Irishman, whatever were the mediocrity of his fortune, should form himself to the exercise of arms.

But the great epocha to which we are to look in the progress of this business, was the meeting that was held, on the seventh day of June, of the aggregate body of the citizens of Dublin. In this meeting they came to several resolutions. "That the actual representation of the people was imperfect, and the long duration of parliaments unconstitutional; and that these defects were productive of calamity to the kingdom. That the sanction of the commons of Ireland was not less necessary to the establishment of a law than that of the sovereign or the house of peers; that the people possessed the right of correcting the abuses that had crept into the representation, as often as they saw themselves upon the point of being deprived of that share in the legislature which the constitution had given them; and that this right was essential and unalienable. That the right of the people of Ireland to a frequent election and an equal representation, was clear, original, and imprescrip-

tible; and that the restoration of the exercise of this right was the most efficacious mode of reviving and securing the independence of parliament. That the majority of the house of commons was not chosen by the people, but by the peers of the kingdom, and by other persons who negotiated the representation of uninhabitable boroughs, or of considerable towns, where a very small number of the inhabitants had the privilege of election. That the venality and corruption of the house of commons, demonstrated by the arbitrary acts of the last session, and the inattention with which they had treated the petitions and the voice of the people, compelled the city of Dublin at this time to call upon the nation at large, to unite with them in the introduction of a more equal representation, and in presenting petitions to the king for the dissolution of the existing parliament. That the force of the state consisted in the union of its inhabitants. That an equal participation in all the rights of a man and a citizen was proper henceforth to engage all the members of the state to co-operate efficaciously for the greatest general good. Finally, that it would be of the happiest consequence to the prosperity of the state, and the maintaining of civil liberty, to extend to their brethren, the Roman catholics, the right of suffrage, as fully as was compatible with the maintenance of the protestant government."

Beside these resolutions, the meeting came to a determination to appoint a committee to prepare an address to the people of Ireland, and a petition to the king, which were submitted to and approved by the citizens at large on the twenty-first of June. The address to the nation

assembled, and entered into five resolutions: "To return their public thanks to the lord mayor; to make a collection for the manufacturers shut up in the prison of Newgate; to enter into a non-importation agreement; to express their horror at the dangerous innovation that was making in the liberty of the press; and to recommend their resolutions to be adopted by the other parishes of Dublin." This recommendation was speedily carried into act; and at length, on the twenty-second of April, a general meeting was held of the inhabitants of Dublin. A petition was here prepared to the king against the bill respecting the liberty of the press. The assembly also entered into resolutions, declaring, "that the example of almost every nation of Europe was in favour of protecting duties; that they were determined to adopt the non-importation agreement; that the parliamentary representation of Ireland did not correspond with its object and with the principles of the constitution; that it was absolutely necessary to their existence as a free people to interpose collectively upon this emergency; that they would pursue this melioration for their lives, and were disposed to concur with their countrymen in every measure that could tend to the public benefit; finally, that the bill lately passed, was diametrically opposite to the principles and spirit of the constitution, and that individual liberty and the liberty of the press, could not exist any longer than they were united."

The administration of Ireland did not behold the proceedings of the inhabitants of Dublin in general, nor of the populace in particular, with indifference. Expresses during this period were daily dispatched to the court of London.

Three thousand infantry, and a regiment of cavalry, which constituted the garrison of the capital, were furnished with thirty rounds of powder and ball per man, and held ready to march upon the first signal. Three regiments of fix which had been ordered to embark for the East Indies, were put under an embargo, and a reinforcement of troops from Britain was daily expected. The parliament of Ireland came, on the twenty-fourth of April, to a resolution of adjournment till the twelfth of May following. A complaint had been made in parliament by the popular party, that it was unworthy of a great and independent kingdom, that the chancellor of the exchequer and the master of the rolls should reside in a different country. They were gratified during this interval with the appointment of Mr. Foster to the office of chancellor of the exchequer. At the same time Mr. John Scott was created a peer, by the title of baron Earlsfort, and appointed lord chief justice of the court of king's bench.

Upon the reassembling of parliament an address was moved to the lord lieutenant by lord Kilwarlin, better known in this country by the name of lord Fairford, eldest son of the earl of Hillsborough. The purpose of this address was to express the complete satisfaction of parliament with the wisdom and firmness of the measures of administration. It declared their conviction, from the conduct he had held, of the superiority of the mind of the lord lieutenant to the influence of party and prejudice. It appealed to the acts that had been passed during the session, as the most honourable proof of the zeal and attention of parliament for the good of the people. It expressed their confidence in

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in the mild and efficacious proceedings that would be held by that nobleman with respect to such ulterior regulations as might be judged necessary. It mentioned their unanimous efforts to arrest the progress of violence and sedition, and their happiness in the possession of the benefits conferred on them by their excellent constitution. The address was opposed by Mr. Brownlow, Mr. O'Neil, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Molyneux, sir Henry Cavendish, and sir Edward Newenham. It received the support of the friends of administration in general, and of Mr. Henry Grattan. It was succeeded on the day following by an address to the sovereign, moved by Mr. Griffith, and seconded by Mr. Hartley, which passed unanimously, representing the distressed state of the kingdom

of Ireland, and praying for the establishment of a more advantageous system of commerce between that kingdom and Great Britain.

On the fourteenth of May the lord lieutenant put an end to the session by a speech from the throne. He returned parliament his affectionate acknowledgements for the cordiality of his reception, and the early assurance of their confidence. He thanked them for their various exertions, and particularly for their unanimous determination to defend the freedom of the constitution against the attacks of licentiousness. He trusted that during their residence in their respective counties, they would point out to the people the real resources of a free and fertile country, and not suffer misapprehensions to perplex, or false informations to guide them.

## C H A P. IV.

*Trade of Ireland. City of Dublin. Roman Catholics. Opinion of Lord Charlemont. Tumults. Proceedings by Attachment. Sentence of Mr. Reiley. National Congress.*

THE idea, that had been suggested, previously to the prorogation of parliament, to the people of Ireland, respecting the introduction of equal regulations of commerce between Great Britain and that island, undoubtedly tended, in no contemptible degree, to calm the violence of the people, and to suspend the effervescence of their anger and discontent. There were but two systems of permanent commerce that could be adopted by them. That of protecting duties had deeply engaged the predilection and attachment of the country at large. But protecting duties, af-

ter all the arguments that could be alleged in their favour, were undoubtedly somewhat invidious with respect to the people of this country. The steps, that had been taken for the obtaining for Ireland an independent constitution, and an independent legislature, had already excited considerable jealousy. That the people of Ireland and the people of England had but one king, was a point of agreement merely nominal. Commerce is naturally full of suspicions and mistrust. It takes in every object with the eye of insatiable avarice, and it grasps every species of commodity with an un-

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communicative hand. If the Irish were not really the countrymen and fellow-subjects of the English, why should we sacrifice to them all our favourite ideas of monopoly, and our superior claims in every market? Such were the jealousies that had been bred between the two countries. No ministry could have supported the unpopularity in Britain of countenancing the imposition of protecting duties in Ireland. If the Irish would obtain them, it must be by violence and compulsion. From that moment they must look out for other allies, for other confederates, and other protectors than the court of London.

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nation was extremely manly, firm, and animated in its composition. The inhabitants of Dublin addressed their countrymen on the most important subject that ever engrossed the attention of a free people. They had long and painfully endured the miseries arising from the abuse of power and the defects of their representation; defects tending to the annihilation of their boasted form of government, and productive of the highest oppression. The people must be perfectly sensible of that aristocratic influence, which had rendered the representation nominal, and destroyed the equal balance of the legislature. They had seen the charters, granted to divers boroughs, abused and perverted to the most destructive purposes, and their intention frustrated by the artful practices of designing men. They appealed to experience for the inefficacy of every measure they had employed to obtain redress. They alluded to the rejection of the mode proposed by the volunteer army of Ireland, arrayed and embodied at their own expence, the unexampled protectors of their country against foreign foes and domestic usurpation. The united voice of the free electors of the kingdom in their petitions, had been equally defeated. They enumerated the grievances of the last session. Enjoying the advantages communicated to them by their sister kingdom with equal justice and magnanimity, they regretted that internal situation of their country which prevented their pursuing the means of domestic prosperity. Convinced of the necessity, they could not, however, presume to point out any specific mode for a parliamentary reform: that in which all were equally concerned must receive from all their approbation and support. They

therefore called upon and conjured the nation in this important work to join with them, as fellow-subjects, countrymen, and friends, as men embarked in the general cause, to remove a general calamity; and they proposed that five persons should be elected from each county, city, and considerable town in the kingdom, to meet in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth day of October, in national congress. They concluded with recommending to their consideration the state of their suffering fellow-subjects, the Roman catholics of that kingdom, whose emancipation from the restraints under which they laboured was considered by them, not only as equitable, but as essentially conducive to the general union and prosperity.

In the petition to the sovereign, beside enumerating the grievances which had been mentioned in their address, the citizens of Dublin particularly complained of various arbitrary acts of the preceding session of parliament; the bill for a more equal representation refused even to be discussed; protection denied to their infant trade and manufactures; an attack made on the palladium of freedom, the liberty of the press; alarming restrictions imposed on private correspondence by the post-office act; a general system of prodigality adopted; and a manifest infringement made on the charters of the realm and the trial by jury. They added, with infinite concern, that the administration of that kingdom had assisted in all the measures they reprobated; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as the first minister of England had virtuously declared himself in favour of the principal measure which had been there rejected, and as the king had so lately thought it necessary to appeal to the electors of Great Britain against

against the power of an aristocracy. On that occasion one fourth of the people of England exclaimed against their house of commons; and the sovereign prudently dissolved the parliament, which had lost the confidence of a quarter of the nation, and declared his readiness to adopt with decision and effect whatever he should collect to be the sense of his people. They concluded with praying for the immediate dissolution of the present parliament. We have thought proper to select the proceedings of the city of Dublin, as they were earlier in time, and at least as well digested in manner as any of those of the kingdom of Ireland.

If we reflect on the unanimity of the people of Ireland, the thorough conviction with which they were impressed of the defects of their representation, and the ardour and resolution with which they seemed to have entered upon measures for its melioration, it will appear not a little wonderful, that all their projects of this sort encountered an ultimate defeat. Their discontents and disaffection had risen to the greatest height, and the number of their volunteers now increased with the utmost rapidity. The tide of opinion and effort had taken a determinate course, and it was not probable that any thing could effectually resist it.

It is therefore highly suitable to the investigations of history to inquire minutely into the various causes that superseded a design, so promising in its appearance, and so auspicious in its outset. And one of the principal of these is to be traced to the state of the country, divided between two sets of men different in their religion and manners, the Roman catholics and the protestants. The catholics consti-

tuted two thirds of the island. They were formidable in their numbers, and whatever professions they had made of loyalty and attachment to their country, their sentiments had not been able to surmount the suspicions of jealousy. The protestants, inspired with long aversions to the catholics, justified in some manner by the massacres and outrages, which had at various times been committed, and for a long time the sole proprietors as it were of the country, and the sole sharers of its immunities, many of them doubted whether the catholics would be contented with a proffered equality, and would not rather seek to revenge the ignominy and slavery under which they had laboured.

The principles of the friends of liberty and reform, traced into all their consequences, no doubt demanded at their hands, that they should receive the catholics with open arms, and communicate to them a participation of the benefits they sought to acquire. Nor was this the only consideration which could induce them to a conduct of this sort. Two millions of friends would be no contemptible reinforcement in aid of the common cause. To build a liberal system of freedom upon its genuine principles, was an ambition worthy of them. To hold up the first example to Europe and the universe, of the abolition of those penalties and proscriptions, which have made so many rebels and villains without finding them so, and of introducing equality and confidence among men of opposite tenets, was a motive to animate the mind of every man sensible to fame, to general happiness and to virtue. How much greater were likely to be the prosperity and wealth of the country with three millions than with one million

million of efficient citizens? Let Ireland be united with herself, and let her be at war with all the world!

Such probably were the reflections which induced a Mr. Pollock, at the meeting of the province of Ulster, and a Mr. Barrowes, in the assembly of the province of Leinster, to move that the catholics of Ireland be admitted, in the new system of reform, into the number of electors. The motion, we are told, in the Leinster meeting, was vigorously supported by different individuals, who spoke on the subject like men, who knew how to despise illiberal prejudices, which reflected disgrace on humanity. The motion would have passed without opposition, had not several of the deputies signified to the assembly that they had received no instructions from their constituents upon this point, and intreated that the question might be deferred to a future occasion.

The attentive reader has unquestionably observed, that the tenor of the plan of reform, digested by the national convention of the volunteer army, differs from the sentiments of the citizens of Dublin, and is unfavourable to the ancient religionists of Ireland. The particular transactions that were held upon the subject in the convention, are not a little curious and deserving of record. On the fourteenth of November, 1783, upon the motion of Mr. George Ogle, sir Boyle Roche was requested to read to the convention a memorial, addressed to him by lord Kenmare, of the Lake of Killarney, in the name of that nobleman and of the other Roman catholics. It expressed in substance, that the catholics had been informed, that it was proposed to agitate in that assembly the question, whether or no they should be admitted

to the right of suffrage in the election of members of parliament. It declared, that lord Kenmare and the catholics were perfectly satisfied with what had already been done in their favour, and that they desired no more than peaceably to enjoy the privileges they had obtained from their bounty, without seeking to excite the smallest umbrage on their account in this critical moment, when the kingdom had need of the most entire unanimity. The paper signed by lord Kenmare obtained a considerable degree of attention, as it was generally known that that nobleman, upon various occasions in which the catholics had been concerned, had been the organ for conveying their sentiments.

Sir Boyle Roche had no sooner finished reading his memorial than the earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry, desired to read a letter he had received on the same subject. The intelligence conveyed in this letter was, "That in a general assembly of the committee of the catholics of Ireland, in which had presided sir Patrick Bellew, it had been unanimously resolved, that the memorial that morning to be delivered to the national convention, purporting to be the memorial of the whole body of the catholics, was an entire stranger to them, as to its contents, and unauthorised with their consent: that they acknowledged themselves to have too great a resemblance to the rest of their species to be desirous of opposing any thing, which tended to disengage them from the fetters that remained to them: lastly, that they should receive with gratitude every indulgence that the legislature should be willing to grant them, and that they should never forget how much they were indebted to the benevolence

lence and the generous efforts of their countrymen." An advertisement appeared shortly after in the Dublin prints, signed by lord Kenmare, expressly disavowing all knowledge of the paper which had been delivered in his name to the national convention.

It has already appeared that the prejudices against the Catholics were gradually declining, and Ireland seemed to have the happy prospect of losing the invidious names of papist and reformer in the general and venerable appellation of freemen and citizens. The volunteers of Granard, and other places, came to the spirited resolution of engaging for the pay of serjeants employed in the discipline of Roman catholic volunteers, and declaring that such volunteers would merit their encouragement and applause. The volunteers of Belfast, in the county of Antrim, a name which had repeatedly distinguished itself in the cause of liberty, repaired in a body, on the first of May 1785, to a Roman catholic chapel in that town to hear a sermon, the object of which was to obtain the collection of a sum of money to complete and beautify the place of their worship. The body of the Ulster volunteers was reviewed at Belfast by their general the earl of Charlemont, on the twelfth of July; and on that occasion their delegates presented him with an address, calculated to suggest the most elevated idea of the character of that nobleman. They congratulated him on his arrival among them, and wished him a long continuance of every enjoyment that rank, reputation, and integrity could bestow on a faithful and persevering volunteer, unpolluted by the corruption of a court, and uninfluenced by the politics of fluctuating administrations. They re-

1785.

joiced at the military ardour of a country, in which every man was either already enrolled as a soldier, or would in a few weeks be qualified to act in the army of the people. And they expressed their satisfaction at the decay of those prejudices, which had so long involved the nation in feud and disunion; a disunion which, by limiting the rights of suffrage, and circumscribing the number of their citizens, had in a great degree created and fostered the aristocratic tyranny, the source of every grievance, and against which the public voice now unanimously exclaimed.

But this day, so honourable to the free soldiers of Ireland and their leader, was destined to involve all their flattering prospects in ruin. The earl of Charlemont, in a moment inauspicious to the rising genius of his country, returned an answer to his addressers rather in the style of remonstrance than acknowledgement. By some strange and capricious fatality, the general of the volunteer army on this occasion delivered sentiments, inimical to the increasing number of their forces, and inimical to the union which seems to have been in so prosperous a train. His answer was eagerly seized by the friends of the court. It was distributed in every town; it was posted in every village. From this moment a ruinous disunion began openly to display itself in the volunteer army, which finally rendered all their generous efforts ineffectual and abortive.

In the paper to which we allude, lord Charlemont congratulated himself on the good opinion of the delegates, of which he stood in particular need on the present occasion, when for the first time he ventured to differ from them in sentiment. He was free from every illiberal

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prejudice against the catholics, and full of good will towards that very respectable body ; but he could not refrain from the most ardent entreaties to the volunteers to desist from a pursuit, that would fatally clog and impede the prosecution of their favourite purpose. He was by no means singular among the real friends to reform in his ideas upon this subject ; and he besought them not to indulge any opinion, which must and would create disunion. He farther observed that the civil army of Ireland had been respectable through the world, effectual in its operations, and safe in its consequences, because it was perhaps the only army upon earth, each of whose individuals had a property in the land it was embodied to defend. They could never lose a jot of their respectability, so long as they retained this great and singular peculiarity. He concluded with calling upon them to be, as they had hitherto been, prudent, moderate and firm. Precipitation alone could dishonour their name, or injure the cause they had most at heart. Their fortitude could never be doubted ; it was the general and acknowledged attribute of Irishmen. But moderation had ever been their characteristic. By moderation their renown had been established through the nation. All that had been gained had by that means been acquired, and all that remained would by that be achieved.

The extreme disproportion of numbers, and jealousy of apprehension, that subsisted between the religionists of Ireland, was a peculiar disadvantage with which that country had to struggle. In America, where the spirit of freedom had first appeared, and where its efforts had been most perseveringly and successfully made, there existed no-

thing analogous to this circumstance. There was another disadvantage scarcely of less importance, which the sister kingdom had to encounter. If she had greatly the superiority of America in possessing, previously to the possibility of an open contest, a numerous, a well-disciplined, a truly respectable, and we had almost said, a veteran army ; she had, to balance this, the residence of a court in her metropolis, with all its retinue of officers of state and national establishments, of placemen and pensioners, of runners and retainers. Both the trains of events of which we are now to speak, and which decided the success of her patriotic efforts, derived their efficacy and their bitterness from this circumstance.

The people of Ireland had almost by common consent entered into agreements of non-importation. Though such associations be not in themselves directly illegal, they must always in their consequences be expected to involve circumstances that are so. The prohibition of foreign manufactures in this case is voluntary, and there is no penalty, which the law entitles the persons aggrieved to inflict on those who infringe it. But it would be too much for men, who in the first instance make so great a sacrifice to the general good, to see the selfish, the insidious, and the avaricious, making a market of their misfortunes. Resentment and public spirit unite to engage them in the pursuit of a severe vengeance. Thus in the present case, those who dealt in the forbidden manufactures, were marked by the populace, were seized in the streets, or dragged from their houses, and subjected to a discipline of no very agreeable nature.

The examples of this sort were frequent and numerous. Among others

others the carriage of lord Muskerry, which had lately been imported from London, experienced the anger of the citizens, and was *bien exemplum*, according to the best and most approved method of the non-importing confederates. The sheriffs and other magistrates of Dublin were extremely vigilant and active in endeavouring to rescue the victims, and preserve the peace and decency of the metropolis. This kind of unpolished violence had begun in the capital early in the month of June; and among various exertions of a similar nature, Mr. Alexander Kirkpatrick, one of the sheriffs, was successful, on the fourteenth of July, in delivering an unfortunate offender from the clutches of his executioners. Out of respect for the officer, who had himself been distinguished for his patriotic exertions, the mob were contented to permit him to advance thus far with impunity. But when he attempted, after the rescue, to seize upon two or three of the ring-leaders, he was assaulted by the populace, thrown upon the ground, dangerously wounded, and with difficulty escaped with his life. The inhabitants of Dublin appear at this time to have been particularly full of ill humour towards the lord lieutenant, and the theatre royal was chosen for the scene of their public disapprobation. In one instance he was received upon his arrival by the performance of the music of the volunteers march; and the uproar and confusion were so great and continual, that no performance was exhibited for that evening. An intention seems to have been entertained of subjecting the duke of Rutland to the same discipline as other inferior persons who consumed goods of English manufacture; and he is reported about this time

to have had a very narrow escape of this sort.

This kind of tumult and disorder was particularly favourable to the views of those, who were desirous of overbearing the projects and measures of the popular party in Ireland. It was accordingly imputed to the court, that they had even contributed in an underhand manner to the theatrical riot. However this may have been, certain it is that, about this period, there were several disorders committed in the city of Dublin, if not from the system, at least from the imprudence of the English party, and particularly of the military. A tumult of great notoriety took place on the second of August, at the house of a publican, a member of the volunteer army. Certain English officers appear to have entered the house of this man, and treated his wife with indecorum and insult. Their assaults were repelled by the husband; and the man, having been reinforced by the assistance of a Mr. Maffet, a young volunteer, who happened to pass by, with no other arms than his bayonet, a very extraordinary and unequal, though bloodless, contest was maintained for some time on both sides. In this affair, unfortunately, the name of the earl of Harrington was particularly conspicuous. The publican, in the sequel, is said to have compounded for a present of one thousand pounds, and to have withdrawn the prosecutions he had commenced against the assailants. The only remaining affair of this sort, which it is necessary for us to recite, took place on the twenty-fourth of August, at the execution of the sentence of whipping upon a person of the lowest class, who had been concerned in enforcing by illegal executions the non-importation agreement.



greement. A few stones were thrown by the populace at the soldiers, and the military, without receiving any order, and from the sudden impulse of resentment, instantly fired among the mob, killed one person, and wounded several. If Mr. Kirkpatrick had not interfered, at the risk of his life, between the soldiery and the populace, this trifling quarrel might possibly have laid the foundation of a civil war.

Having stated those circumstances, which by an indirect operation threw a damp upon the generous projects of the Irish, we are now come to the direct discountenance which they experienced from the court and the administration both in England and in Ireland; a discountenance which, co-operating with other causes less direct, but more important, produced the most decisive effects; but which, in another case, and if it had stood alone, would probably have served to irritate and not to diminish the resolution and fervour of the nation at large. The duke of Rutland was of course applied to, to convey to the sovereign the petitions both of the city and of the county of Dublin; the last of which bears the date of the ninth day of August. His answer to both these applications was uniform. While it was his duty to convey the papers they presented, to the monarch, he informed them, that he should not fail to accompany them with his entire disapprobation; as they included unjust and indecent reflections upon the laws and the parliament of Ireland, and as they tended to foment fatal dissensions among the people.

The nation of Ireland appear to have had a natural fund of credulity and confidence. Convinced by irresistible experience, that the duke of Rutland was not disposed to

countenance their projects, they still believed that Mr. Pitt, the great champion of the English reform, might be brought to concur in efforts, which appeared to them sober, respectable, and temperate. With this view the inhabitants of Belfast conveyed to Mr. Pitt a petition, which was agreed upon on the eighth of July, and which they requested him to present to the sovereign. The prayer of their petition was, that the king would be pleased to dissolve the present, and to issue the writs necessary for the assembling of a new parliament, according to the plan of representation which should be agreed upon in the national congress of the 25th of October. The answer of Mr. Pitt to the request of the citizens of Belfast, was not sent till the sixth day of September. Mr. Pitt observed, "that he had undoubtedly been, and still continued, a zealous friend to a reform of parliament; but he must beg leave to say that he had been so on grounds, very different from those adopted in the petition. What was there proposed, he considered as tending to produce still greater evils than any of those which the friends of reform were desirous to remedy. He had great concern in differing so widely on this subject from a body of men, who professed to be guided by motives of loyalty and of reverence for the constitution; but animated himself by the same motives, and sincerely anxious for the prosperity and freedom of every part of the British empire, he had thought it his duty to communicate to them his sentiments with fairness and precision." The people of Ireland appear to have paid every attention to the suggestion of Mr. Pitt; and the petition of the county of Antrim, which was agreed to on the twentieth

tieth of September, suggested as an alternative to the sovereign, either to dissolve the existing parliament, or graciously to recommend to that assembly the adoption of some plan of parliamentary reform.

But the discountenance of administration was not confined to opinions and expostulations. The twentieth of September had been the day fixed for the election of five delegates to represent the freeholders and citizens of the metropolis in the ensuing congress. On the sixteenth of that month, Mr. Fitzgibbon, the attorney general, addressed a letter to the sheriffs, expressing the extremest surprize at having read an advertisement, signed by them, and summoning the meeting in question. He observed, that by this illegal proceeding they had been guilty of a most outrageous breach of their duty, and that if they proceeded they would be responsible for it to the laws of their country, and he should hold himself bound officially to prosecute them in the court of king's bench. This letter was read to the meeting by Mr. Kirkpatrick, and in conformity to its representations he broke up the assembly.

The citizens of Dublin, determined to proceed with every display of regularity and moderation, waited for the accession of the new sheriffs, who came into office on the twenty-ninth of September. They accordingly addressed a letter, signed by Mr. Tandy, Mr. Binns, and other citizens, who had been forward upon this memorable occasion, to the new sheriffs, requesting them to call a meeting on the eleventh of October for the election of the delegates. But the new magistrates, as might be expected, trod in the steps of their predecessors. Reduced to this alternative, the meet-

ing was finally held on the day appointed, without the formality of official countenance. This assembly seated sir Edward Newenham in the chair of the president, and, having elected their representatives, came to several resolutions declaratory of their sacred and imprescriptible right to assemble themselves for the redress of grievances, affirming that all attempts to interrupt these constitutional meetings were to be regarded as an alarming encroachment upon the liberties of the people, and a direct violation of Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights, and expressing their resolution to second with all their efforts those of their countrymen, who, in these disastrous conjunctures, might become the victims of ministerial persecution, for having vindicated and supported by constitutional means the privileges of the nation.

On the sixteenth of October another meeting was held, in opposition to that summoned by the popular party, of the lord mayor, the sheriffs, and the freemen of Dublin, in the Guildhall, in order to vote the freedom of the city to the duke of Rutland, and his secretary Mr. Orde. These measures encountered an ineffectual opposition. The earl of Charlemont had been so unfortunate as to have a vote obtained against him on the twelfth of August, in a numerous assembly of the members of the Irish brigades, declaring that the sentiments of his answer to the delegates at Belfast, were in opposition to the interests of the kingdom, and tended to divide the nation at a moment when union alone could deliver them from ruin. In perfect consistency with this resolution of the brigades, the assembly at Guildhall voted an address of thanks to the earl of Charlemont. It might perhaps have sufficed,

sufficed to make that nobleman suspect, that there was some inconsistency in his conduct, when he found himself censured by his old associates, and applauded by those who had been his political enemies.

The address which was agreed upon to the duke of Rutland, expressed their forwardness to assure him of their profound respect for his personal virtues, and the satisfaction they derived from his firm and moderate administration. It conveyed the extreme grief with which they had seen the violence which had long reigned among the people, and the lasting gratitude they felt for the exertions that had put an end to disorders by which the kingdom was disgraced. They referred themselves entirely to his good offices with the sovereign, to procure to Ireland a more equal representation of the people, and the permanent establishment of a commerce productive of advantage to the two nations, and strengthening the links by which they were united to Great Britain. Full of the most unshaken attachment to the principles of the constitution, they warmly approved the conduct which he had opposed to dangerous innovations, and they engaged to defend with their whole power, and by every constitutional method, the protestant establishment, against the attacks which might be directed against it.

But the proceedings hitherto held by administration, were liberal and mild in comparison of those we have now to relate. The attorney general denounced Mr. Henry Stephens Reiley, high sheriff of the county of Dublin, to the grand jury on the sixth of October, for having presided in an illegal assembly of freeholders on the ninth of August preceding, and having sign-

ed the resolutions of that assembly. The proceedings he intended against Mr. Reiley were by attachment, that is, by the arrest and imprisonment of his person. Accordingly on the twenty-fifth of November following he was thrown into prison, and on the twenty-ninth received the sentence of the court, which consisted in a fine of five marks, or 3l. 6s. 8d. and one week's imprisonment. At another period, and in a different temper of the nation of Ireland, this man would have been ranked with the immortal Hampden; would have been regarded as the martyr of the liberties of the people; and his prosecution and imprisonment would have been the signal of a general revolt, and an universal and inflexible attachment to the cause and principles for which he suffered. The attorney general, successful in this prosecution, opened others, in the similar mode of attachment, against the magistrates who had held the meeting of the county of Roscommon, and the magistrates who had held the meeting of the county of Leitrim. A great number of newspapers and proprietors were involved in the prosecutions, whose crime had been the printing the resolutions of the illegal assemblies.

On the twenty-fifth of October the national congress met at Dublin, pursuant to their appointment. They placed colonel Sharman in the chair of the assembly, and immediately after came to a resolution, upon the motion of Mr. Darcy, that every person not a delegate should be requested to withdraw. But the smallness of their numbers induced them to conceive that there was an impropriety in their proceeding immediately to the great business for which they were delegated. Neither the earl of Bristol,

stol, nor Mr. William Brownlow, nor several other of the most distinguished champions of the reform, had yet been chosen to sit in this assembly. The difference of opinion on the subject of the catholics, the riotous and lawless state of things, which for some months had been exhibited in the city of Dublin, the influence of government, and the high and untemperizing measures which had been adopted by the party of the court, all of them had thrown an effectual damp upon the undertaking, and given to the adversaries of innovation the most triumphant success. The resolutions agreed upon in congress expressed "the undoubted right of the people to petition for a redress of grievances; the peculiar energy with which this right belonged to them on the subject of parliamentary reform; that in the exercise of this right, it behoved the people to employ mutual conference; that the meeting, in one place, of persons selected for the purpose, was preferable to the meeting at distant places and in multitudes; and that the appointment of that assembly, and the steps that had been taken, had been in entire conformity with the constitution of Ireland." They added, "that a reform in the representation of the people in parliament was indispensibly necessary, and that they esteemed it fortunate, that there was no competition of interests between the sister nations in the pursuit of an object, equally desired by the wisest and honestest men

in both." Finally, after having sat three days, they adjourned their meeting to the twentieth day of January, and they recommended to the counties, cities, and great towns, which had not then been represented, to elect delegates during this interval. They exhorted them, "as they respected their own consistency, as they wished for the success of a parliamentary reform, and as they tendered the perpetual liberty and prosperity of their country, to seize this opportunity of effecting that great and necessary confirmation of the constitution."

The national congress met again, pursuant to its adjournment, on the twentieth of January 1785. They now made an appearance more respectable in point of numbers than they had in the preceding October. Twenty-seven counties, exclusive of cities and considerable towns, were said to be now represented in the national congress; and the delegates exceeded the number of two hundred. On the same day the parliament met for its second session. One of the first objects submitted to their attention, were a number of propositions, relative to the commercial intercourse of Great Britain and Ireland, and which had been digested by commissioners from both kingdoms, selected by administration for that purpose. The propositions were received in the Irish house of commons with every appearance of satisfaction and good humour from both sides of the house.

## C H A P. V.

*Meeting of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. Address. Termination of the Westminster Scrutiny. Parliamentary Reform.*

**T**HE parliament of Great Britain assembled for its second session on the twenty-fifth of January 1785. The existing administration appeared to have gained all that permanence in office, which perhaps is the indispensable prerequisite to able and public spirited measures in the service of their country. They had the good opinion of the majority of their countrymen, and they were believed to possess the unreserved confidence of their sovereign. In the unusual and extraordinary session of May 1784, they began and carried through two regulations of the highest importance, for the government of India, and for the improvement of the revenue by the suppression of illicit trade. They indeed, in some measure, inherited these momentous subjects from their predecessors in office. But they had at least met them fully, explicitly, and unequivocally; and entire credit was given them for a spirit of activity and adventure in their official capacity. Beside a variety of other subjects, which naturally came before them in the period of which we are to treat, the more equal representation of the people was a business in which the character and the sincerity of the minister were deeply involved; and the investigations of the commissioners of accounts had already too long remained an inactive speculation, and were a fruitful source of renovation, retrenchment, and patriotism. There

were other subjects of greater delicacy than these that forced themselves upon the general attention. The discontents and the commotions of Ireland required the interference of a skilful master. We have already seen the bold and severe measures which ministers thought themselves obliged to adopt in that country; and if something was necessary to check, something also perhaps was necessary to heal the growing disaffection of the Irish nation. The last object that demanded the interference of ministry was the liquidation of the national debt. Former projects had been found by experience to be nugatory, inadequate, and futile. The nation had now gained a situation of entire tranquillity, and was perhaps to make her last experiment of this kind. The minister had the sanguine temper, and the fervour of youth, which were perhaps necessary to carry him through this arduous business; and he had besides the example of our usual antagonist upon the subject, to direct and to stimulate him.

In the speech from the throne, with which the session was opened, the earliest topic that was mentioned, was the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as were not yet finally arranged. The king was persuaded that the system which should unite both kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advantage, would best insure

sure the general prosperity of the empire. Amidst the symptoms of animosity upon the continent, he received from all foreign powers the strongest assurances of their good disposition towards this country. He had ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before the house of commons, and he confided in their liberality and zeal to grant the necessary supplies, with a just regard as well to œconomy, as to national credit, and the public service. He mentioned the success that had attended the measures for the suppression of illicit trade; and he recommended to parliament to apply with continued assiduity to this important object. He also recommended to their consideration the reports of the commissioners of accounts. And he concluded with observing, that they might depend upon his hearty concurrence in every measure, which could tend to alleviate the national burthens, to secure the true principles of the constitution, and promote the general welfare of his people.

The address in answer to the speech, was moved in the house of lords by the duke of Hamilton, and seconded by lord Walsingham, and passed without any sort of opposition. In the house of commons it was moved by Mr. Phelps, the representative for Somersetshire, and seconded by Mr. Edwards, member for the borough of Maidstone in Kent. The earl of Surrey rose in reply to these gentlemen. He conceived the speech to contain many capital and important omissions. By the form of expression in which the estimates were mentioned, he was altogether at a loss to know whether any new burthens were intended. If the minister had the prospect of carrying through the necessities of the year without them,

it was pity the public was not early made acquainted with the desirable intelligence. Another matter, of which he had expected to have heard something, was the farther reduction of the army. He mentioned with the most unqualified censure the attachments that had lately been issued against the sheriffs in Ireland for having convened assemblies, which he could not consider as other than perfectly legal and constitutional. He animadverted on the king's professed inclination to concur in every thing that could tend to secure the true principles of the constitution. Did the speech allude to the flagrant attack that had been made upon the most important characteristic of the constitution, the trial by jury, in the affair of the dean of St. Asaph? Did it refer to the violated rights of election in the business of the Westminster scrutiny? Or was it rather to be considered as alluding to the proposed reform of the representation in parliament? Mr. Pitt replied to lord Surrey. He mentioned the line of prudent reserve which in this early stage of public business it became him to maintain with respect to several of the subjects which had been mentioned. But he was more explicit upon the business of a parliamentary reform. Perhaps he did not differ from lord Surrey in thinking that the most practicable mode of accomplishing it, would have been to bring it avowedly forward in the speech from the throne. On this business he laboured incessantly. It was that which of all others was nearest his heart; but at this very early period of the session, to state it specifically was impossible. Much there remained to be done; and his ideas were not matured. A reform in parliament comprehended a great variety of con-



considerations ; it related to the essentials ~~and~~ the vitals of the constitution. In this path he was determined to tread ; but he knew with what tenderness and circumspection it became him to proceed ; and he would request of the house to come to the subject, uninfluenced by any of the schemes and hypotheses that had hitherto been suggested.

Lord North replied to Mr. Pitt. He was as zealous in deprecating a parliamentary reform, as Mr. Pitt had been in recommending it. He however agreed with the minister in wishing gentlemen to come to the subject uninfluenced by any thing they had seen, or any thing that had been reported to them. He was particularly sarcastical on a circular letter, written by the reverend Mr. Wyvil, chairman of the Yorkshire association, on the 27th of December 1784. In this letter it was said, that Mr. Pitt would support the projected reform as a man and a minister. Did this imply that he could do more as a minister than he could as a man ? It was added, that he would support it honestly and boldly. Did not these words imply as if a suspicion had been entertained that the minister would not do so much as the man ? Mr. Wyvil himself, in the postscript to his letter, had declared that the publication of it would in his opinion do infinite disservice to the cause. Those surely must be singular sentiments, which it would be extremely dangerous to print, but which it was right and justifiable to circulate through every corner of the kingdom. Lord North reminded gentlemen, who had formerly voted against a reform, of the indelible disgrace they would entail upon themselves, if they gave the business proposed by Mr. Pitt in his public situation, a support which

they had denied him as a private individual. Mr. Burke ridiculed the speech as being a complete model of double meaning and equivocation. Thus one of his noble friends had approved it, because it bore a concealed reference to a parliamentary reform ; and another had been equally forward in his applause, because it did not convey any such meaning. Mr. Burke disliked the speech for a very strong reason ; for the total and unpardonable omission of a subject, in comparison of which all consideration of a parliamentary reform, all consideration of Ireland, dearly as he loved his native country, and highly as he wished its welfare, were trivial toys. He therefore moved an amendment, by which the commons should declare, “ that, convinced by fatal experience, that every diversion of the revenues of the East Indies must terminate in ruin to that country and burthen to this, they would minutely enquire into past misconduct, with a view to prevent peculation in future, and to punish the offenders if they could possibly be discovered.” Mr. Fox recommended to administration a manly and decided line of conduct. He hoped they would not, if they saw occasion to the contrary, think of making any farther reduction of the army. He hoped they would have firmness enough, if additional burthens were requisite for funding the remainder of the national debt, and for providing an annual surplus in the nature of a sinking fund, to propose such measures as were necessary. Let administration be composed of what men it might, and let their political opinions be what they would, these were great national objects, and in the pursuit of them they might rest assuredly of his hearty support. Mr. Fox reprobated



probated the mode of issuing attachments from the court of king's bench in Ireland. If the pillars of the constitution were to be fapped, and the sacred right of juries to be invaded, the expected reform was frivolous and futile. He would not say that the measure might not be necessary here, and that in Ireland circumstances might render it inexpedient. But he must insist that in both cases, the meetings for the purpose of obtaining a reform were the same. They could not possibly be laudable and innocent in one country, and guilty, unlawful and deserving of punishment in another. The amendment was rejected, and the address carried *nemine contradicente*.

The business of the scrutiny into the poll taken for the city of Westminster at the general election, which had been granted by the high bailiff at the requisition of sir Cecil Wray, on the day previous to the return of the writ, and countenanced by the resolutions of the session of 1784, was warmly taken up by the party by whom the resolutions had been originally opposed. The scrutiny had now existed for a period of eight months. Two parishes out of seven into which Westminster is divided, were nearly finished before the meeting of parliament for its second session; and as one of these parishes was particularly small, it was supposed that the business already gone through amounted to about one eighth of the business depending before the court of scrutiny. In the first parish seventy-one votes had been scrutinized on the part of Mr. Fox, and twenty-five struck off from the poll: thirty-two were scrutinized on the part of sir Cecil Wray, and the deduction amounted to twenty-seven. In

the second parish upwards of two hundred votes were investigated; and in consequence of the discussion, Mr. Fox's majority suffered a diminution of eighty, and sir Cecil Wray's, the examination of which was not yet closed, a diminution of sixty. Such was the state of facts, from which either party was to argue the expediency or inefficacy of a further progress in the business.

On the first of February it was moved by Mr. Welbore Ellis, who had originally taken the lead in the affair before the house of commons, that the high bailiff, together with Mr. Hargrave, his original legal assessor, and Mr. Murphy, by whom Mr. Hargrave had been superseded, should attend at the bar of the house. The next day a petition from several of the electors of Westminster in the interest of Mr. Fox, was laid upon the table of the house by colonel Richard Fitzpatrick. On the eighth of February, the house entered upon the examination of the high bailiff, and on the ninth the question respecting the continuation of the scrutiny was regularly discussed. In the course of the examination Mr. Fox having been betrayed into some warmth, was called to order with a degree of asperity by lord Mulgrave. Mr. Fox did not however quietly acquiesce in the rebuke he had received. With regard to lord Mulgrave's interruption of him, that nobleman might take upon him the office of his censor if he thought proper. There was no man's censure that he less dreaded, or that he less felt. He defied him to move a censure upon his words, and declared that no power on earth should make him retract a syllable. He would make no apology for the warmth with which he had expressed himself. He should be a wretch, a mean,

a mean, miserable and abject wretch, worthy only of the abhorrence and detestation of mankind, if, circumstanced as he was, he could refrain from warmth, and curb those feelings which were the characteristics of a man, and which those who did not possess, neither could be capable of any great and good actions for their country, or of any thing worthy the name of man.

The motion of Mr. Ellis was precisely coincident with that which he had proposed in the last session. In support of it he particularly alleged the declared sentiment of the high bailiff, that the authority under which he acted was the resolution of that house, and that if their authority were withdrawn, his proceedings must necessarily cease. With this confession could there be need of any arguments to prove, that in granting a scrutiny on the very day when his writ expired, he had acted without any authority, and without any legal warrant for his conduct? Mr. Ellis dwelt on the miserable imbecility of the court of scrutiny. The high bailiff had no power to summon witnesses. Such as attended came there voluntarily, and the money they received in consequence of their attendance came under a very different description from that which was received by witnesses, who appeared under a subpoena in the ordinary courts of justice. Here it was in the nature of a bargain, and could not fail to influence the evidence that was delivered. The court of scrutiny had no power to impose an oath. It appeared from the evidence at the bar, that they had in various instances been treated with false witness, with prevarication, and with the extremest contempt. The court had no power to commit a witness that was guilty

of any of these. An opinion had indeed been delivered by sir Lloyd Kenyon, master of the rolls, that the court of scrutiny possessed this prerogative, because every court necessarily possessed the powers, which were essential to the ends of its existence. But he appeared to be singular in this opinion, and at any rate the high bailiff entertained a different sentiment, and had refused to exercise the power with which he was supposed to be vested. It had been imagined, that the proceedings of the scrutiny might be finished in a few months or a few weeks; it had been pretended that there had been a flagrant irregularity and indecency in the Westminster election which were sufficient to countenance extraordinary proceedings. Both these opinions were refuted by the experiment that had been made. The arguments of Mr. Ellis were supported by Mr. Frederic Montagu. He considered the subject as an affair of extreme delicacy. The house had heard opinions on the subject, which gave him the most serious alarm. They had heard grave law authorities publish doctrines inconsistent with every idea he entertained of the constitution. They had hazarded opinions in their ardour on this subject, which had exposed them to the ridicule of the house; a thing which gave him uneasiness. Men, appointed to sit in the seat of justice, and to administer the law of the land, were not in his mind proper members of a popular assembly. They were liable to be heated by the violences of contention, and to imbibe a portion of party spirit, by which they might be subjected to the ridicule of the house and that sort of flippant rebuke, which ought never to be applied to the dignified character of a judge.

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Mr. Pitt was of an opinion opposite to that of Mr. Ellis. He conceived that the expediency of the scrutiny was amply justified by the experiment, and not less demonstrated by the bad votes of the losing, than by those of the successful candidate. It had been urged that the poll itself been a scrutiny. But the numerous votes that had been detected in the farther progress of the business had completely refuted this assertion. Mr. Pitt laid considerable stress on the circumstance which had come out in evidence, that the bad votes, in favour of Mr. Fox, had been particularly charged upon the parishes of Saint Margaret and Saint John. It would therefore be particularly absurd to put a stop to the scrutiny, at the very moment when they were upon the eve of entering upon the suspected parishes. The high bailiff had proposed to make these parishes the second object of his investigation; but it had been objected to by Mr. Fox. To this objection the high bailiff had submitted; but in so doing he had acted improperly, since it was the established rule of all courts, that the petitioner should be allowed to produce his charges in the form and succession that he might judge most expedient. Mr. Pitt treated the delays that had been created as violent and unnecessary. It had been the object of Mr. Fox that as little progress as possible should be made in the scrutiny in a given time; or, in other words, that the business should proceed with all practicable slowness. He imputed too a share of the delay to Mr. Hargrave. He had a great respect for the talents of that gentleman, the depth of his knowledge, and his skill in antiquities. He knew how to apply the system of his own court of chancery to the

method chalked out in the court of scrutiny. His labour and industry were unremitted, and his sagacity was so great, and for this Mr. Pitt appealed to the evidence he had recently delivered, that he could confound and perplex, and render that unintelligible to himself which was clear to all the world beside, with great professional ingenuity. Mr. Pitt treated with particular severity the proposal made by Mr. Fox's counsel to accommodate the convenience of Mr. Hargrave by requiring his attendance only for an hour and a half every day. He concluded with proposing several methods by which he believed the business of the scrutiny might be greatly abridged.

Mr. Fox defended the character and proceedings of Mr. Hargrave. He would ask, if, since Mr. Murphy had taken his place, the scrutiny had been conducted with greater dispatch. The contrary was notoriously the truth. Mr. Pitt was disposed to accelerate the proceedings by freeing the high bailiff from the supposed necessity by which he thought himself bound to make no new regulation, which should not meet the concurrence of both parties. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, asserted, that the most effectual way to procure dispatch, was to obtain the approbation of the parties to the regulations that were adopted; and in this the conciliating disposition and the engaging manners of Mr. Hargrave had been particularly useful. Mr. Fox deprecated the persecution of the chancellor of the exchequer. He had always wished to stand well with him. He remembered the day when he first congratulated the house on the acquisition of his abilities. It had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the

the constitution. He might indeed have been prepared to find in him a formidable rival, a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he had never expected that he would have descended so low as to be the persecutor of any man. He fancied that he had seen in him too much generosity of soul, too much elevation of mind for so groveling a passion to find an asylum in his breast. He would not however withhold from ministers the satisfaction of knowing that, however zealous he and his friends might be, protraction must overcome them. He considered the present measure, with respect to Westminster, as a succedaneum to expulsion. The case of the Middlesex election, which had been so much reprobated, had at least the merit of being more manly; for the proceeding now held accomplished the same end of expulsion, without daring to exhibit any charge against the person expelled.

The question was carried in favour of the continuation of the scrutiny by a majority of 174, who voted in the affirmative, to 135 in the negative. The high bailiff was then acquainted, "First, that he was not precluded by the resolution of the last session from making a return, whenever he was satisfied in his own judgment he could do so; and secondly, that the house was not satisfied that the scrutiny had been proceeded in as expeditiously as it might have been; that it was his duty to adopt and enforce such just and reasonable regulations as should appear to him most likely to prevent unnecessary delay in future; that he was not precluded from so doing by the want of consent of either party; and that he might be assured of the support of

the house in the discharge of his duty." The argument against the scrutiny was supported by Mr. Thomas Pelham, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Jolliffe, Mr. Viner, Mr. Powys, Mr. Eden, lord North, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Lee, Mr. Adam, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. John Scott, Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, Mr. Bastard, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Burke. It was opposed by Mr. Arden, Mr. Bearcroft, and Mr. Hardinge.

But Mr. Fox and his party did not readily depart from the measure they had proposed. The division of the ninth of February was not attended with the minister's usual majorities, and an expectation was indulged that the question might finally be carried against him in spite of all the obstacles he could interpose. A second petition was presented on the part of the electors of Westminster on the eighteenth of February, praying to be heard by their evidence and by their counsel, and stating that the evidence that had been given to the house in the former instance had been imperfect. Their petition was heard on the twenty-first; and the evidence to which they alluded was particularly the confession of the high-bailiff, that Mr. Fox's counsel had proposed that the parish of Saint Margaret's and Saint John's should be made the second object of examination, and that the proposal was refused on the part of sir Cecil Wray. In the course of the day a proposal was made in the house by lord Muncaster to Mr. Fox, authorized by sir Cecil Wray, by which he offered to adjourn the scrutiny immediately to the parishes of Saint Margaret's and Saint John's, to object to four hundred votes for Mr. Fox, and with the examination of them to close the scrutiny. If he disqualified so great  
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a number as to obtain a majority on the poll, then Mr. Fox should be at liberty to petition the house under Mr. Grenville's bill; and if he did not disqualify them, then he would himself give up the scrutiny, and the right of petitioning afterwards. The proposal was rejected.

Previously to the hearing of counsel, it was moved by lord Frederic Campbel, "That the counsel be restrained from going into any matter but such as tended to prove the evidence formerly offered to the house defective and incomplete, or such as had been discovered since that evidence was produced." The professed object of this motion was to limit the counsel from entering into the general question of the legality of the scrutiny, which had already been twice solemnly decided by the house. The motion was warmly contested by opposition, and, it being carried in the affirmative, the counsel declined offering any thing to the house in support of the petition. The motion of Mr. Ellis was then renewed by colonel Fitzpatrick, and rejected by a majority of nine. Finally, on the third of March it was repeated, for the third time, by Mr. Sawbridge, and carried, ayes 162, noes 124. The scrutiny was thus abruptly terminated, and the high bailiff next day made a return of lord Hood and Mr. Fox.

The same evening on which this question had been carried, it was moved by Mr. Fox, that the proceedings of the eighth of June preceding, relative to this subject, should be expunged from the journals. But it being objected, that to put this motion at a late hour, and without previous notice, would be to take the house by surprize, Mr. Fox agreed to adjourn the decision to the ninth day of March.

On that day the person who first rose in support of the question, was Mr. Philip Francis. He observed that he had not spoken in any of the former debates upon this subject, nor opposed the scrutiny otherwise than by a silent vote. In this state of the business he took part with particular pleasure, because the question had now nothing personal in it. A complete admission had been made of the claims of the electors of Westminster in the present case, and of their representatives. The question was now public and national, and every individual in the kingdom had an equal interest in the decision of it. Mr. Francis maintained that the question of the legality was already decided. The vote that put an end to the scrutiny, virtually declared against it. If it were legal, if the high-bailiff's court were a competent court, exercising a lawful jurisdiction, it would have been a most exorbitant act of power in that house to have interposed pendente lite, to have stopped the trial, and prevented a regular decision of it. If the scrutiny were legal, sir Cecil Wray's claim to the judgment of the court on the merits of his cause, was a claim of right of which nothing but violence could deprive him. Was there any other court of justice in the kingdom, whose proceedings between party and party could be stopped by a vote of the house of commons? Those who had already decided the incompetency of the court, could not but be ready to employ their exertions to destroy so perpetual a reproach upon the justice and honour of the house as the votes by which the scrutiny had been originally countenanced.

Mr. Pitt was extremely zealous in urging the house not to incur such a disgrace as would follow the rescind-



rescinding their former resolutions. The plainest legal analogies, the most obvious precedents in the point, the strongest convictions of reason and of right; together with the pride of consistency, and the jealousy of incorruptible but insulted integrity, must preclude the possibility of a compliance with the present motion. He exulted in the complexion of the existing house of commons, which, notwithstanding the disadvantages inseparable from the imperfect mode of its election, retained so much of the characteristic dignity of the British nation. He attributed this in a great measure to Mr. Fox and his colleagues in office, who, by pressing forward a crisis the most momentous and important that was to be found in our history, had roused every exertion of public spirit that remained among the people, and had centered the weight of those exertions in the assembly he addressed. The present house of commons, with a manliness and liberality, that became the representatives of a liberal people, had proceeded in the face of the strongest and most obstinate prejudices to the reform of every abuse that militated against the great end of the constitution. Mr. Pitt still indulged the additional hope to see every local prepossession, which now stood between the empire and its true interests, vanish. He derived a flattering presage from the character of the house, that the great question which was nearest to his heart, that on which the whole and only prospect of a final triumph over every obstacle to greatness and to glory depended, that which alone could entitle Englishmen to the appellation of free, and that which must finally ensure to wise, to virtuous, and to constitutional endeavours, a victory over

factionous ambition and corrupt venality, the stupendous question of a parliamentary reform, would be taken up by them with a determined and upright boldness, and be crowned with the most memorable success. He warned that assembly which Mr. Fox had so repeatedly treated with the most insolent invective and contempt; those new members with which the house had been crowded on the opening of the session, "men with whose faces nobody was acquainted," not to be seduced, by those meretricious blandishments which the good humour of one successful day had drawn from that gentleman, into a dereliction of principle, a violation of law, and an unmerited self-condemnation. The question was carried in the negative, ayes 137, noes 242.

The business of a parliamentary reform appears to have been taken up by Mr. Pitt as a ministerial measure, and to have received from him a considerable degree of attention. It was a favourite measure with several leading gentlemen of the county of York. Those persons had originally been considerably attached to the marquis of Rockingham; but the death of that nobleman, and the subsequent conduct of his adherents, appears to have estranged their affections. In Mr. Pitt they believed they had found every thing, which they had in vain hoped for in their former favourites. They accordingly entered into his cause with the utmost zeal, and were not sparing either of reproach or repulse to the men to whom he had opposed himself. Influenced by the early warmth with which he had taken up the business of a more equal representation of the people in parliament, and induced by the blandishments and mutual good offices that had passed between him-  
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self and the gentlemen of the county of York, he pledged himself in the most solemn manner to make one grand and decisive effort to obtain the object of their vows. We have already alluded to the circular letter of Mr. Wyvil, chairman of the Yorkshire committee, in which he was authorised by Mr. Pitt to declare, "that he would bring forward the subject of a parliamentary reform as early as possible in the session; that he would support his intended propositions to the utmost of his strength, and that he would exert his whole power and credit, as a man and as a minister, honestly and boldly, to carry such a system as should place the constitution on a footing of permanent security."

It was therefore in concert with the friends of the measure in distant provinces, that Mr. Pitt, on the first of February, gave notice of his intended motion. A specific plan had been handed about, as being the result of the last deliberations of the minister; and Mr. Fox now took occasion to enlarge upon the preference of a general proposition. To enter into particulars previously to the question being regularly brought before parliament, would have the effect of occasioning public meetings without doors, and of causing a variety of opinions to be promulgated. The result would be that some set of ideas or other would be adopted by the people; and by these the mover of the proposition would be bound down as well as the house. Thus the freedom of debate would be frustrated, and the subject would not come before them as it ought to do, fully and impartially, without prejudice or restraint.

It was not till the eighteenth of April that Mr. Pitt called the attention of the house to this important

subject. He was aware of the difficulty that must at all times subsist, and the pertinacity he must expect to encounter, in proposing a plan of reform. But he rose with hopes infinitely more sanguine than he had conceived at any former period. There never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this interesting topic; there never was a moment when they were more prepared for its discussion. Many objections, which had been urged from time to time against reform, would not lay against his propositions; and the question was new in all its shapes to the present parliament. Mr. Pitt was particularly assiduous to remove the objection of innovation. He said that if members went along with him in a retrospect to the earliest periods of our history, they would find his proposal to be perfectly coincident with the experience of ages. As far back as the reign of king Edward the First, before which distinct descriptions of men could not be traced in the representation, the franchise of election had constantly fluctuated; the number of members had frequently varied; even the representation of the counties had not been uniform. These changes had been owing to the discretion which was reposed in the executive branch of the legislature to summon whom they pleased to parliament. In those early periods, such was the notion of representation, that as one borough decayed, and another flourished, the first was abolished, and the second invested with the right. The alterations were not made upon principle. They did not rise from any fixed rule laid down and invariably pursued; but they were founded in a maxim, the application of which was entrusted to the crown, that



the principal places, and not the decayed boroughs, should be called upon to exercise the right of election. King James the First, in his first proclamation for calling a parliament, directed that the sheriffs of the county should not call upon such boroughs to send members, as were so utterly ruined as to be incapable or untitled to contribute their share to the representation of the county. He mentioned the authority of Cromwel, an authority for which, as he said, he had in general no great reverence, whose opposition to Charles the First began in licentiousness, and ended in tyranny. It had been declared by the protector, that there should be a greater proportion of knights than of burgeses in the house of commons; and it was the observation of lord Clarendon, that the plan was worthy of a more legitimate authority, and of better times. Mr. Pitt concluded his historical detail with observing, that it was by the act of union, that the number of the members of the house of commons was fixed, and from the date of that act of union, and not before, that the discretion of the crown was at an end.

He remarked, that if the discretion of former periods of our history were now exercised, and the executive power called whom it pleased to parliament, there were few but would conceive, that the liberties of this country were totally annihilated. For this discretion he was no advocate; but he wished to establish a permanent rule to operate like the discretion, out of which the constitution had sprung. He contended that the maxim upon which it was founded should now prevail, but that it should be rescued from the accident and caprice in which it had before been involved. He wished

to bring forward a plan that should be complete, gradual and permanent. It was his purpose to see an arrangement made, which, while it corrected the present inadequate state of representation, should preserve the purity that was once restored, and give to the constitution consistency, and, if possible, immortality. His plan therefore would be final, and would not be exposed to the hackneyed objection, that if a door was opened to innovation, it would be impossible to shut out the wildest schemes of the maddest projectors; and that if they began to correct, there might be danger that they might be drawn on till they parted with every thing established, and every thing valuable.

It was a principle upon which Mr. Pitt strongly insisted, that his plan was not executed by an act of power, and did not proceed upon disfranchisement. He would take it as an axiom, that there were thirty-six boroughs so decayed, as to render them the immediate objects of his proposed suppression. It was his design, that the present number of the house of commons should be preserved entire and inviolate; and these seventy-two members he would add to the counties in such proportions as the wisdom of parliament might prescribe; the number to remain fixed and unalterable. He proposed that the boroughs should be disfranchised only on the voluntary application to parliament of two-thirds of their electors; and in order to induce that application he recommended to the house the establishment of a fund [one million] for the purpose of purchasing the franchise of such boroughs as might be willing to accept of it under the circumstances he had mentioned. It might be said perhaps, that it did not become that

that house, for wild and chimerical speculations, to involve their constituents in additional burthens; but he trusted, that in a matter so dear and important to Englishmen they would not be intimidated by the circumstances of the cost. He conceived the purchase to be above all price; it was a thing for which the people of England could not pay too dear. He alluded to the American war. Should we have suffered the calamities to which they had lately been exposed, if there had always been a house of commons, the faithful stewards of the interests of their country, the diligent checks on the administration of the finances, the constitutional advisers of the executive branch of the legislature, and the steady and uninfluenced friends of the people of England? Mr. Pitt was aware that there was a sort of squeamishness and coyness in that house in talking of what might be the proper consideration for the purchase of a franchise. Out of doors it was pretty well understood that they had no great objection to negotiate the sale and the purchase of seats. But he would ask, was it after all such an insult to an Englishman to ask him to sell his invaluable franchise? Was there any immorality in receiving a pecuniary consideration for the cession of a valuable benefit to our country? The operation of the scheme Mr. Pitt proposed, would not be immediate, at least in its fullest extent, but he had reason to believe neither would it be slow and distant in its completion. He was sanguine enough to persuade himself that, before the expiration of the present parliament, the benefit of his plan would be felt; and in the mean time the objection to its being gradual would be the less regarded, from the confidence placed by the

people of England in their present representatives. Parliament had been elected under circumstances which made it dear to Englishmen. It had not yet forfeited the confidence of the country, and he was warranted in saying that, with such a house of commons, the constituent body would not be eager for the immediate accomplishment of the reform. The other particulars of Mr. Pitt's plan were the admitting of copyholders to an equality with freeholders, and the extending the franchise in popular towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general. He intended in like manner to purchase the franchise of other boroughs besides the original thirty-six, and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns hitherto unrepresented, upon their presenting a petition to parliament to be indulged with this privilege. The result of his plan, according to a calculation that was made, was to give one hundred members to the popular interest in the kingdom, and to extend the right of election to one hundred thousand persons, who, by the existing provisions of law were excluded from it.

Mr. Powys warmly opposed the motion of Mr. Pitt. He charged the minister with having pronounced, with his usual elegance and force of expression, a funeral oration on the constitution of his country. In the same breath indeed, he celebrated that constitution as the most excellent in the world, as the perfection and the envy of human wisdom; but he consigned it to a mere immortality of fame, by urging the house at once to put an end to its existence. Had the people of England, Mr. Powys enquired, called for a reform? There were but eight petitions upon the table.

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No; the business in which Mr. Pitt had unfortunately engaged himself was a volunteer crusade, the mere knight-errantry of a political Quixote. Mr. Powys would not admit that the untoward circumstances which had occurred, and the fluctuations of the state, originated in the imperfections of the constitution. The prosperity and the calamities of the empire would undoubtedly vary under the best, as well as under the worst form of government. He regretted the melancholy consequences of the American war as much as any man could do; but could it be said that that war depended on the representatives of the boroughs? He did not chuse to go into the detail of the scheme now subjected to the consideration of parliament. But thus much he would say, that no pecuniary consideration should induce him to forego the privilege and the glory of having it in his power to introduce to the service and attention of his country the chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Pitt had laboured to satisfy the house that his system was final; and that it set bounds to the speculative reformations of all future theorists. This he said, but he did not prove it. It was, on the contrary, an example, a precedent, an incitement to the wildest and most paradoxical notions they could devise. They got by it, what Archimedes wanted, a foundation for their inventions, a fulcrum from which they could throw the parliament and the constitution of England into the air. It was impossible for him to contemplate the subject with any degree of patience. He was as much master of it the first moment it was stated, as if he had revolved it for years. He would not therefore call for the order of the day, or treat it

either with deference or reserve. Its purposes were so hostile to the constitution, so menacing and unqualified, that he was clearly for meeting the question in front, and giving it a direct and unequivocal contradiction.

Lord North followed in the same strain of objection. He said that from the silence of the people of England, he was authorised to conclude, that they made themselves perfectly easy about a parliamentary reform, and were fully satisfied with the state of representation in that house. The people of Birmingham were wiser than to call for any innovation in the constitution. A member for a considerable county, the county of Suffolk, had in all the news-papers addressed his constituents for instructions how he should vote on the question of a parliamentary reform. But to this moment they had not given him any directions upon the subject. A meeting had been summoned for the purpose of instruction in the first city of the empire; and though the business of the meeting was matter of general notoriety, only three hundred persons attended. He begged to know where there existed in Europe, or on the face of the earth, a people so happy as those who lived under the British constitution? Where was there a people so fully in possession of their liberties or their rights? The fact was undeniable. What mattered it then, whether the persons who sat in that house, the guardians of the public freedom, sat by the election of a burghage tenure, a borough, or a county? While the people's rights were secure, and their liberties were safe, why was it necessary to make a minute enquiry how they came to be safe?

Mr. Wilberforce supported the motion

motion of Mr. Pitt. He remarked, that the dread of innovation so much prevailed in the minds of certain persons, that in order to avoid it they took care to reject even any new ground of argument; and the house was now entertained with the repetition of the same observations and the same jokes, which they had repeatedly heard before on similar occasions. He particularly recommended the system of reform, as it would tend to diminish the progress of party and cohesion in this country, from which he was convinced our greatest misfortunes originated. There were men and parties in Great Britain, which derived their power and influence almost entirely from the burgage tenures, that by this bill would be destroyed. The consequence of coalitions and parties formed on one side of the house was, that similar engagements were necessarily formed on the other. And for his part he longed to see the time, when he should come into the house, and give his vote, divested of any sentiments of attachment, that should induce him to approve of measures from his connection with men. Mr. Wilberforce explained the circumstances of the Yorkshire petition, which he disapproved, and asserted that the applications which had before been made to parliament upon the subject superseded the propriety of their being renewed.

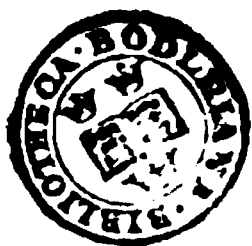
Mr. Fox was a friend to the principle of a more equal representation; but this did not restrain him from animadverting upon various particulars in the proceedings of Mr. Pitt. He blamed him for vainly endeavouring to defend himself against the idea of innovation. From the earliest periods of our government the principle of innovation,

or, as it might more properly be styled, of amendment, was neither more nor less than the practice of the constitution. Every species of government, exclusive of absolute monarchy, was in a state of fluctuation, and should be expected gradually to improve when experience came to the aid of theory and speculation. The people of England called for an alteration in the popular branch of their government. To their voice he by no means acknowledged that the house of commons was obliged to conform, when they were directed by a sudden impulse, or the infatuation of a moment. But it should always be obeyed in points upon which the experience and reflection of years had taught them finally to decide. Mr. Fox bestowed his particular approbation upon that principle, which by a diminution of the members for boroughs, tended to increase the proportion of knights of the shire. But though he was sincerely desirous of seeing the measure brought completely before the house, yet he trusted that the parts of the plan would in the committee experience a very considerable degree of modification and amendment. As it now stood, admitting only the first principle, every other part, and the means taken to obtain the principle, were highly exceptionable. He did not hesitate to declare that he would never agree to the purchasing from a majority of electors the property of the whole. There was in this so much injustice and so much repugnance to the true spirit of the constitution, that he could not entertain the idea for a moment. There was something injurious in holding out pecuniary temptations to an Englishman to relinquish his franchise. He entertained an opi-

nion, which, though not a popular one, he was always ready to avow, that the right of governing was not a property but a trust, and that whatever was given for constitutional purposes should be resumed when those purposes were no longer subserved. Mr. Fox was sorry that Mr. Wilberforce, in all the warmth he professed in the business, did not take the most conciliating mode of acquiring strength to it. Instead of reproaching characters of the greatest weight in parliament for confining themselves to old observations and arguments, he should rather tremble for the success with which these old observations had formerly been applied, and the contrary fate which had attended the novel and variable style of the minister. The motion of Mr. Pitt was supported by Mr. Arden and Mr. Henry Dundas. It was opposed by lord Mulgrave, lord Frederic Campbell, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Rolle, Mr.

Burke, and Mr. William Young. Upon the question for leave to bring in the bill the house divided, ayes 174, noes 248. The majority against a parliamentary reform was precisely the same as it had been in the preceding session, when the question was brought forward upon the motion of Mr. Sawbridge.

On the third day of May Mr. Sawbridge repeated his annual motion for shortening the duration of parliaments. He professed to entertain slender hopes of success, and very little was said on either side upon the question. It was remarked by lord Surrey, that if a just representation of the people could have been obtained, he should have had no objection to extending the duration of parliaments to seven or even more years; but that not having been obtained, he should support the present question. The motion was rejected by a majority of considerably more than two to one,



## C H A P. VI.

*Votes of Supply. Fortifications. Newfoundland. Affairs of India. Debts of the Nabob of Arcot.*

**T**HE business of the supplies of the year was brought forward in its usual routine. On the second of February a resolution was moved for 18,000 seamen. The army estimates, which were moved on the fifteenth, were taken at 18,053 men. Upon this occasion the business of the four reduced regiments was resumed from the last session, and the question was agitated respecting the superior eligibility of maintaining a greater number of regiments with fewer private men, or an inferior number of re-

giments with full companies. The last proposition was strenuously supported by colonel Fitzpatrick. The ordinary of the navy was voted on the twenty-eighth of February. Upon this occasion Mr. Hussey animadverted upon several of the sums in the estimates, and particularly upon a charge of 16,000*l.* for building a house in one of the dockyards for a commissioner. He said, he hoped that Mr. Charles Brett, who had on several occasions shewn himself an enemy to works of mere ostentation and parade, would, now that

that he was in office, join with him in reprobating such an application of the public money, at a time when œconomy was extremely necessary.

But the business that excited more attention than any other department of supply was that of the ordnance. Very considerable and expensive fortifications had been planned by the duke of Richmond, the master general, so early as the year 1782. The design of this system was extremely different from any mode of fortifications that had been previously adopted in this country, and was the result of the experience and the alarms of the combined war. An adequate degree of attention does not seem to have been paid to the subject till it was somewhat advanced in its execution, and it was suffered to pass as a matter of course. But as the sum of 50,000*l.* was annually moved for, in order to carry on these works, the business gradually engaged the thoughts and reflection of many members of the house of commons, considerable both in their numbers and in their importance. The business was brought forward on the twenty-third of February, and was permitted to receive the sanction of the house in its usual forms, under the idea that it should be suggested again for reconsideration. In the interval it was moved by Mr. Holdsworth, member for Dartmouth, that there should be laid before the house an account of the expences already incurred in the business of fortification at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Gosport, Chatham, Dover, and Sheerness, together with a report of the probable expence of completing the fortifications of Plymouth and Portsmouth.

On the fourteenth of March it was moved by Mr. Bastard, mem-

ber for the county of Devon, that the report of the committee of supply on the ordnance estimate should be recommitted. On this occasion, captain James Luttrell of the navy, surveyor general of the office of ordnance, entered into a circumstantial defence of the project of the duke of Richmond. He remarked, that the importance of the question claimed for it the most serious and deliberate discussion. The national treasury had been greatly exhausted by the late unfortunate war, and œconomy in every department of administration was highly expedient. But to neglect the most essential preparations for the future safety of the kingdom, would be to adopt a ruinous, impolitic, and desponding parsimony, not justified by any public disaster, or any fatal necessity. He was adverse to a general system of defending the kingdom by fortifications. It would be only furnishing an advantage to an invading enemy. The destruction of a country town could never decide the fate of a war; but the demolition of the principal docks and naval stores of the kingdom would strike at the very root of our peculiar defence; and it must be of the utmost importance to guard against such a blow. To protect our dockyards effectually, it became necessary that a moderate force should be able to repel an enemy, till the strength of the country could be collected; and this could only be effected by fortifications. Veteran troops only could be opposed to veterans in the open field; and superior number in an invading enemy must probably succeed. But within forts, militia, seamen, and almost any stout spirited fellow might be as useful as the most experienced soldier. There was only a certain limited time that any fortification



could hold out against the regular approaches of an army, unless nature afforded it any singular advantage, such as those of the rock of Gibraltar. There could therefore be no risque that an enemy, even in possession of the proposed fortifications, could hold them for a considerable time against the collected force of this country. But the possession for twenty-four hours of a situation from which the dock, stores, and shipping might be assailed with red-hot shot and shells, would be a fatal blow to the navy.

Beside these indirect advantages Mr. Luttrell observed, that the immediate benefit to the fleets of this country were great and decisive. The system under discussion would remove the alarms and apprehensions which had cramped the employment of our navy in the preceding war. Inferior in number of ships to our enemies, Great Britain would be still more inferior, if French troops in any situation were suffered to block up our ships in their ports, and thus virtually act as an increase of the naval force with which we had to contend. The proposed works were necessary to justify the occasional absence of the channel fleet, when convoys and other extemporary efforts required its attention. Mr. Luttrell alluded to the situation of this country when lord Howe sailed to the relief of Gibraltar. The whole of the Dutch navy was left at liberty for near three months, either to annoy our coast and our trade, or to cover a landing of French troops, if the enemy had meditated such an expedition. He denied that any new acquisition of force was likely to afford us any superiority in a future war. The loss of America had circumscribed the extent of our commerce, and fewer seamen must

be the necessary consequence. France and Spain had an increasing commerce, a more numerous fleet, improved finances, and a population that would supply every want both by land and by sea. The Dutch navy was likely to be far more numerous than in the last war, and a combination of naval strength against us was much more probable than any acquisition of alliance in our favour. Thus circumstanced he wished the navy to be an active force. He hoped never again to see it employed merely for the purpose of defence. Offensive war was best suited to the genius of the nation, and the only one that could terminate with honour, advantage, and glory to Britain.

Mr. Courtenay, in reply to Mr. Luttrell, felt himself called upon to declare, that, in what he should say upon the subject, he was actuated by no pique or personal resentment against the duke of Richmond. He could not deny that he had persevering industry, and was possessed of some abilities; but it was rather unfortunate for this country that his passion for engineering had broken out at so late a period of his life. When an old man fell in love, there was nothing, however ridiculous, that he would not propose, and nothing, however preposterous, to which he would not accede, to accomplish the gratification of his passion. Mr. Courtenay remarked upon the circumstance of the master general having reduced his plans to a smaller scale. The reduction itself had not been a little expensive, since it had been made by pulling down large works, in the erection of which large sums of money had been consumed, to place others in their stead. For himself he was of opinion, that if the old works, projected by general Conway,



way, were put in repair, it would answer every essential purpose for the protection of the dock-yard. But be that as it would, he was completely satisfied, that the lines of fortification under consideration, were by no means calculated to answer the purposes for which they were intended.

Captain Macbride, general Burgoyne, and colonel Barré, followed Mr. Courtenay on the same side of the question. The colonel began with complimenting the country gentlemen on the high honour they had done themselves by the part they had acted in this business. He reprobated the doctrine that Mr. Luttrell held, that we could not, in case of a new war, make greater efforts at sea. He insisted upon the radical defect which adhered to the combined fleet of two powers, naturally odious to each other. Was there a man that would hesitate to make his election between the fleet of a single power of one hundred sail, and a fleet thus situated of one hundred and twenty sail? He stated circumstances which made it wise in France to have recourse to fortification, at the same time that it would be madness in us. He animadverted upon the projects of economy of the duke of Richmond. He styled the corps of engineers a body of men unprotected, neglected, oppressed. He stated that the emoluments of their officers were fewer, and their necessary private establishments more expensive than those of any other officers. To point the economy of government at the corps of engineers and artillery, was an ill-advised measure. These were the only parts of the army founded in science, and professionally learned. They ought therefore to be encouraged as much as possible, and to be distributed

through the other military corps for the extension of science, not to be harrassed with new and distressing arrangements. Colonel Barré contrasted the character of the present master general of the ordnance with those of his predecessors in office, and particularly lord Townshend. No man had sought for service, and courted it in every corner of the world more ardently, nor had any man come out of office with cleaner hands, or a more unimpeachable integrity. What were the armies the duke of Richmond had commanded? Where had he led on the British troops to conflict and to victory? He recommended to administration the example of queen Elizabeth, when this country was threatened with an invasion. Though she had a Raleigh in her service, and other great and distinguished officers, she trusted not to the advice of any one of them. She convened a meeting of the most experienced of her naval and military servants, and profited by their collected wisdom. Colonel Barré trusted in the integrity of the minister. He said that the right honourable gentleman was fortifying where he ought to fortify, and deserved the thanks of his country for the exertions in which he was employed. He was fortifying the empire by rooting out the abuses of office, by scouring the channel of our worst foe, the contraband dealer. These were true fortifications; upon these the country must depend, and they were built on a firm basis.

Mr. Pitt animadverted with severity upon the personal attack of colonel Barré on the duke of Richmond, and defended his character with considerable warmth. The duke he said was not destitute of experience, and had lived in habits of confidence with the first military cha-

characters of the present age. It was well known that he had made the subject of engineering his particular study; and nothing appeared to him more certain, than that, if the principles of the duke of Richmond had not precluded him from taking any appointment in the late war, he would before now have commanded armies, and probably led them to the most memorable victories. Mr. Pitt however coincided in the idea that it would be advisable for a more solemn and general opinion to be taken on the subject of the fortifications than that of the board of ordnance. He said that there had been 50,000l. granted last year for the purpose of the fortifications, which had not yet been touched, and which he should be extremely willing should be retained till the subject had received a deliberate and final decision. This proposal was accepted as a compromise by the members who had opposed all farther progress in the system of fortification.

Early in the year 1784, the settlers of Newfoundland had experienced a great scarcity of provisions. At the period, when their necessities were the most urgent, several vessels, laden with the species of merchandise of which they stood most in need, arrived from the United States of America. Admiral Campbell, the governor, had been much at a loss for the mode of conduct it became him to adopt in this situation, as it was doubtful how far any subject of commerce might be legally imported, though in British bottoms, from an independent state, into the colonies of England. To remedy this defect, a bill, which was understood to have been drawn up by Mr. Charles Jenkinson, and which was brought forward by Mr. Pitt, was introduced into the house

of commons, for confining for a limited time the trade between the United States of America and the island of Newfoundland, to bread, flour, and live stock, to be imported in British ships, furnished with a licence from this country. A difficulty was started upon the subject, and urged with particular warmth and perseverance by Mr. Eden. The bill was considered by him as destructive of the navigation laws of this country. He observed, that the great principle of these laws was, that foreign produce could not be imported into the British colonies without being previously landed in this kingdom. The present bill assumed and was founded upon a principle which was untrue. It pretended to confine, at the same time that it laid open, the trade of the empire. He remarked, that however inapplicable the navigation laws of this country might be conceived to be, to abstracted theories of commerce, they were from peculiar circumstances become essential to this country. Mr. Eden deprecated the idea of acting in any degree from passion or party zeal. The objection that he urged was intimately connected with the best interests of this country; and in a matter of this sort he was not without hopes of a general support. The bill was opposed upon a different ground by Mr. Brooke Watson. He observed, that Canada and Nova Scotia, and the traders of this country, were competent to supply the island of Newfoundland with every thing that could be obtained from the States of America; and he treated the bill as a matter of partial indulgence to the merchants of Dartmouth and Poole. He called upon the house to hear evidence, which he was ready to produce in support of what he asserted. The ideas of  
Mr.

Mr. Eden were controverted by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Jenkinson, and Mr. Beaufoy. They argued against them from analogy, and they particularly insisted on the fact that the intercourse in British ships between the ports of Newfoundland and those of the United States, had for the two last years been actually established. They ridiculed the idea of supplying Newfoundland from the provinces of Nova Scotia and Canada. From these countries it was admitted that they had nothing at present to expect; but it was added, that in a few years the exports would be great. Surely that house would not be guilty of such a mockery of our fishermen as to refer them to the distant prospect of future years, when they applied for a present supply of bread. With respect to England, it was observed, that if she could, as was asserted, furnish grain of every kind at a cheaper rate, she would undoubtedly have the preference. What merchant was there so blind to his own interest as to send his vessel to purchase corn, at an extravagantly dear market at two thousand miles distant, when he had a cheap market at his door? In fine, the house was intreated to extend its protection to a bill which was obviously recommended by the most powerful of all considerations, those of public interest, of justice and humanity. The measure was supported by lord North, who however recommended to the house to hear the evidence that was prepared on the subject. This was objected to on account of the urgency of the case, and the bill finally received the sanction of the legislature.

The affairs of India, which had engaged so much of the attention of preceding sessions of parliament,

and were now conceived to have been ultimately adjusted, did not occupy so large a portion of the proceedings of the present year. They were however repeatedly brought forward by such persons as particularly interested themselves in the transactions of Indostan, or by opposition, who considered this department of government as affording a favourable handle for their animadversions. It was observed by Mr. Burke, on the first day of the session, that our settlements in the Peninsula seemed to be arrived at a very dangerous crisis. He stated Mr. Hastings to have lately contracted offensive alliances in India, and asserted the probability of two wars breaking out afresh in that country. He observed on the dreary and inauspicious appearance of the plains, as described by Mr. Hastings in a letter from Lucknow of the thirtieth of March 1784. He maintained that the treasury at Calcutta was entirely empty, and that the orders of the presidency were negotiated at a discount of twelve per cent. These observations were controverted by major John Scott, upon occasion of the vote of seamen of the second of February. He remarked that the navy of this country would not have been reduced eight thousand men lower than the establishment of the last year, if the ministers of the king had entertained those fearful apprehensions of war which had disturbed the imaginations of some persons in that house, and had alarmed many people out of it. It was nearly in the same interval that Mr. Burke put the question to ministers, whether or not it was intended, as it seems was at that time reported, that sir Elijah Impey should return to his office of chief judge of the supreme court of judicature.

dicature in Bengal. The enquiry was enforced by Mr. Fox, who observed, that under the circumstances of the recal such a conduct, if the report was true, would be the most unparalleled contempt of that house that had ever occurred. It was replied by Mr. Dundas, that, with respect to his return, sir Elijah himself could give the most satisfactory answer on that head; but an enquiry had actually been commenced by government, and was now in progress, into his conduct in the administration of his office.

On the twenty-fourth of February a motion was made by Mr. Francis, that there should be laid before the house a letter written by Mr. Hastings on the twenty-first of February 1784. In measures of reform Mr. Francis said, such as had for some time been the professed system of our government respecting the affairs of India, it was not enough to supersede facts that had been thought improper, the principle itself should not be suffered to remain. Principles were the sources of facts, and as long as they continued, new facts and new circumstances would grow out of them. It was from that persuasion that his present motion originated. Mr. Hastings, in the letter in question, enumerated a variety of claims which he advanced upon the court of directors, and which having been omitted in the accounts of government, had been accumulating for several years. At the same time he stated that he had paid himself out of monies privately received by him, and maintained that such a mode of privately taking money was that best adapted to the situation and prosperity of the company's affairs in India. In the course of the debate upon this question,

Mr. Burke interrogated major Scott respecting his agency in behalf of Mr. Hastings. The major in reply declared that he gloried in his connexion with the governor general, but at the same time asserted his parliamentary independency in very warm terms. In that house he sat as an Englishman, as a man, who from his family had just as good a right to sit there as Mr. Burke, or any gentleman on either side of the house. Mr. Dundas objected to the proposition of Mr. Francis. If he recollected the paper, it was at that time under the consideration of the board of control. Should the house come to a determination to call for each individual letter that from time to time was sent to the court of directors from India, he should not oppose them. He observed however that the affairs of the company were now under arrangement before a board whose existence originated in that house. It was upon that account the less essential, that parliament should have all the papers relative to India before them, and it was better that they should place some confidence in their own servants. The motion of Mr. Francis passed in the negative.

On the seventh of February the court of directors, in pursuance of the act of the last session, submitted to the house an estimate of their various establishments, civil, military, and commercial, and they were made the subject of very pointed animadversion. On the sixteenth of February Mr. Francis took occasion to remark on the very rapid and astonishing increase of the civil establishment of Bengal. In 1774 it had stood at no more than 136,000l; in 1776, in consequence of the institution of the supreme council and supreme court of judicature, it was increased to 251,500l; but,

but, according to the statement delivered in by the court of directors, it now amounted to the enormous sum of 927,945l. Mr. Francis selected some of the items of this account. He mentioned the salt office, the board of which, consisting of six persons, divided among them 72,800l. The salaries and annual profits of the board of customs, consisting of three persons, made up the sum of 23,000l. There was a new committee of revenue, the duty of which used to be done by the supreme council, whose annual profits stood at 47,350l. The president of this board, whose salary amounted to 10,950l, had been for some years, and was at this moment our ambassador at the court of Madagazindia, for which purpose he was allowed 4,280l. Mr. Francis concluded with moving, "that there should be laid before the house a comparative statement of the different amounts of the establishment of Bengal in the year 1776 and in the year 1783; and that there should be laid before the house an estimate of the probable receipts and disbursements of the Bengal government in the current year, from the first of May 1784, to the first of May 1785." Major Scott replied to the animadversions of Mr. Francis. He stated part of the excess of the civil establishment of Bengal as owing to a sum of 127,000l. having been ranged under the civil, which ought to have been ranged under the military department. He observed that by the establishment of the salt office, a revenue of 540,000l. a year had been created to the company, where a shilling had not been collected before. He was astonished that Mr. Francis should object to the emoluments of the salt office as extravagant and enormous, at the same time that

the institution had been fixed by the unanimous assent of the supreme council, of which Mr. Francis had been a member. Major Scott was decisive in his charges of wilful misrepresentation against his antagonist. Mr. Francis explained his conduct by observing, that the emoluments of the salt office had not been fixed till September 1780, two months before he left Bengal, and when he interfered but little in measures, that were to operate long after his departure. No previous calculation of the probable profits of the institution had been made, nor could their actual amount be known in a less space than that of a year. But when they were known, they ought to have been retrenched, instead of having been suffered to continue at their present exorbitant amount, already for three years, and still going on without alteration.

Mr. Pitt declared himself fully sensible of the decaying and dangerous situation of the company's affairs. He looked as the means of retrieving them to the retrenchment of their establishments; and he hoped by the measures he should pursue, and which would soon come under the inspection of the house, that the retrenchment would appear to be as practicable as it was necessary. In the prosecution of this design he was happy in the concurrence of every member of parliament; but he did not conceive that it was in a way of being better executed by other gentlemen's running a race with him. He had an invincible objection, and he was ready to avow it, to lose the honour of producing a measure that was likely to be of essential and permanent benefit to the public. The motions of Mr. Francis passed in the affirmative. Papers relative to



to the same object were called for by Mr. Eden on the twentieth of April, and were refused.

On the fifth of May, Mr. Francis moved for a committee of the house of commons to be appointed to compare the several statements which had been laid before parliament by the court of directors in the years 1784 and 1785, and to report to the house the result of the comparisons, together with their observations. In support of this motion Mr. Francis observed that it would be worth the while of the house to remark, in the first place, that for want of materials respecting Madras and Bombay, what he had to state would be confined to the establishments in Bengal, and to the resources and difficulties of the company's affairs in that quarter. It was the only part of India in which resource existed, or from which the most distant hope of retrieving their affairs could be derived. In every other quarter the distress existed without the resource. Fort St. George and Bombay hung upon Bengal for their daily subsistence. Their establishments would exhaust a great revenue, and they had none. They were overwhelmed with debts, which increased every day, and they had not a rupee to pay either principal or interest. It followed then that in confining himself to the state of Bengal, he looked at the company's affairs abroad in the most favourable point of view. The act of parliament, Mr. Francis observed, required that a perfect list of all civil and military establishments should be produced. But he undertook to prove that the various accounts which had been laid before that house were defective, contradictory and fallacious. Various articles and heads of expence in the state-

ment of the seventh of February were left blank, which might be computed moderately at 100,000*l*. The marine, which stood at 80,000*l*. per annum was entirely omitted. Mr. Francis dwelt upon the great variety of the accounts which had all of them received the sanction of the court of directors. In February 1784, they estimated their civil establishment at 350,000*l*; and at that moment a material purpose was to be answered by it. The authentic statement of 1785 almost trebled that estimate. A second account had been produced in consequence of his motion upon the subject, which reduced the amount to 616,556*l*. He informed the house that a third account, different from all the rest, existed, and was made out in November last, for the use of the directors. This was fixed at 764,450*l*. What confidence was to be placed in such contradictory accounts? What real information did they give? What proceeding could safely be founded upon them?

Mr. Francis next adverted to the military establishment. This was estimated in the list of the beginning of the session at 1,078,500*l*. This was surely an extraordinary reduction, if it were considered that the establishment of the preceding year amounted to three millions and a half. Upon the whole of their estimates the directors had observed in 1784, that they did not see any reason to doubt, that in the year ending with the first of May 1785, the surplus of revenue in Bengal would amount to 1,644,000*l*. How had this promise of the company been realised? The balance against the government of Bengal, in the year preceding that in question, had exhibited a deficiency of 600,000*l*. a circumstance which he had mentioned



tioned at the time as extremely alarming. By way of satisfaction it had then been said, that that estimate did in effect provide for a war establishment; that it included all the arrears and windings up of the contest, and that the deficiency would be made good in the succeeding year. The house had now the estimate of the succeeding year; and this certainly ought to be considered as a year of peace. But this year, instead of making good deficiencies, outran all former extravagance. The resources were stated by the supreme council at above six millions and a half; the expences at about eight millions; so that the deficiency of this single year of peace, of economy, of saving, of retrenchment, of surplus, was 1,670,000*l*. The house therefore saw the event of the fallacious promises of the directors. If the real deficiency were added to the supposed surplus, they would be convicted of a miscalculation in the resources and disbursements in one year, and in one of their governments only to the amount of 3,320,000*l*. At the same time the bonded debt in Bengal amounted to two millions, and was negotiated at thirty per cent. discount. Every service, civil and military, was enormously in arrear, and the resources of the last year would be found, upon comparison, to fall short of those of the preceding 350,000*l*. sterling. Mr. Francis pathetically lamented the defects and fallacy of the estimates on the table. False information he said was worse than none. In absolute darkness there was a sort of security in standing still; but by false lights men were led to destruction. Parliament and the nation had been grossly deceived; they were entangled and committed

in the affairs of the company, and it was necessary the deception should be destroyed as soon as possible.

Mr. Nathaniel Smith, deputy chairman of the company, excused the erroneousness of the estimate of the probable resources and disbursements of the Bengal government, from the circumstance of peace having been concluded in India ten months later than was expected. They had been made out upon the idea that every thing could by that time have been put upon a peace establishment, whereas in fact the full war establishment was continued for a considerable part of the year, which of course occasioned a great excess of disbursements. Mr. Smith adverted to the flattering situation of the company at home, which had enabled them to pay 500,000*l*. in part of the sum due to government for duties, which they were not yet obliged to discharge but by their voluntary choice. Major Scott observed that if they looked forward to the next year ending with the first of May 1786, they would find the government of Bengal taking credit for a larger surplus than he had done in the preceding session. The surplus which he had stated was taken at 1,570,000*l*. while by the calculation of the governor and council upon the spot it would amount to 1,937,400*l*.

Mr. Fox supported the motion. He presumed that those members who were directors of the East India company could not mean to divide the house, since if they did, they pleaded guilty to the charge alledged against them, and confessed the whole of it to be true. Mr. Pitt urged the house to reject the motion. He maintained that there was no just and defensible ground upon which it could be sup-

supported. Did those persons who were for a committee intend to ground on their report a charge of criminality against the court of directors? A very high degree of criminality would doubtless be fixed if they should be found to have wilfully attempted to have deceived the house with respect to the situation and resources of the company. But any charge of intentional misstatement was entirely out of the question, since the paper alleged to be fallacious was not a positive account of disbursements already made, and resources at the time in existence, but of what was expected to be the amount of both in case of certain contingencies. Was there a design then, in consequence of discovering the true state of the company's affairs, to yield them such relief as might appear to be necessary? It would surely be a degree of forward and unusual liberality in men, who had made the most violent opposition to the granting them that relief, which they applied for in the last session of parliament, now, when they demanded no assistance, to be desirous of imposing it upon them against their consent. All other motives, except those he had mentioned, were an idle and frivolous curiosity. Such a curiosity, if once indulged, would know no bounds; and at length perhaps the house would be applied to, to appoint a committee to consider and make their observations on every single dispatch that arrived from India. Mr. Francis's motion was supported by lord North, Mr. Burke, Mr. Hussey and sir James Johnstone. It was opposed by Mr. Baring, Mr. Dayrel, and Mr. Vansittart. At length the house divided, ayes 45, noes 161. On the first of June Mr. Francis moved the resolutions in the house which he

intended to have proposed to the committee, and which were expressive of the falsehoods and contradictions he had endeavoured to discover. Mr. Dundas moved upon them the previous question.

But a subject of much greater importance than these, and that was constituted by the first measures of the board of control, which was appointed under Mr. Pitt's bill for the regulation of India, was agitated in the present session of parliament. These measures related to the debts of the nabob of Arcot to individuals and to the East India company, and to the disputed rights of the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjore. We omitted to detail these in the order of time, that by reserving them to this place our view of them might be entire, united and comprehensive.

The appointment of commissioners for the affairs of India, in pursuance of the provisions of Mr. Pitt's bill, took place on the third day of September 1784. The commissioners were lord Sydney, secretary of state for the home department, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, lord Walsingham, Mr. William Grenville and lord Mulgrave. The clauses of Mr. Pitt's bill had expressly enacted, "That the court of directors should, as soon as might be, take into consideration the origin and justice of the demands of British subjects on the nabob of Arcot, as far as they should be enabled by the materials in their possession; and that they should give orders to their presidencies and servants abroad for completing the investigation, as the nature of the case might require, and for establishing, in concert with the nabob, such a fund for the discharge of the just debts, according to their respective rights of priority, as should be consistent

silent with the rights of the company, the security of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the nabob." With respect to the raja of Tanjore, the bill provided, "That the court of directors should take into their immediate consideration his indeterminate rights and pretensions, and that they should ascertain and settle them according to the principles and stipulations of the treaty of 1762, concluded by the late lord Pigot between the nabob and the raja."

As these were among the most important and urgent affairs of India, they appear to have engaged the earliest attention of the board of controul. The first proceeding that had lately been held in the peninsula, which forced itself upon their observation, and demanded from them an immediate sanction or condemnation, was the assignment that had been made, in the month of December 1781, of the revenues of the Carnatic by the nabob of Arcot to lord Macartney and the presidency of Madras, for the support of the war, with liberty to farm out the revenues for the term of three or five years, at the discretion of the presidency. The assignment had been made from the most urgent of all motives, the prodigality and misconduct of the nabob's managers, and the disasters and ruinous condition of the country; and it was confirmed by the court of directors in their official letter of the fifth of September 1782. Though the revenues appear to have rapidly improved under the judicious and enlightened policy of lord Macartney, the nabob speedily repented of his resignation. He was eager and importunate in his representations to the supreme council at Bengal, complaining that the conditions,

for which the inferior presidency had engaged, had not properly been fulfilled, and praying to be released from the cession he had made. The demand of the nabob was granted by the supreme council, and their orders, revoking the assignment, accompanied sir Eyre Coote in the last voyage he made to Madras. Lord Macartney did not quietly submit to the mandates of Mr. Hastings and his council, and opposed to them the confirmation of the court of directors. It was supposed to be this resolute opposition of the presidency of Madras which chiefly contributed to the contests of lord Macartney, particularly with the military commanders in his government, and in which that nobleman came off victorious.

The board of controul contemplated the situation of the nabob under the same point of view as the supreme council of Bengal. Though they professed to approve of the ability, moderation and command of temper which had been displayed by lord Macartney, and declared the highest opinion of his integrity, they believed the situation in which the nabob was placed by the assignment to be full of irritation and indignity, and they censured some steps, which had been taken by the president, as not sufficiently consulting the feelings and character of the ally of the company. Influenced by these various impressions they came to a resolution immediately to resign the assignment into the hands of the nabob. It was not however intended by the board that things should return precisely to their original situation. To prevent this, in the first place, they directed that a treaty should be formed with the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjore, by which

which they should engage, that in case of any hostilities committed against the territories of any of the contracting parties, the whole revenues of their respective territories should be considered as a common stock to be appropriated to their common defence; the company should engage to refrain, during the war, from the application of any part of their revenues to commercial purposes; and the nabob and raja should engage to refrain from the application of any part of their revenues, to any other purposes, than such as should be necessary for the support of themselves and the civil government of their respective countries. The aggregate revenue that should remain after these deductions, was to be placed under the direction of the company during the war, and as long after the war as should be necessary to discharge the burthens contracted by it; and if the revenues were not faithfully advanced, the company was to be entitled to take the collection immediately under their own management.

Such was the plan of general government chalked out by the board of controul. With respect to the particular situation of the nabob with his creditors, it was directed that the nabob should give security for the payment into the company's treasury of 480,000l. per annum for the discharge of his debts, until the whole should be liquidated; and it was to be recommended to the nabob to add to this fund, if it should be found consistent with the state of his finances, the tribute of the raja of Tanjore. To decide upon the application of this fund, it was thought proper by the board of controul to distribute the debts of the nabob into classes. They were accordingly ranged under

three heads; the consolidated debt of 1767, the loan of 1777, commonly called the cavalry loan, and the consolidated debt of 1777. In regard to the two first classes, the board of controul professed that they could not but acknowledge, that their origin and justice appeared to them clear and indisputable. The debt of 1777 was treated by them in a different style. They particularly alluded to a letter of the court of directors to the presidency of Madras, written on the twenty-third of December 1778, in the following terms. "Your account of the nabob's private debt is very alarming; but from whatever cause those debts have been contracted or increased, we hereby repeat our orders that the sanction of the company be on no account given to any kind of security for the liquidation of any part thereof, except by the express authority of the court of directors, on any account or pretence whatever." Under these circumstances the board of controul observed, they should be warranted to refuse their aid and protection in the recovery of this loan. But when they considered the inexpediency of keeping the subject of the debts longer afloat, the tendency its final conclusion would have to promote tranquillity, credit and circulation of property in the Carnatic, and that the debtor concurred with the creditor in establishing the validity of bonds, liable to be transferred to persons different from the original creditors, they had resolved so far to recognize the justice of the debt as to extend to it their protection. They did not however mean to debar the presidency from receiving any complaints against it, from the nabob, from the injured creditors, or from other persons. These complaints were to be attentively examined

mined by the council of Madras, and transmitted to Britain for final decision.

Having thus made at least a temporary admission of the justice of the debts, they proceeded to point out the manner in which they were to be liquidated. The consolidated debt of 1767 was to be made up with the current interest at 10 per cent; the cavalry loan with an interest of 12 per cent; and the consolidated debt of 1777 with 12 per cent, to November 1781, and from thence with an interest of 6l. per cent. The sum of 480,000l. annually received, was to be applied, first, to the growing interest of the cavalry loan at 12l. per cent; secondly, to the growing interest on the debt of 1777, at 6l. per cent: the remainder to be equally divided; one half to be applied to the extinction of the company's debt, the other half to the payment of the interest at 10l. per cent, and towards the discharge of the principal of the debt of 1767. Other arrangements were added as the debts should successively come in the progress of the payments to be ultimately discharged. The official paper of the board of controul, in which all the arrangements are detailed, was of the date of the fifteenth of October 1784.

This paper was sent to India with the signature, and sanctioned with the external authority of the court of directors. That body of men however were by no means satisfied with the ministerial decision; and they presented a remonstrance containing the reasons of their disapprobation. They observed, that in so novel an institution, it could scarcely be thought extraordinary, if the exact boundaries of the respective functions of the commissioners and the directors, should not at once on either side be precisely

and familiarly understood. They remarked, that the board of controul had by their official paper substantiated at once the justice of those demands, which the act of the preceding session required the directors to investigate. They objected to the right of questioning the justice of any of the debts being reserved only to the last of the three classes. They suggested, whether the direction of the act, to examine the nature and origin of the debts, was completely fulfilled by the paper of the board of controul; whether the rate of interest, according to which the debts had been accumulated, ought not to be investigated; and whether the reasonableness of the deduction of 25l. per cent, proposed by Mr. Hastings and his council, did not deserve to be deliberately considered. But their strongest ground of dissent was the preference they conceived to be given to the claims of the private creditors over the public demand. They believed that they, who had been the protectors of the country, and the saviours of the Carnatic, had a right paramount to that of any private creditor. They entered into an arithmetical calculation, in which they undertook to state the amount of the various debts. They took the remainder of the old debt of 1767, made up with the compound interest to the end of the year 1784, at 480,000l. The cavalry loan of 1777 they stated as amounting to 282,880l. The new consolidated debt, with its interest, they conceived to be equal to 2,400,000l. The growing interest of the new consolidated debt, and that of the cavalry loan, which was to be paid prior to any demand of the company, was estimated at 180,000l. Of consequence the private creditors would receive 330,000l. per annum, and the company 150,000l. per annum. They contrasted this



calculation with the circumstance of the public debt, which they estimated at 3,000,000*l.*, carrying no interest; and they added, that if, as was more than probable, the sum paid in by the nabob in consequence of the new regulation should fall considerably short of what was expected, the disproportion between the receipts of the public and the private creditor would in the same degree be augmented. Finally, they alluded to the agreement which had long before been entered into by the nabob, to pay to the company 280,000*l.* per annum, in liquidation of the public debt, which agreement was entrenched upon by the new regulations, to the disadvantage of the company.

The board of controul were not induced by the representations of the directors to make any material alteration in their arrangement. They however returned an answer to the remonstrance of the court, in which they stated their persuasion that the debts did not rise to so large an amount as that at which they were now stated. They had never intended (though the debts were once for all to be made up with interest, and that from that period a general interest should be paid upon the whole) that they should be made up with compound interest. They observed, that the directors had omitted in their estimate the tribute, and the arrears of tribute, upon the country of Tanjore; and they suggested that this addition would raise the annual receipts of the company for their arrears to nearly the precise sum they had specified of 280,000*l.* They added, that they would expressly provide, in case a less sum were annually received from the nabob, for the purpose of the intended fund, than 480,000*l.*, that the receipts of the different

claimants should be conducted in exactly the same proportion as if the whole had been advanced.

The arrangements made by the East India commissioners, respecting the disputed rights of the nabob of Arcot, and the raja of Tanjore, are of less complicated detail. They directed that the city of Arni, and the district of Anamanticooti, should be ceded to the nabob. They confirmed the validity of the assignments of the nabob upon the government share of the crop of the country of Tanjore for the year 1775-1776; and they directed that the deposit of 40,000*l.* which had been made by the raja, should be applied to satisfy the respective claimants. They gave their attention to the complaints, which had been made by the raja, of the interruptions, which had been suffered by his subjects in the repairs of the Annicut, and other canals and sluices of the river Caveri; and they recommended that a treaty should be made, by which a small pecuniary acknowledgement should be stipulated by the raja, and the nabob should be restrained from interrupting the public works of Tanjore, so long as the punctual payment of the established tribute was continued. The paper of the board of controul, relative to the disputed rights of the raja of Tanjore, was dated on the twenty-seventh of October.

The subject of these arrangements was first taken up in the house of lords. A motion was made on the eighteenth of February by the earl of Carlisle for all letters and orders, which had been issued in pursuance of the provisions of the act of the last session, relative to these subjects. The motion passed in the negative; but the earl of Carlisle, undiscouraged by this circumstance, brought forward

a reso-



a resolution on the first of March, declaring "that the debts due by the nabob of Arcot to individuals ought not to be paid before those due to the company were discharged." The motion was supported by lord Loughborough and lord viscount Stormont, and opposed by lord Walsingham and lord Thurlow. The last of these noblemen in particular, expressed his astonishment, that a member of that house, who had but within a day or two moved for papers, which had been resolved to be improper to be laid upon the table, should come down again and offer to the house resolutions relative to certain facts, of the existence of which the house had not before them the slightest vestige of proof. He remarked on the circumstance which had been mentioned by lord Carlisle, of the papers having been printed and published in the interval between the first and the present motion. He reprobated the pitifulness of the triumph of getting papers published to the world, which the house had refused to have laid on their table. He reprehended the publication in severe terms. He declared, that whoever of the East India directors had handed them to the bookseller, had been guilty of a most shameful and scandalous treachery to his colleagues, to his constituents, and the public at large. The question was at length rejected, contents 24, not-contents 73.

The papers relative to the debts of the nabob of Arcot, and the disputes of that prince and the raja of Tanjore, were moved for in the house of commons on the twenty-eighth of February by Mr. Fox. He began with observing, that whatever difference there had been between the bills of three preceding sessions, and which

had for their authors Mr. Dundas, Mr. Pitt, and himself, they so far coincided on the subject of the debts of the nabob of Arcot, as to express the same ideas in nearly the same language. The manner in which some of these debts were contracted was notorious. Nothing was more common than for persons who left this country, neither in a condition to lend great sums, nor to borrow them, immediately on their arrival in India to become creditors to the first princes of the country, and that to a very considerable amount. He suggested to the attention of the house, that many of these debts were dated, from the time when the presidency of Madras entered into an illegal invasion of the territory of Tanjore, or from that in which the power of the government had been usurped, by a faction in secret cabal with the ministers of the nabob. It had always appeared to him to be one of the circumstances, which especially prevented the authority of the directors from operating with dignity and effect, that the servants had, by speculation and intrigue, acquired a sovereignty over their masters. The confirmation which was now given to the debts of the nabob, tended to establish and inveterate the evil. Here was the beginning of the new government of controul, which was to make India so different from what it had been in the earlier periods of our connection with it. Mr. Fox congratulated his country on the return of the golden age, and the infinite advantages they were likely to derive from this pure institution. He observed on the circumstance of the act having expressly provided for an enquiry previous to the decision, and having committed this enquiry to the court of directors. With respect to the arguments assigned in

the paper of the commissioners, he remarked, that this was dispatching the wisdom of the legislature in a very summary way, and saying, in effect, we know the act of parliament says so and so, but we are satisfied that the provision is useless and unnecessary.

Mr. Fox was unable to determine whether the papers in question would be granted or refused. It seemed to be a maxim with the ministers of the king to grant no species of information for which the house was most bound to call. He requested members to consider, that if his bill had any merit, which could not be controverted by sophistry itself, it was the merit of making that house judges in all cases, and hiding no transaction from the view of the public. This was the only way of truly governing the people of India. Darkness was the shelter under which all the iniquities of the servants of the company had been concealed. He had augured ill of the board of controul from the moment they appeared thus peculiarly shy of their communications. Why this aversion to submit their actions to the inspection of their countrymen? Why thus treat the house, which had treated them with so much distinction as to place the whole of this trust unconditionally in their hands? Did such a proceeding tend to conciliate attachment, or promote confidence? Was it not natural to honest men to desire to have their conduct viewed, and their actions scrutinized by all the world? Mr. Fox would not expressly impute evil intention to the members of the board. The decision which in this momentous business they had formed, had filled him with astonishment and concern. But he pledged himself, if the papers which he demanded were pro-

duced, not to shrink from the enquiry. He would so far do justice to the public, to the directors, to the board of controul, to the ministers of the king, and the servants of the company, as to obtain from the house a decision which should either exculpate or criminate. Should it prove an acquittal, then all the glory, and let them have it, would be to the present administration. There was a large arrear of authentic intelligence due to the house, and it was looked for by the public. A kind of jealousy arose in impartial minds, on account of the many eager, warm, and anxious supporters of the servants of the company in India, who sat in parliament. But this phalanx did not deter him, nor was he afraid of the present house of commons. Five hundred and fifty-eight gentlemen would not be deaf to reason, nor shall their eyes and their ears to truth. Mr. Fox concluded with specifying, that there were two purposes to which his motion tended, the crimination of the board of controul, and an amendment of the act of parliament.

The motion of Mr. Fox was seconded by Mr. Francis. He applied the misconduct of the commissioners as a new argument to prove the weakness and absurdity of the regulating act. Orders had been sent to India, signed with the names of twenty-four men, whose sentiments were known to be directly counter to the arrangements they contained. What could such a circumstance produce but contempt and disobedience abroad? He observed, that the jurisdiction assumed by the board of controul related to a question of property and right, not a matter of revenue or government. The commissioners had no authority over it either concurrent

or

or appellant. They had assumed a power against law, which they had exercised against the principles of substantial justice. Mr. Francis's great original objection to the act had been, that it introduced new principles into the law and constitution of England. For the trial of offences committed in India, a high commission court was established, without the intervention of a jury. And now another principle, foreign to the English jurisprudence, was suggested, by which a tribunal might exist, for the trial of a mere question of property between party and party, in which the trial should proceed, and the award be given *jussu clausis*. Principles and innovations such as these should be resisted in their outset. He would not give them a point to stand on, lest, having once gained a footing, they might sooner or later shake our whole political establishment to the ground.

It perhaps merits our observation, that the sentiments of opposition, upon the great mass of the debts, appear to have been different. Lord Carlisle, lord Stormont, and Mr. Fox, seem to have entertained a decisive opinion in favour of the loan of 1767, and the cavalry loan. In the same manner sir Thomas Rumbold, who supported the motion of Mr. Fox, confined his objection to the consolidated debt of 1777. Lord Loughborough, on the other hand, expressly affirmed, that he believed of all the claims of private individuals upon the nabob of Arcot, that they were fictitious. Mr. Francis was decisive in his reprobation of the cavalry loan. He cited against it the disapprobation of the directors, and the censure of sir Thomas Rumbold in his official letters. In conclusion, he ascribed the proceedings of the

East India board to pragmatism, ostentation, and want of modesty. He fairly told the other side of the house, that rumours were abroad of a collusion between the new commissioners and the creditors of the nabob, and that their personal characters were more endangered, than perhaps they imagined.

Mr. Dundas undertook the task of defending the conduct of government in this important transaction. Mr. Fox had stated that he moved for the papers with a direct view to crimination. Such a view, Mr. Dundas was ready to admit, was a very good parliamentary ground for a motion of this kind. But it was incumbent on the mover to shew, that there was cause for crimination, and that the facts upon which he had formed his judgment bore him out in it. The house had heard Mr. Fox's arguments, and had observed on what assertions he rested his charge; he would go through the principal of these assertions, and he would refute them as he went along. He begged to be understood as rising to ask no favour of any man. He desired to be watched with an eye of jealousy. He knew he spoke in the hearing of some who were prejudiced. He expected little candour from many; but he had a right to demand justice from all.

Mr. Dundas remarked on the inconsistent objections of opposition. While the regulating act was in agitation, it had been abused in the grossest manner, and among other things it had been said, that the commissioners would be wholly subservient to the court of directors. The objection of that day was of a different complexion. He adverted to the words of the disputed clause, and asserted that the board had acted strictly within the meaning of the statute. The origin and justice of the

the demands had been ordered to be taken into consideration, "as far as the materials in the possession of the directors should enable them." Such had been the language of the act of parliament, and the letters and correspondence at the India house afforded as full information upon the subject as could be expected to be received. He scouted the idea that the board of controul were not to exercise their superintending powers whenever they saw occasion, and as well respecting the clauses in question as any other. If they were not, they could not act upon the next clause relative to the polygars and zemidars; and would be as inefficacious and nugatory a board as they had been stated to be by those whose interest and whose wish it was to depreciate the institution.

Mr. Dundas entered into the history of the several debts. The nabob being in debt to the company, and in the greatest distress, publicly advertised to borrow money at a high interest. The consequence was the advance of a considerable sum at 30, 35, and 36l. per cent. and by way of security the nabob gave the lenders assignments upon his territorial revenues. Such had been the origin of the loan of 1767. It was paid immediately into the company's treasury, and by them recognized and admitted at the time. It afterwards appearing that the lenders were chiefly British subjects, an order was sent out to reduce the interest to 10l. per cent. This was greatly complained of by some of the creditors, who stated, that they had themselves borrowed the money at a much higher interest. There could be no suspicion entertained about the validity of this debt. The cavalry loan, Mr. Dundas observed, was not, as might

be imagined, a loan to furnish the nabob with cavalry, but to unfurnish him. The wise policy of this country had ever looked with a jealous eye on the military force of the Carnatic. In consequence of these ideas, it had been suggested to the nabob, that his army was too large, and he was advised to disband four hundred horse. At the same time the nabob declared that they were above a year in arrears, and were extremely mutinous, but that he had not money with which to discharge them. In this situation some individuals in the country offered to advance the sum wanted, provided the East India company would be the nabob's security. This plan was acceded to; and Mr. Dundas said, some of the ablest lawyers had given it as their opinion, that the company were so committed upon it, that an action at common law would lie against them for the debt. The consolidated debt of 1777, Mr. Dundas did not attempt completely to vindicate. But the board of controul had done no more than allow the creditors to make their claims; these claims to be subject to the objection of the nabob, of the company, and of the creditors. Had they left the claimants of 1777 wholly unprotected, they would naturally have thrown themselves upon the nabob of Arcot, and would, he verily believed, have been the first order of creditors paid instead of the last. Upon the whole, they had deemed it inexpedient to keep these debts longer afloat. They were anxious for preserving a peace so lately, so honourably, and so widely established. They consulted their own feelings by sacrificing in this manner to humanity, what might not perhaps strictly be due to justice. Mr. Dundas justified the calculation that had been made of the

the revenues of the Carnatic by the authority of lord Macartney, the best servant the company had ever sent to India.

He treated Mr. Francis's declaration, that rumours were abroad of a collusion between the board of controul and the creditors of 1777, with some degree of ridicule. It was not the first time his conduct had been misrepresented. It had been said just with the same degree of truth, that he had received a very large sum of money from an honourable baronet on a particular occasion. He had slept perfectly quiet and serene under the former charge, and he trusted he should preserve his temper equally unruffled under the present accusation. At length he summed up his arguments, and said, if the house thought, after all they had heard, that the board had acted criminally, they ought not to let them continue a moment longer in their situations. He would not scruple to declare, that if they had not hitherto served the public diligently, faithfully, and conscientiously, there was not the smallest probability that they would do so in future. Let parliament therefore decide as it would. In the mean time he warned them, that if they wished to have a permanent government of India, it was not the way to procure such a government for the house to interfere idly and lightly with the executive power. Let them not suddenly and without good cause imbibe sentiments of doubt and distrust against a board they had so lately instituted. Let them oppose the character and stake of the present commissioners, who had their reputation, their political existence, and their future prospects, pledged to the public as securities for their integrity and good intentions, against the designs and

interested views of men, known to be on the watch for their situations, and who cared not by what means they got into them.

Mr. Burke undertook to reply to the defence of Mr. Dundas. He began with alluding for a moment to the change of situation between the treasurer of the navy, and the ex-governor of Madras. Sir Thomas Rumbold was in a fair way of returning the prosecution of Mr. Dundas by a recriminatory bill of pains and penalties, grounded on a breach of public trust, relative to the government of the very same part of India. But the change of relation between them was not so striking, as the total difference of their deportment under the same unhappy circumstances. Whatever the merits of governor Rumbold's defence might have been, he did not shrink from the charge. He met it with manliness of spirit, and decency of behaviour. What would have been thought of him, if he had held the present language of his old accuser? When articles were exhibited against him by Mr. Dundas, he did not think proper to tell the house they ought to institute no enquiry, to inspect no papers, to examine no witnesses. He did not tell them, what at that time he might have told them with some shew of reason, that their concerns in India were matters of delicacy; that to divulge any thing relative to them would be mischievous to the state. He did not tell them that those who enquired into his proceedings were disposed to dismember the empire. He had not the presumption to say, that for his part, having obtained in his Indian presidency the ultimate object of his ambition, his honour was concerned in executing with integrity the trust which had legally been committed to his charge;



charge; that others, not having been so fortunate, could not be so disinterested; and therefore their accusations could spring from no other source than faction, and envy to his fortune. Had he been frontless enough to hold such a vain, vaporing language in the face of a grave, a detailed, a specified matter of accusation, while he violently resisted every thing that could bring his cause to a test; had he been wild enough to anticipate the absurdities of that day; he would have left but one impression on the mind of every man who heard him, and who believed him in his senses, that in the utmost extent he was guilty of the charge.

Mr. Burke entered at considerable length into the history of the several debts. He proposed to confront them with no other, than the standing authority of all the claims, for which administration had thought fit to provide; the grand debtor, the nabob of Arcot himself. He called the attention of the house to a letter written by that prince to the court of directors at the precise period when the main body of the debts were contracting. In this letter the nabob stated himself to be, what undoubtedly he was, a most competent witness to the point in question. After speaking of the war with Hyder Ali in 1768 and 1769, and of other measures into which he complained of having been led by the company's servants, he proceeded, "If these things were against your real interests, they are ten thousand times more against mine, against the prosperity of my country, and the happiness of my people; for your interests and mine are the same. In what then did they originate? In the private views of a few individuals, who have enriched themselves at the expence of

your influence, and of my country. Your servants have no trade in this country, nor do you pay them high wages. Yet in a few years they return to England with many lacks of pagodas. How can you or I account for such immense fortunes acquired in so short a time, without any visible means of getting them?" This letter Mr. Burke acknowledged was written in a moody humour, and under the influence of some chagrin; but it was in such humours that truth was discovered.

With respect to the consolidated debt of 1767, he readily admitted it to stand the fairest of the whole; for whatever might be his suspicions concerning a part of it, he could convict it of nothing worse than the most enormous usury. But he could convict Mr. Dundas upon the spot of the most daring misrepresentation in every fact he had alledged, in defence of the loan, and of his own conduct in regard to it. He would prove to the house that this debt was never contracted with the knowledge of the company, that it had not their approbation, and that they received the first intelligence of it with the utmost possible surprise, indignation, and alarm. For this purpose he adduced a number of authentic papers. When the house considered the enormity of the interest at which these debts were contracted, and the several interests added to the principal, he believed they would not think him sceptical, if he should doubt whether for this debt, which had been consolidated at 880,000, the nabob ever saw 100,000*l.* in real money.

The tenour, the policy, and the consequences of the debt of 1767, were in the eyes of ministry so excellent, that its merits were irresistible; and it took the lead, to give credit and countenance to all the rest.



rest. Along with this chosen body of heavy armed infantry, and to support it in the line, Mr. Dundas had stationed his corps of black cavalry. If there were any advantage between this debt and that of 1767, according to him the cavalry debt had it. It was not a subject of defence; it was a theme of panegyric. Listen to Mr. Dundas, and the house would find it was contracted to save the country, to prevent mutiny in armies, to introduce œconomy in revenues; and for all these honourable purposes it originated at the express desire, and by the representative authority of the company itself. Mr. Burke replied to this panegyric, that it was contracted, not by the authority of the company, not by its representatives, but in the ever memorable period of 1777, by the usurped power of those who rebelliously, in conjunction with the nabob of Arcot, had overturned the lawful government of Madras. For that rebellion the house of commons unanimously directed a public prosecution. The delinquents, after they had subverted the government, in order to make themselves a party to support them in their power, were universally known to have dealt jobs about to the right and to the left to any who were willing to receive them. Such was the authority set up by Mr. Dundas, to represent that company, which from the first moment of their hearing of this corrupt and fraudulent transaction to the present hour, had uniformly disowned and disavowed it.

Mr. Burke read the history of the loan from a letter of the nabob of Arcot. "Mr. Stratton," said the nabob, "became acquainted with my situation, and got Mr. Taylor and others to lend me 160,000*l.* towards discharging the arrears of the

pay of my troops. Upon this I wrote a letter of thanks to Mr. Stratton; and upon the faith of the money being paid immediately, I ordered many of my troops to be discharged by a certain day, and lessened the number of my servants. Mr. Taylor some time after acquainted me, that he and his associates had no ready money, but that they would grant bills payable in four months. This astonished me; for I did not know what might happen when the sepoys were dismissed from my service. Two years are nearly expired since that time. But Mr. Taylor has not yet entirely discharged the arrears of those troops, and I am obliged to continue their pay from that time to this. I hoped to have been able to lessen the number of my troops, and discharge the arrears due to them, considering the trifle of interest to Mr. Taylor and the others as no great matter. But instead of this I am oppressed with the burthen of pay due to those troops, and the interest, which is going on to Mr. Taylor from the day the loan was concluded." The nabob farther stated, that for the paper of the money-lenders he immediately handed over to them something very different from paper, the receipt of a territorial revenue. Their payments therefore not being to commence before the end of four months, and not being completed in two years, they might fairly be presumed to have been made out of the revenues received from his assignment. They condescended to accumulate a debt of 160,000*l.* with an interest of 12*l.* per cent. in compensation for a lingering payment to the nabob of 160,000*l.* of his own money.

Mr. Burke farther animadverted upon the security required by the board of controul for the advance  
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of the annual fund of 480,000*l*. When a *foucar*, that is a money-dealer, became security for any native prince, the course was for the prince to countersecure the money-dealer by making over to him in mortgage a portion of his territory equal to the sum annually to be paid, with an interest of at least 24*l*. per cent. Mr. Burke quoted the authority of lord Macartney, to prove that the *foucars* would be no other than the creditors themselves. He affirmed, that the plan directed by Mr. Hastings of cutting off 25*l*. per cent. from the principal of the debt, was the proposal of the creditors themselves. He contrasted this with the prodigality of the present settlement. The minister not contented with authorizing these transactions in a manner and to an extent un hoped for by the rapacious expectations of usury itself, loaded the broken back of the Indian revenues in favour of his worthy friends the *foucars*, with an additional 24*l*. per cent. for condescending to take the country in mortgage to pay to themselves the fruits of their own extortions.

The last thing considered by the board of controul among the debts of the Carnatic, was that arising to the East India company. It was now stated by the directors at 3,000,000*l*.; lord Macartney's account of 1781, stated it to be at that period 1,200,000*l*. This debt, after the provision for the cavalry, and the consolidation of 1777, was to divide the residue of the proposed fund with the lenders of 1767. Never was a more shameful postponing a public demand, which by the reason of the thing, and the uniform practice of nations, superseded every private claim. This postponement was made by persons who considered the company's as a lawful de-

mand. For himself, Mr. Burke said, who professed to speak to the understandings and the consciences of the house, and to brush away from the business all false colours, all false appellations, as well as false facts, he positively denied that the Carnatic owed a shilling to the company, whatever the company might be indebted to that undone country. It owed nothing to the company for this plain and simple reason, the territory charged with the debt was their own. To say that their revenues fell short, and owed them money, was talking nonsense. If men were allowed to credit themselves upon such principles, any one might soon grow rich. A flood came down upon a man's estate in the Bedford level of 1000*l*. a year, and drowned his rents for ten years. The chancellor would put that man into the hands of a trustee, who should gravely make up his books, and for this loss credit himself in his account for a debt due to him of 10,000*l*. It was however on this principle the company made up its demands on the Carnatic. In peace they went to the full length, and indeed more than the full length, of what the people could bear for current establishments. They were then absurd enough to consolidate all the calamities of war into debts, to metamorphose the devastations of the country into demands upon its future production. What was this but to avow a resolution utterly to destroy their own dominions? In every lease of a farm the invasion of an enemy, instead of forming a demand for arrear, was a release of rent. It was for that reason Mr. Burke had applauded the author of the rejected India bill, who, when he canvassed the company's accounts, fixed his discerning eye, and his deciding hand, on these debts

debts of the company from the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjore, and at one stroke expunged them all, as utterly irrecoverable; he might have added, as utterly unfounded.

Mr. Burke entered at large into the state of the Carnatic. He mentioned the repeated provocations from the government of Madras, that had preceded the celebrated invasion of 1780. When at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men, who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capable of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance, and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier between him and those, against whom the faith that held the moral elements of the world together was no protection. He drew from every quarter whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havock and desolation, into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. While the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue could adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to

that new havock. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or the sacredness of function, fathers torn from children, and husbands from wives, were enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity in an unknown and hostile land.

Those who were able to evade this tempest, fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine. Mr. Burke had intended to awaken the justice of the house towards this unhappy part of their fellow citizens, by bringing before them some of the circumstances of this plague of hunger. Of all the calamities which beset and waylaid the life of man, this came the nearest to our heart, and was that in which the proudest of us all felt himself to be nothing more than he was. But he found himself unable to manage it with decorum. These details were a species of horror, so nauseous and disgusting, they were so degrading to the sufferers and to the hearers, they were so humiliating to human nature itself, that on better thoughts he found it more advisable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to their general conceptions. For eighteen months, without intermission, the destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore. So completely did those masters in their art, Hyder Ali, and his more ferocious son, absolve themselves of their impious vow, that when the British armies tra-  
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versed as they had done the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description. One dead universal silence reigned over the whole region.

The Carnatic was a country not much inferior in extent to England. Mr. Burke called upon the speaker to figure to himself the land in whose representative chair he sat; to figure the form and fashion of his sweet and cheerful country from Thames to Trent, and from the Irish to the German sea, emptied and embowelled by so accomplished a desolation. Let him extend his imagination a little farther; and let him suppose their ministers taking a survey of this scene of waste and desolation. What would be his thoughts, if he should be informed that they were computing how much had been the amount of the excise, how much of the customs, how much of the land and malt-tax, in order that they might charge, upon the relics of the fatiated vengeance of relentless enemies, the whole of what England had yielded in the most exuberant seasons of peace and abundance? Every day Mr. Burke said they were fatigued and disgusted with the cant, that the Carnatic was a country that would soon recover, and become instantly as prosperous as ever. Such as would give themselves the trouble of considering the manner in which mankind were increased, and countries cultivated, would regard all this raving as it ought to be regarded. In order that the people, after a long period of vexation and plunder, might be in a condition to maintain government, government must begin by maintaining them. Here

the road to economy lay not through receipt, but through expence. Never did oppression light the nuptial torch, never did extortion and usury spread out the genial bed. Did any of them think that England so wasted would rapidly and cheaply recover? But England would a thousand times sooner resume population, fertility, and, what ought to be the ultimate secretion from both, revenue, than such a country as the Carnatic.

The Carnatic was not by the bounty of nature a fertile soil. It was refreshed by few or no living brooks or running streams, and it had rain only at a season. For that reason, in the happier times of India, a number of reservoirs, almost incredible, had been made through the whole country. They were formed for the greater part of mounds of earth and stones, with sluices of solid masonry; the whole constructed with admirable skill and labour, and maintained at a mighty charge. In the territory contained in the map of the company's jaghire, they amounted to upwards of eleven hundred, from the extent of two or three acres to five miles in circuit. From these reservoirs currents were occasionally drawn over the fields, and the water-courses again called for a considerable expence, to keep them properly scourged, and duly levelled. These were not the enterprises of English power, nor in a style of magnificence suited to the taste of her minister. They were the monuments of real kings, who were the fathers of their people; they were the grand sepulchres built by ambition; but by the ambition of an insatiable benevolence, which, not contented with reigning in the dispensation of happiness during the contracted term of human life, had strained, with all the

the reachings and graspings of a voracious mind, to extend the dominion of this bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themselves through generations of generations, the guardians, the protectors, the nourishers of mankind.

Long before the late invasion, the reservoirs were every where fallen into a miserable decay; but after the entry of a cruel foreign foe, he did not leave the country till his revenge had completed their destruction. Few, very few were there, indeed, of these magazines of water that were not either totally destroyed, or cut through with the most ruinous breaches. What in this situation would have been the conduct of a virtuous and enlightened administration? They would have reduced all the most necessary establishments, they would have suspended the justest payments, they would have told the corps of fictitious creditors, whose crimes were their claims, that they must keep at an awful distance. They would have proclaimed with a voice that should make itself heard, that on every country the first creditor is the plough; that this original, indefeasible claim, superseded every other demand. But on the grand point of the restoration of the country, there was not a syllable to be found in the correspondence of the British ministers. They felt nothing for a land desolated by fire, sword and famine. Their sympathies took another direction. They were touched with pity for bribery, so long tormented with a fruitless itching of its palms. Their bowels yearned for usury, that had long missed the harvest of its returning seasons. They felt for peculation, which had been for so many years raking in the dust of an empty treasury. They were melted into com-

passion for rapine and oppression, licking their dry, parched, unbloody jaws.

Mr. Burke briefly adverted to the quotation made by Mr. Dundas, from a letter of lord Macartney, in which the revenues of the Carnatic were taken at 1,200,000l. He said that this calculation was made upon the supposition of the country being restored to its original prosperity. He produced a paper, not of speculation, but of actual account, by which it appeared that lord Macartney's committee of revenue had made in one year no more than 600,000l. And he remarked on the circumstance of the revenue being taken out of the management in which lord Macartney had placed it, at the very moment that the calculation of that nobleman, founded on this management, was stated as a ground for ministerial measures. Mr. Burke took notice of Mr. Dundas's defiance to his adversaries to discover any sinister motives for his conduct. If he proved fraud and collusion with regard to public money on the servants of government, he was not obliged to assign their motives; because no good motives could be pleaded in favour of their conduct. But since these gentlemen had dared to hold a lofty tone upon the subject, he would beg leave to lay before the house some general observations. He brought to their recollection the plan of Mr. Pitt for a reform in the representation of the people. In his anxious researches upon this subject, natural instinct, as well as sound policy, would direct his eyes, and settle his choice on Mr. Paul Benfield, the great creditor of the nabob of Arcot. Paul Benfield was the grand parliamentary reformer, to whom the whole choir of reformers bowed, and to whom even Mr. Pitt himself must yield

yield the palm. For what region in the empire, what city, what borough, what county, what tribunal, was not full of his labours? Others had been only speculators, he was the grand practical reformer; and while the chancellor of the exchequer pledged in vain the man and the minister, Mr. Benfield had thrown in the borough of Cricklade to reinforce the county representation. Not content with this, in order to station a steady phalanx for all future reforms, this public-spirited usurer, amidst his charitable toils for the relief of India, did not forget the poor rotten constitution of his native country. For her he did not disdain to stoop to the trade of a wholesale upholsterer for that house, to furnish it not with the faded tapestry figures of antiquated merit, such as decorate and may reproach some other houses, but with real, solid, living patterns of true modern virtue. Paul Benfield made, reckoning himself, no fewer than eight members in the last parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have transfused into the veins of the present?

But what was even more striking than the real services of this new-imported patriot, was his modesty. As soon as he had conferred this benefit on the constitution, he withdrew himself from England, and defrauded the longing eyes of parliament. They had never enjoyed in that house the luxury of beholding this minion of the human race, and contemplating that visage which had so long reflected the happiness of nations. It was therefore not possible for the minister to consult personally with this great man. But through a sagacity that never failed him in these pursuits, he found out in Mr. Benfield's representa-

tive and attorney, Mr. Richard Atkinson, his exact resemblance. The sacred friendship and the steady mutual attachment that subsisted between him and the chancellor of the exchequer, was well known. The public was an indignant witness, through the progress of Mr. Pitt's India bill, of the ostentation with which Mr. Atkinson made that measure his own, and the authority with which he brought up clause after clause to stuff and fatten the rankness of that corrupt act. As fast as the clauses were brought up they were accepted. No hesitation, no discussion. Paul Benfield's associate and agent was held up to the world as the legislator of Indostan. It was scarcely less notorious, that the same person, in the same virtuous cause, had submitted to keep a sort of public office or compting-house, where the whole business of the last general election was managed. It was managed upon Indian principles, and for an Indian interest. This was the golden cup of abominations; this was the chalice of the fornications of rapine, usury, and oppression, which was held out by the gorgeous eastern harlot, which so many of the people, so many of the nobles of the land, had drained to the very dregs.

Did they think that no reckoning was to follow this lewd debauch? That no payment was to be demanded for this riot of public drunkenness and national prostitution? Here they had it before them, in the ministerial grant to Mr. Atkinson's principal. The chairman of the company had stated Mr. Benfield's claims on the nabob of Arcot as amounting to five hundred thousand pounds. Eight hundred thousand had been mentioned some time before; but his best information did not enable Mr. Burke to fix his share



share higher than 400,000*l.* By the scheme of the present ministry for adding to the principal 12*l.* per cent, from the year 1777 to the year 1781, 400,000*l.* the smallest of the sums that were ever mentioned for Mr. Benfield, would form a capital of 592,000*l.* Thus by the act of the board of controul now under consideration, he had received an annuity of 35,520*l.* charged on the public revenues. But this was not all. Lord Macartney, to frighten the court of directors from the project of obliging the nabob to give security for his debt, had named Mr. Benfield as the man, who, if any, would infallibly be the soucar, and so become the entire master of the Carnatic. What lord Macartney had thought sufficient to deter the very agents of Benfield, and the partakers in his

iniquities, had been the inducements of ministers to the measure in question. Mr. Benfield must therefore be considered as the security for 480,000*l.* at 24*l.* per cent, which, together with the interest of his old debt, produced an annual income of 149,520*l.* This was the counterbalance found out by Mr. Pitt to all corrupt aristocracies, and to all odious coalitions. A single Benfield outweighed them all. A criminal, who long since ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal, was by his majesty's ministers enthroned in the government of a great kingdom, and enfeoffed with an estate which, in the comparison, effaced the splendour of all the nobility of Europe. The question was put, and Mr. Fox's motion rejected, ayes 69, noes 164.

## C H A P. VII.

*Commissioners of Accounts. Navy Office Bill. Audit of the Imprest. Office Reform Bill. Finances. Loan. Taxes. Bills of Mr. Grenville and Lord Mahon. Mr. Beaufoy's Bill. Herring Fishery. Polls and Scrutinies. Bill of Police.*

THE commission which had been appointed in the year 1780, to take and state the public accounts of the kingdom, had excited a very general attention, and by their reports acquired to themselves honour and applause. Several measures had already received the sanction of parliament, tending to introduce and systematise that œconomy which it had been the business of the commissioners of accounts to recommend and illustrate. Still however, though much had been done, something remained to be done. Accordingly the reports in question were recommended to the consideration of parliament in 1785.

the speech from the throne. In pursuance of the recommendation, Mr. Pitt rose in the committee of the whole house, on the seventeenth of February, to bring forward those measures which he conceived to be the just result of the labours of the commissioners. He said, that though their reports were voluminous, the topics contained in them might be arranged under two or three general heads. The commissioners had turned their attention to the manner in which the revenues of the country were collected. They had entered into the consideration of the practice of the several offices of expenditure, and of the mode in which

the public money was issued through the exchequer. Lastly, they had discussed the system according to which the money so issued was checked and controlled, and the plan by which it was ultimately accounted for to the exchequer.

The first of the heads Mr. Pitt had enumerated, and which made the subject of two reports, had already considerably engaged the public attention. Their ideas, with respect to the collection of the land-tax, had been for the most part reduced to practice. Instead of suffering the produce of the tax to lie, as had been usual, in the hands of the receivers, means had been employed by parliament that the balances might be more frequently paid, and that the officers should be rewarded by fixed salaries, rather than by fees and poundage. In the same manner another topic included in this branch of enquiry, the post-office, had been in an act of the last session considerably amended. The commissioners stated, that the post-office was directed to pay 700l. a week to the treasury, and that this was a very small sum, in proportion to the money derived from that source of revenue. But the post-office was now directed to pay 3000l. instead of 700l. into the treasury, and this he believed, was as much as could be weekly drawn from them, consistently with the exigencies of the institution.

The second subject of the commissioners and which extended itself through five or six of their reports, was, as he had stated, an account of those public offices and their conduct, through which the money passed in its application to the various services for which it was granted. The pay-office, the most important of these, had of late

been considerably amended, and was now brought nearly to the state, recommended by the commissioners. The office of the treasurer of the navy was next in consideration to the pay-office; and he was happy to say that his friend, the present treasurer, had, in consequence of the report of the commissioners taken the whole of the practice of his office, and of their suggestions, into his most able consideration, and formed a plan which promised to be effectual. It was the peculiar charge brought against these offices, that balances had been suffered unnecessarily to accumulate in the hands of persons who held them, while they remained in place, and to continue with them long after they had quitted the public service. This very expensive and inconvenient practice had chiefly arisen from the very great delay, and the old and obstinate forms of passing the accounts in the exchequer, which, however proper they might have been when they were adopted, were infinitely too confused, dilatory, and intricate for the enlarged business of the present expenditure. The first provision of Mr. Dundas's plan, Mr. Pitt stated to be, that every treasurer, on quitting his office, should transfer the balances in his hands to his successor; and secondly, that every treasurer while in office should close his accounts every year. These regulations were not incompatible with practice, nor irreconcilable to the duties of office. Another circumstance, Mr. Pitt said, that had proved the great source and pretence for delaying this business, was the practice of the sub-accountants. Instead of the manner now in use, of their receiving the money necessary for their several expenditures from the treasurer of the navy, and holding an account

account with him, by which he had a double credit and was prevented from closing his account with the exchequer, it was proposed by Mr. Dundas that they should draw the sums necessary and have personally to account with the superior office ; at the same time giving regular information to the treasurer of the application of the sums so drawn. In addition to these means it was intended, that the money should in future be placed in the custody of the bank, as had lately been prescribed with respect to the army expenditure. A third remedy contained in the intended bill to the unnecessary increase of balance in the hands of the treasurer, was directed to the circumstance that every head of service, and the sums appropriated to each service had been kept distinct. Instead of this it was proposed, that the heads of service should be reduced to three, the victualling, the navy, and the sick and hurt office ; and that when the sum appropriated to any one service should be exhausted, the servants of the public should have recourse to the sums in their hands, originally drawn for other, but not dissimilar services. Such was the plan of the bill for better regulating the office of the treasurer of the navy, and Mr. Pitt had no doubt that when it was adopted, it would fully answer the expectations excited by the commissioners of accounts. The next great office in this branch of the reports was the ordnance ; and here the ideas of the commissioners had so intimately fallen in with those of the office itself, that its directors had spontaneously adopted and carried into effect a number of the suggestions. The only consideration that called for the interference of parliament, was the transferring the custody of the cash

for ordnance service to the bank of England. This object was provided for by a clause in the navy-office bill.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to observe, that the office of the paymaster of the army had already experienced several considerable improvements. But one material circumstance in that office still remained to be amended, and that was the practice of the expenditure in the article of extraordinaries. Highly as Mr. Pitt thought of the labours and much as he commended the application and abilities of the commissioners of accounts, he must differ from them in one particular. They had admitted in the transactions of the last war, and of course were the precedent allowed the case must be the same in every future one, that a receipt, passed through the usual forms, should in every respect be deemed a sufficient voucher. Instances had occurred in that period which rendered an enquiry necessary ; and the enquiry ought certainly to take place, when the supposed payment, and consequently the receipt were both suspected to have originated in collusion and fraud. For this purpose sufficient men must be armed with adequate powers ; they must be authorized to call persons before them, to compel the production of papers, and to administer an oath. The army expenditure was not the only subject of enquiry, check, and controul, to which the bill he intended to present was designed to extend. The subject was not new to that house, and probably his motion would not be equally well received by every description of men that sat in it. His ideas upon the subject had been presented to the last parliament in the form of a bill, and had passed the house of com-

mons, but had been rejected by the house of lords. Its tenour was "to appoint commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments received in several public offices, to examine into the abuses which might exist, and to report such observations as might occur to them, for the better conducting the business transacted in those offices."

Mr. Pitt next adverted to the third branch of this very interesting discussion, the manner in which the public money was ultimately accounted for to the exchequer. The commissioners had stated with truth, that the mode of proceeding by the auditors of the imprest was not accurately to investigate the uses to which the specific sums had been applied, but merely to enquire into the arithmetical exactness of each account. As this minute disquisition had been already attended to in the various inferior offices, it needed no great degree of discernment to pronounce the examination absolutely nugatory. He felt great reluctance in saying that the abolition of such frivolity was indispensably requisite. He was loth to remove what bore even the shadow of controul. Such an establishment sometimes carried with it such a degree of awe, as tended to render its purposes effectual. But when he considered that the emoluments of this office increased in a direct proportion with the public disability to afford it, he confessed he wished to see it antiquated, and another establishment of less expence and more utility succeed; an establishment where efficient checks and substantial disquisition might take place of numerical forms and ostentatious parade. The only argument that could be adduced against the abolishing this and the like of-

fices, was that it would be deemed an infringement upon patent rights, which the possessors considered as a species of freehold. But in every trust there was an implied condition, that the duties of the office should be faithfully discharged. In the present instance the emoluments were such that 18,000l. per annum was frequently paid for the transacting of business, for which in fact 500l. per annum would be too much. There was no excess to which this doctrine would not lead, if it were universally and ultimately established. Mr. Pitt accordingly proposed that the present auditors of the imprest should be superseded, and that a new commission for auditing the public accounts should be substituted in their room.

Mr. Pitt had already mentioned that the great source of embarrassment in the public accounts, was the long credit given to the sub-accountants. This was not a late object of his attention. He had suggested it to the house two years before, when he was first in office. After his resignation he had followed it still farther; and had stated that the sums then unaccounted for amounted to not less than 47,000,000l.; at the same time moving that an official enquiry should be instituted into the circumstance. The business was then treated as a mere chimera; and an idea had been propagated, as if he had discovered 40,000,000l. of the public money, which had been stolen, and which he had offered to rescue from the hands of the plunderers. Had this been the representation he had made, he should indeed have been a fit mark for ridicule. But his assertions had proved themselves a tale of truth. The inquiries had been instituted, and no less than 27,000,000l. so unaccounted for had

had been discovered. The balance in favour of the public on the accounts already examined amounted to 257,000*l*, which sum, he had no doubt, he should be able immediately to collect, so as to apply it to the uses of the current year. And he supposed, that on a farther scrutiny into the accounts, which had already been given in, as well as on a progress through the remainder, this balance would be considerably and substantially increased.

It would perhaps, Mr. Pitt said, be considered as an omission, if he did not advert to the consolidation of offices proposed by the commissioners of accounts. Most of the offices alluded to could not with propriety be referred to any but the excise department, which was already overloaded. In one instance the exception had been taken away, as the commissioners of stamps had now a sufficient degree of employment, in consequence of most of the supplies of the last session having been raised by taxes incident to their department. Two other commissions were in themselves so trifling, that it was scarcely necessary to mention them at present. He had not considered where they could be annexed, and in fact he imagined that he should soon have to propose to the house their total abolition. Mr. Pitt concluded with moving for leave to bring in the three different bills, the principles of which he had described.

The bill for better regulating the office of the treasurer of the navy passed without any sort of opposition. To the bill for the better examining and auditing the public accounts, Mr. Hussey offered to the house several objections. He observed, that the institution of a new board of five auditors, in addition to

the incumbrance which the compensation to be made to the two existing auditors of the imprest would impose upon the public, was not warranted by the principles of expediency, nor sanctioned by the recommendation of the report of the commissioners. Mr. Rose replied to Mr. Hussey, and endeavoured to prove that the bill would impose no new burthens upon the public. He said that the salaries of the present auditors of the imprest were estimated at about 34,000*l*. a-year. The compensation was to be 14,000*l*; and the salaries annexed to the new institution would accrue from the circumstance. Mr. Fox entered his caveat against the doctrine of a patent office being considered in any case as less sacred than a freehold. He declared he could not but regard the present bill as entirely calculated to increase undue influence, by the creation of new, important and lucrative offices. The bill finally received the sanction of parliament, and the commissioners were declared to hold their offices during good behaviour. Their names were sir John Dick and Mr. William Molleson, comptrolers of the army accounts, Sir William Musgrave, Mr. John Thomas Batt, and Mr. John Martin Leake.

Mr. Pitt's bill for the reform of public offices experienced a more strenuous opposition than either of those which had preceded it. It was opposed by Mr. Sheridan, on the ground of there being no necessity for it, as the treasury already possessed full power to do every thing, which was the avowed purpose of the present measure. He argued this from two minutes of the board of treasury, in the administration of lord Shelburne, and in that of the duke of Portland. He dwelt on



the extravagant powers given to the new board. The same powers had been given indeed to the commissioners of accounts; but an extraordinary and momentous occasion had made that commission necessary. One hundred and fifty millions had been added to the national debt; and an investigation had been demanded from all parts of the kingdom into the expenditure of so enormous a sum of the public money. In the present case there was no such necessity. The bill had not any great view worthy of the means it authorised. It was a rat-catching bill, instituted for the purpose of prying into vermin abuses. Mr. Sheridan catered into a minute examination of the bill, clause by clause, arguing upon each in regard to the expression and the style, as well as to the policy and expedience of its provisions. He charged the chancellor of the exchequer with having shown himself remarkably inattentive to the drawing of public bills, and said he expected he would soon bring in a sweeping bill to amend and explain every one of the revenue acts of the last session. Accuracy of style and intelligible expression were as necessary parts of an act of parliament, as the soundness of its principle and the salutary effects of its operation.

Mr. Burke pursued one of the arguments of Mr. Sheridan. He declared that the bill was a direct and violent contradiction to Magna Charta, and the common law of the land. He animadverted upon the style of the preamble, which stated it to be its aim to enquire after and correct possible abuses. He called it a slander upon the whole official establishment of the kingdom; and said it presumed the general prevalence of the grossest peculation, corruption and fraud. The public

offices of Great Britain, he believed, were the best conducted, and the most free from affording real ground of criminal imputation, of any in Europe. He felt a degree of disgust, almost leading to despair, at the manner in which we were acting in the great exigencies of the country. He contrasted the conduct of the minister in the present case, with his proceedings respecting the revenues of the Carnatic. He was desirous to draw a resource out of the crumbs dropped from the trenchers of penury. He was rasping from the marrowless bones of skeleton establishments, an empirical alimentary powder to diet into a similitude of health, the languishing chimeras of fraudulent reformation. But while parliament looked with anxiety at his desperate and laborious trifling, while they were apprehensive that he would break his back in stooping to pick up chaff and straws, he recovered himself at an elastic bound, and with a broadcast swing of his arm he squandered over his Indian field a sum far greater than the amount of all these establishments added together. The present bill, Mr. Burke said, had an obvious tinge of the school in which its author had been bred. Most schools had their characteristics. Thus the school of Venice was known by its colouring, and the school of Raphael by its design. But the school he alluded to was the school of large promise, and little performance. It was the school where smiles and professions were dealt out liberally in the outset; but the issue was always a tyrannous exercise over menials and dependents under pretence of great attention and great oeconomy, but where the utmost probable produce from such oppressive



five stretches of power could be but trifling and inconsiderable.

Mr. Powys complimented the chancellor of the exchequer for having brought in a bill that had so laudable an object. In the mean time Mr. Pitt entered at large into a defence of the measure he had recommended. He commented on the minute of treasury which had been quoted from the board of the duke of Portland, and which prescribed to those appointed to enquire into the abuses of the several offices, "That they should confine their researches to the known and lawful perquisites of each subordinate officer, relying on the integrity of those in higher departments, that they would prevent any illegal and clandestine practices of peculation and extortion;" Thus, he observed, a new and extraordinary power was given to inquire into and correct obvious and trifling abuses, while those of a more covert, dangerous and extensive nature were left to the ordinary controul of the old establishment. This, he supposed, was done to avoid the littleness and insignificance with which he was now charged. For himself he could not conceive how any persons, to whom the care of the national interests were intrusted, could justify to themselves to omit any exertion that might tend, even in the most minute particular, to promote that oeconomy on which the recovery of the state from its present depressed situation so much depended.

The opposition to Mr. Pitt's bill was not confined to the house of commons. Lord Loughborough in particular remarked on the unworthy implications it bore. He asked in what manner the secretaries of state, or the nobleman who presided at the admiralty, would

feel, if they were to undergo, as it were, an Old Bailey examination about the fees of their clerks, and a parcel of old stores. This was, in his opinion, reversing the order of things by subjecting those to examination whose situation in the state made them examiners; and tended to destroy the confidence of the people in the great officers of the crown. He particularly insisted on the inquisitorial power by which persons were obliged to give evidence upon oath, tending to deprive them of the offices they held, and to incapacitate them forever from holding any place under government. The duke of Richmond undertook the defence of the bill, and argued the necessity there was for a reform in office. He observed upon the peculiar conduct of those who argued against it. It had formerly been the practice of opposition to take up the cause of the people, and to arraign the conduct of administration for the heavy expences of government, and the venality and corruption of office. But the scene was now changed. The bill underwent several amendments in the house of lords, particularly one that placed the new commissioners under the controul of the board of treasury. It was filled up with the names of the two comptrollers of the army accounts, together with that of Mr. Francis Baring.

Beside the three bills we have mentioned, a fourth was passed for continuing the appointment of the commissioners of the public accounts. A clause was moved by lord Beauchamp, and seconded by general Burgoyne, empowering and enjoining the commissioners to revise one of their reports so far as it related to the official conduct of sir Henry Clinton during his com-

mand of the army in America. In the report several facts were stated to the disadvantage of this officer. Though the circumstances, lord Beauchamp observed, which had been brought to light from the press by sir Henry Clinton, sufficiently accounted for any unfavourable appearances; and though his established reputation and acknowledged integrity placed him far beyond the suspicion of dishonourable conduct or neglect of oeconomy, yet the ground of accusation, the fact, would go down to posterity without the vindication in the report of the commissioners, and the descendants of one of the first families of the kingdom might thus look back at some future period to one of their ancestors, as a person guilty of speculation and prodigality. The amendment was objected to by colonel Thomas Dundas, and Mr. Pitt, upon the ground of the commission having been instituted to investigate establishments, and not to examine the conduct of individuals. The motion was negatived without a division.

A subject of great importance relative to the revenues and expenditure of Great Britain, which fell under the consideration of parliament in the present session, was that respecting the redemption of the national debt. It was not proposed by Mr. Pitt to enter upon those new and more effectual measures for this purpose, which he professed to have in contemplation, till the year 1785. But he regarded it as particularly desirable that parliament should be prepared upon the subject. This was the more necessary as a principal point in the discussion was to determine, how far the existing taxes would suffice for the creation of an adequate sinking fund, and how far new burthens would be necessary for that pur-

pose. Supposing the decision of this question to exist ever so clearly in the mind of the minister, that the nation should be equally convinced, would probably be a fortunate circumstance, and would conduce in no small degree to the maintenance of the national credit. Mr. Pitt was sanguine in his expectations respecting the exceeding of the revenue beyond the demands of a peace establishment; and of course his calculations were controverted and dissected by the leaders of opposition. It is not easy to follow the arguments that were suggested, through all their detail of arithmetical numeration. We shall endeavour to suggest precise though general ideas upon the subject, and to take off in some measure from the phlegm and repulsiveness that adhere to a business of this kind.

Mr. Pitt introduced the subject to the house of commons by a motion of the eleventh of April, calling for an account of the net produce of the taxes for the quarters ending on the fifth of January and the fifth of April, 1784; and the produce of those ending on the fifth of January and the fifth of April 1785. His intention in this motion was, that the house might be enabled to form an adequate idea upon a subject which of all others was nearest his heart. He flattered himself the public would see from those papers, that the opinions so industriously inculcated by some speculatists on the subject of our finances were the offspring of gloomy despondency, or perhaps of worse motives; and that so far from affording any grounds for apprehension or despair, the state of the national revenues and resources furnished a very flattering prospect, not only of answering every demand of the peace establishment, but of affording an over-

overplus, which he had hopes might be made to amount to at least one million, for the purpose of a sinking fund. His motive for singling out these particular quarters had been that the house might see that the prosperity of the nation had been in a progressive state ever since the new measures for the more effectual collection of the revenue had been adopted. The produce of the January quarter in the year 1784 had been 2,585,000*l.* and of the April quarter 2,198,000*l.* The produce of the January quarter 1785 had been 2,738,000*l.* and of the April quarter 3,066,000*l.* So that the produce of the taxes in the last six months was above a million more, than the produce of the corresponding six months in the preceding year; and the produce of the April quarter nearly 870,000*l.* more, from which however Mr. Pitt observed that 190,000*l.* was to be deducted as the produce of the new taxes of the preceding session. He stated the interest of the public debt, together with the probable expence of the peace establishment at 14,400,000*l.*; and he suggested to the house four calculations by means of which they might institute a comparison between the existing revenue and the expenditure. He estimated the land and the malt tax at 2,450,000*l.* If the two next quarters in the current year produced a sum equal to the two last quarters, the whole yearly sum produced by the remaining taxes would be 11,936,000*l.* If, again, we estimated the year by the produce of the last quarter, the produce would be 12,264,000*l.* If, in the third place, we supposed the produce of the two remaining quarters of the present year to bear the same proportion to the preceding quarters, which the corresponding quarters of the last year did to each

other, the produce would be 12,600,000*l.* Mr. Pitt farther suggested a fourth calculation, according to which it rose to the amount of 14,790,000*l.* He observed that in the accounts of the new quarters was not included the produce of the new house duty, which could not amount to less than 500,000*l.* per annum, and which would more than counterbalance any accidental diminution there might be in any of the taxes in a subsequent quarter. The produce of all the taxes, exclusive of the land and malt tax, for the year ending in September 1784, was 10,400,000*l.* So that the increase of the revenue for the present year, upon the most unfavourable calculation, was 1,500,000*l.*; and there was great reason to believe that it would be farther considerably augmented.

Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Eden and Mr. Dempster indulged themselves in several remarks on the calculations of Mr. Pitt the very day he suggested them to the house. But the principal objections were taken up more accurately and at large in the progress of the business. Mr. Eden in particular called the attention of the house afresh to the subject on the twenty-second day of April. The observation, upon which he laid the most considerable stress, was that of the extraordinary extent of the quarter upon which Mr. Pitt had built his principal argument, from the fifteenth of December to the fifth of April, which consisted of one hundred and three days instead of ninety one days. Here an advantage was taken of 1*ol.* per cent, which upon a three months income of 3,000,000*l.* amounted to 300,000*l.* and upon an annual income of 12,000,000*l.* amounted to 1,200,000*l.* Beside this general argument

gument Mr. Eden stated the particular circumstance, of the weekly sums paid into the exchequer from the post-office and the excise extending in that quarter to fifteen weeks, instead of being confined to the natural amount of thirteen weeks. He concluded with moving, "That there should be laid before the house an account of the net produce of all the taxes, from the twenty-fifth of December to the fifth of January, and from the twenty-fifth of March to the fifth of April, in the quarter in question, in order that members might be at liberty to subtract the receipts of the exceeding days, either from the commencement or conclusion of that period.

Mr. Pitt replied to the argument of Mr. Eden, that a subtraction, proportionable to the number of days, was not to be admitted, unless it were granted that the income of every week and every day in the year was exactly equal. He said the objection applied to only one of the various calculations he had thrown out upon the subject. The calculation upon which he had laid his principal stress was grounded on the comparison of the half year ending in April 1785, with that ending April 1784, and the probable expectation that the summer quarters of the current year would bear the same proportion with the summer quarters of the preceding year that the winter quarters had done. He embraced this opportunity of exhorting the house never to lose sight of the object he had proposed, the establishment of a sinking fund, which should be operative and permanent. His own hopes on the subject were every day more sanguine, from every new point of view in which he contemplated the resources of the nation, and every new information he had

obtained; and in proportion to his hopes of success his conviction of the necessity of the measure became more vivid. But the exertions of the house ought not to give way to desponding misrepresentations nor even to actual disappointments. Should the flattering prospects which now suggested themselves be withdrawn, he however trusted they would adopt it as a fixed and unalterable principle to make up the necessary sum by some new mode, so that an efficient sinking fund, the great bulwark of public credit, might in no event be lost. The papers moved for by Mr. Eden were granted.

Seven days later than the motion of Mr. Eden, Mr. Fox called the attention of the house a third time to the same subject. He deprecated the charge of personal views or of factious opposition. It was his most earnest desire to see the revenues of this country rendered so indubitably equal to its necessities, that neither cavil nor ingenuity should be able to excite terrors in the breasts of those, who had lent their money on the faith of government. Apprehending that the state of our finances was very different from that which had been made out by Mr. Pitt, he conceived that though our circumstances were bad, they were yet to be retrieved. Violent as party had ran in that house, at no time had much impediment been thrown in the way of imposing burthens upon the public, where the necessity had been apparent. Mr. Fox argued at large the extreme fallacy of concluding from any one quarter of a year the probable amount of the other quarters. To illustrate this he selected several articles from the disputed quarter of April 1785. East India goods, for instance, were stated to have produced 86,000*l.* though the average pro-

produce of that article for the last eleven years was but 120,000*l*, and the correspondent quarter in 1784 had produced only 10,000*l*. In the same manner the stamp duties proposed by lord John Cavendish, were stated to have produced in this quarter 96,000*l*. though they had originally been taken at no more than 100,000*l*. per annum. The composition of the bank under this head was 12,000*l*. per annum, and yet 6000*l*. stood here as the receipt of a single quarter. Besides these and various other particulars, Mr. Fox undertook to prove from experience, and particularly from a table of the amount of the customs for eleven years, that whenever the spring quarter rose singularly high, the summer quarters were proportionably low. One of his instances was taken from the year 1779 and the year 1784. The spring quarter of 1784 stood at 385,000*l*. while the whole year produced 2,600,000*l*. On the contrary, the spring quarter of 1779 stood at 715,000*l*. while the whole year produced no more than 2,200,000*l*. Mr. Fox would not allow, upon the most favourable calculation, the whole of the existing revenue of this country to amount to more than 14,200,000*l*. If therefore it were the determination of the house to meet the situation of the country fairly, if they intended, with the honesty and resolution that became them, to put the finances of Great Britain beyond the reach of cavil, they must lay additional burthens on the people to the amount of 1,300,000*l*. per annum. The alternative was undoubtedly unpleasant, but no man could hesitate a moment in choosing between this and national bankruptcy. He knew indeed, that strange and atrocious schemes had been engendered in the brains of some men to this purpose; but no

practical statesman had ever thought of them, no wise man had ever countenanced them, and no good man, he trusted, would ever adopt them. Mr. Fox particularly urged the minister not to wait for another session, and not to submit to so material a loss as that of one year of peace. Perhaps it might be said that he urged this matter so strongly in order to involve administration in unpopular measures. But this imputation must vanish when he declared, that in a business of this sort Mr. Pitt might be assured of his ardent and honest support, and that he was ready fairly to share the unpopularity by assisting ministers in the task. Mr. Fox concluded with observing, that the motion he had originally intended was designed to declare, that the permanent revenues of this country amounted only to a certain sum between eleven and twelve millions; but that not having been able to state the precise amount, he had changed his determination. He accordingly moved, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into and state to the house the annual net produce from the fifth of April 1775, to the fifth of April 1785, of the several taxes, together with the amount of the public debts, and to report the accounts to the house, together with their observations."

Mr. Pitt rose once more to defend his projected measures. He insisted upon the unfairness of arguing any thing respecting the future revenues of this country from estimates taken, as those of Mr. Fox had been, from years of war. It was easily to be imagined, that in time of war, an extraordinary degree of success might attend the arms of a nation for one quarter of a year, and yet the succeeding quarters be calamitous and unfortunate,



fortunate. Merchant ships might wait beyond the period of their regular returns for want of convoy or for want of seamen: nothing was permanent, nothing was capable of being reduced to any established rule. Mr. Pitt observed, that the article of stamps included not merely the produce of the receipt tax, but of nearly the whole of lord John Cavendish's budget, which had been laid at the sum of 550,000*l*. He congratulated Mr. Fox upon the circumstance of his having become a proselyte to the doctrine of a sinking fund; but his zeal upon the subject had been, like that of all new converts, more ardent than judicious. Would it not, Mr. Pitt enquired, be more expedient to wait a single year, and see the fruits of expectations grounded on the strongest evidence, rather than recur to violent measures, which could only be justified by the last extremity? He was particularly averse from appointing a committee, which he represented as nothing different from putting his office of chancellor of the exchequer into commission. He doubted not that there were many persons in that house infinitely more capable of filling this high situation than himself. But ill as he was able to discharge its duties, he thought it more properly vested in him, a servant of the crown, and a single individual, than it could be in a committee of the house, liable to no controul from personal responsibility. Mr. Pitt indulged himself in a description of the different kind of committees that might be formed. If the committee were of his own appointment, he should certainly chuse to be himself a member. On the other hand, he imagined Mr. Fox would be well contented to have the committee made up of himself and his friends;

and in that case it would be easy to guess what sort of report they would form. Perhaps however it was intended to consist of members of different opinions. They would debate the same points and nearly in the same manner as the whole house would do; it might be with less eloquence, with less vehemence and with less action, but not with less obstinacy.

Mr. Fox, in explanation, charged the minister with having broken the promises he had repeatedly made to the house. Who that had last year heard him assume an air of the utmost personal importance and gravity, and talk of his determination to encounter in the pursuit of this measure loss of popularity, public clamour and public odium, would have imagined, that he would have this year come forward with a series of computations founded in the most demonstrable fallacy and error, merely to obtain a pretence of putting off the great work to another session? What pledge had the house that he would bring it on even next session? His words were indeed sufficiently big with promises, but would a minister's promise ensure a minister's performance? Master as he was of words, Mr. Fox defied him to invent expressions more strong or more binding than he had used last session. His opinion of a committee was very different from that of Mr. Pitt. He was convinced by the conduct of a committee last year, that however gentlemen might generally differ in their political sentiments, they would always form such a report as would do themselves honour, and prove of essential benefit to the public. Mr Burke followed Mr. Fox, and expressed much indignation at the manner in which Mr. Pitt had treated the subject of  
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a committee. The time was, if he had been the greatest minister the country had ever known, that he would not have sat an hour on the treasury bench after such an insult to the house. The question having been rejected, Mr. Fox offered to the house motions for the several papers which were to have formed the materials of his committee, and they were carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Pitt appears to have been in some degree irritated by the treatment he had received on this occasion. Mr. Fox having alluded, several days after, upon a question of Indian finance, to the estimates that had been made of the revenues of this country, Mr. Pitt embraced this occasion of pronouncing an invective marked with a considerable degree of acrimony. He admired the ingenuity with which Mr. Fox, finding the question before the house not applicable to any of his favourite purposes, had contrived to introduce another subject better calculated to afford him an opportunity of gratifying his passions and resentments, and of giving vent to those violent and splenetic emotions which so naturally sprang from the situation in which he was placed; a situation in which to the torments of baffled hope, of wounded pride, and disappointed ambition, was added the mortifying reflection, that to the improvident and intemperate use he had made of his power and influence while they lasted, he could alone attribute all those misfortunes, to which he was used so constantly, so pathetically, but so unsuccessfully to solicit the compassion of the house. Feeling for him as Mr. Pitt did, he declared that he should think it highly unbecoming in him to consider any of his transports, any of those extacies of a mind, la-

bouring under the aggravated load of disappointment and self-upbraiding, which were at present his lot, as objects of any other emotion in his breast than that of pity, certainly not of resentment, nor even of contempt.

A business connected with the subject of revenue, which occurred about the period of which we are treating, had been introduced to parliament by the petition of the persons interested in the fustian trade in Manchester and other towns in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Derby, complaining of certain duties imposed in the last session upon linens and cottons, plain and figured. Other petitions for the same purpose were presented, and the petitioners were heard by themselves and their counsel. On the twentieth of April, Mr. Pitt rose, in compliance with the prayer of the petitions, to move for "leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act complained of, and to repeal so much of that act as imposed a duty upon plain cottons and fustians." Mr. Pitt, in the speech with which this motion was introduced, strenuously maintained the injustice of the charges that were brought against the tax. He affirmed that the allegations of the petitions were far fetched and extensive, and that the evidence in aid of them was out of all measure exaggerated and uncandid. There was scarcely a single stage of the examination, or a single point of the enquiry on which there was not a glaring and evident desire in the witnesses to mislead and deceive the house. He observed that they had stated the produce of the tax at no more than 10,000*l*. This he was ready to assert was not a true calculation, and he was perfectly clear in the moderation of his estimate, when

when he took the tax upon fustians at 40,000*l*. There was however another point of view different from the justice and equality of any tax, which he conceived highly entitled to the regard of the house, and that was the spirit of commerce. That this spirit had been excited against the tax was too obvious, from the abilities which had been exercised, and the pertinacity which had been displayed in the pursuit of a repeal. The opinions, however originating or however founded, of so large, so useful and respectable a body of men as the cotton manufacturers, nay even their prejudices and their errors were to him objects of such serious consideration, that he would not put his own sentiments in competition with them, when the point in question was such as could with safety be given up. Thus circumstanced, he compared the amount of the object with the situation of the country. He thanked God, that the state of the public finances was not such as to afford room for despondency. He had looked into it with a jealous scrutiny, and found, that it was so flourishing and promising, as to yield the prospect of melioration without the imposition of new burthens. He was happy to have it in his power to give this pledge to the people of England, that his hopes of being able to create a sinking fund was such as not to make him tenacious of any particular tax.

Mr. Stanley and others rose in vindication of the manufacturers. It was particularly observed by this gentleman, that Mr. Walker and the other witnesses were men of as much private honour, virtue, and probity, as they were ingenious and skillful in their manufacture; and that such men were not to be led by any consideration upon earth to

the stating falsehoods or the exaggerating facts. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox were decisive in their protest against the principle laid down by Mr. Pitt upon this occasion. It was by no means wise in any minister to declare that he gave up that to prejudice and to clamour, which he refused to reason and to fact. If it were once known that a high degree of popular discontent, no matter how ill founded, was a sufficient inducement to that house, to give their consent to the repeal of any tax, the revenue would be in perpetual danger, and that sinking fund, which Mr. Pitt was so fond of introducing into every debate, and to which they all looked forward with the most anxious expectations, would be only a matter to be talked of, never to be brought into existence. The sense of the house was unanimously in favour of the repeal.

On the ninth of May the loan and the new taxes, which were still found necessary to liquidate and systematize the burthens of the late war, were brought before the house of commons by the chancellor of the exchequer. It was, he was sufficiently persuaded, as much a matter of regret to other gentlemen as it could be to him, to find themselves called to the painful task of providing for the exigencies of the late calamitous and unprofitable war, in order to bring back the country to its former vigour and importance, and give stability to its strength and prosperity. Though we had been for some time delivered from the immediate calamities of war, yet it was impossible to assert that we were yet come in respect of our finances to a peace establishment. He stated, that the supplies for the current year already voted, amounted to 9,737,868*l*. But the  
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existing ways and means for the production of this sum were no more than 6,184,118*l*. Besides these, however, there had been paid into the exchequer the sum of 199,561*l*. chiefly arising from balances which had lain in the hands of different paymasters, which, together with the growing produce of the sinking fund for the ensuing year, and other sums that he mentioned made up the deficiency so as to leave only a balance of one million. This sum, which was indeed small, when put in competition with the sums, that had for a series of years been asked, would he hoped be the last that would be wanted. In borrowing that million, after having seriously considered the state of the funds at this day, and their probable improvement in the course of another session, he had deemed it most prudent not to fund the money, but to borrow it from the bank at five per cent. The public might thus make better terms than they could by going to open market. The bank would pay in the money not immediately, nor altogether, but as the necessities of government called for it; and the interest was to be paid only in proportion as the money was advanced. He should however for the present, take the interest at the regular sum of 50,000*l*.

But the principal point to which he had to draw the attention of the house, was the funding that part of the navy bills and the ordnance debentures, which had stood over from the preceding session, and which Mr. Pitt took at 4,000,000*l*. The term to which these had usually run, was two years; but he proposed to hold out a discount of one-fourth per cent. per month, as an inducement to the bill-holders to subscribe early. The fund he in-

tended to create was the very fund respecting which there had been so much debate last year, a fund of five per cent. Though for every 100*l*. so funded there was a loss incurred of six shillings for every 100*l*, which would create an excess of annuity upon a principal of 10,000,000*l*, to the amount of 30,000*l*, yet in the event of a redemption there would be in a length of years a saving of between two and three millions. Mr. Pitt took the five per cent. stock at 89½*l*. According to this estimate he should give 111*l*. 8*s*. for every 100*l*; so that the 4,000,000*l*. to be funded would require an interest of 223,000*l*. In addition to these two sums of the interest on the loan and the interest on the new fund, Mr. Pitt had to provide for the deficiency incurred by the repeal of the fugitive tax, which he estimated at 40,000*l*. The whole annuity to be provided made the sum of 413,000*l*.

Mr. Pitt prefaced the taxes he had to propose by remarking on the disadvantage under which he laboured in bringing up the rear of the business, when the most palatable and popular taxes had long since been exhausted. But taxes the most palatable were not always the most salutary. They disguised at the same time that they administered the poison. In the present transaction he wished it to be understood that some of the taxes he meant to suggest would fall heavier on that house than on their constituents. There was perhaps no other assembly that he could address, where he should have the satisfaction of thinking, that, in proportion to the degree in which a burthen was likely to effect themselves, it would have the better chance to meet with their approbation

tion. His taxes had one other recommendation, which was that they would be attended with no expence in the collection and would be the source of no new officers. The first thing he had to propose was a new regulation in the tax upon men servants. This had hitherto been rated in the same proportion, whether the person from whom it was collected kept more or fewer servants. Mr. Pitt proposed that it should be assessed according to a different rule, for one servant, as far as to eleven and upwards. He included in his tax for the first time waiters at taverns and other places of public entertainment. And he meant, instead of suffering it to remain any longer a voluntary tax, which those upon whom it fell were to send and pay of their own accord, to have it regularly demanded by the same persons as now collected the house-tax. The produce of these regulations he estimated at 35,000*l*. The next proposal he had to suggest was a tax, which had already been the subject of much discussion. It might probably find one kind of objection from the grave and sober part of the house, and it might encounter the jocular ideas and merry witticisms of the other. The former, however, he was prepared to meet and combat with reason and argument; to the latter he had only good humour and cheartulness to oppose. This was an assessment per head of two shillings and sixpence, five shillings, and ten shillings respectively upon maid servants; and the whole of this he estimated at 140,000*l*. The next tax in the budget of the chancellor of the exchequer was a tax upon retail shops. This he would not collect in one equal sum upon all shops indiscriminately, but he would

regulate the tax by the rent of the house, and he proposed that it should be laid in the proportion of from one shilling to two shillings in the pound, the last sum to take place upon all houses rented at twenty-five pounds and upwards. He intended by way of recompence to the dealers to revoke and take away the licence from all hawkers and pedlars, who were indeed a pest to the community and a nursery and medium for the preservation of illicit trade. The shop-tax he took at 120,000*l*. Mr. Pitt's fourth tax, was an additional tax of one half-penny per mile on post-horses. The fair price to the traveller was already eleven pence per mile; but the inn-keepers frequently charged a shilling, and he proposed to divert a part of this irregular profit to the benefit of the public. This would produce 50,000*l*. Mr. Pitt's fifth tax, was a tax upon gloves. This tax he laid at a penny, two pence, and three pence, in proportion to their respective value; and he took the produce at 50,000*l*. To these he added a tax, by way of licence, upon pawn-brokers, the result of which would be 15,000*l*; and a regulation respecting salt, by which he would make an allowance of only one bushel and a half instead of three bushels in forty, upon all salt carried coastwise, by which he should gain to the public 12,000*l*. Mr. Pitt concluded with an adjuration to the house, that they would by their conduct on the present occasion give a pledge to the public of their zeal for the national credit, and their unalterable determination to create a surplus inalienably to be applied to the gradual diminution of the national debt.

Mr. Fox followed Mr. Pitt. With respect to whether it was better to fund the debts of the public.

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by means of a five or a three per cent stock, it was not a matter that needed to be farther discussed. He however reminded the house that the five per cent stock had last year been calculated at 93l. and that now it was not so high by two or three per cent; so that the reasonings of the last session did not completely apply to the measures of the present. For himself, however, he remained fixed in his opinion, that to sacrifice a large sum of the public money at the instant of funding, upon an idle ground of speculative calculation with respect to the future, was a matter against which much solid objection might be urged. If he were to enter into the discussion of what it was, that was given to the bill holders more by a five per cent. than by a three per cent. fund, perhaps he should be able to make it amount to a good deal more than Mr. Pitt had stated. Mr. Fox expressed the deepest impression of the very urgent state of the finances of the country, as well as an unwillingness to be the first to oppose any taxes, that were destined to answer the exigencies of the state. He, however, hinted a strong objection to the shop tax and the prohibitory regulation against hawkers and pedlars, as well as the tax on maid-servants, which he feared very unseasonably for the welfare of this country, would excite an universal odium, and which he conceived, by rendering the increase of offspring peculiarly distressing, would become a tax upon infants, and not a tax upon either luxury or extravagance.

Mr. Hufley treated it as somewhat strange that the minister should give the navy bill-holders this year 111l. 8s. per cent. when last year he gave them only 107l. 5s. 6d. As

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Mr. Pitt had thought proper to defer funding the million he borrowed of the bank, might it not have been advisable also to postpone the funding a part of the navy debt, till it was in our power to have made better terms? Mr. Pitt defended what he done, and declared his opinion that the stocks would never rise, and of consequence better terms would never be made, till the load of navy debt was taken out of the market.

The taxes proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, which underwent the severest animadversion, were the tax upon maid-servants, and the tax upon retailers. Sir James Johnstone and the earl of Surrey expressed themselves with much humanity respecting the first of these. They trusted parliament would turn its attention to a tax, thus inimical to so many of our fellow-creatures, who were reduced by providence to the most helpless and unprotected situation. They were desultory of those powerful advocates, which had sometimes influence with ministers to make them alter their original intention; but if no other principle weighed with the house, it was to be hoped a principle of humanity would, since the objects of this tax had, independently of other evils, hardships enough to encounter from their relentless destiny. Mr. Drake, Mr. Powys, Mr. Sawbridge, sir Richard Hill, and Mr. Whitbread expressed their disapprobation of this part of the budget. Mr. Francis had always observed such an idea to be reprobated by every person of feeling and sentiment. He trusted that Mr. Pitt on mature consideration would relinquish it, as nothing could be suggested, that could give the public a more disadvantageous idea of his principles, as a man or a statesman.

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It was asserted by Mr. Sheridan, that the tax could be considered in no other light, than as a bounty to bachelors and a penalty upon propagation. Mr. Fox in a subsequent stage of the business observed, that he was instructed by his constituents to oppose the tax. He was not one of those, that considered the sense of the electors as binding on his conduct in every political proceeding; and of all others he thought a question of finance that in which implicit conformity was least to be expected. If, therefore, the sentiments of his constituents were one reason with him for opposing the tax, he begged it to be considered as only one. It was certainly always desirable to refrain from affecting manufactures whenever it could be avoided. That this could not in all cases be done he was ready to allow; but when the most useless members of society were made to bear the public burthen, it was undoubtedly an advantage. A set of men could not easily be selected who were of less service in the state than men-servants; the contrary was the fact with regard to women-servants. The former were kept for parade, and as the instruments of vanity, idleness, and ostentation; the latter were always employed in works of œconomy and industry. The former were retained by the rich, the latter by the poor. Mr. Fox mentioned the idea that had frequently been suggested respecting a tax upon bachelors. If there could be a mode devised by which such a tax could be proportioned to the fortune or property of individuals, none in his opinion could be more fair or more productive. At all events he could see no objection to the adopting this idea to such a degree, as would make good the deficiency that might arise

from rendering the tax of the chancellor of the exchequer easy to those who had families.

Mr. Pitt defended his original suggestion. It was undoubtedly true, that those who were married and had families would pay the most to this tax; but this was inseparable from the very principle of levying imposts upon the subject, and might with equal truth be alledged against every individual tax that had been laid upon articles of consumption for a number of years past. In the progress of the business however, he qualified the measure with several exemptions, particularly by subtracting from his estimate one servant for every two children. He professed also to design to exclude youth and age from the operation of the tax. In lieu of the deficiencies that would accrue from these provisions, he adopted Mr. Fox's idea respecting bachelors. He accordingly moved that the tax upon maid-servants should be doubled to persons of this description, and that every bachelor should pay the sum of one pound five shillings per head additional to the tax upon men-servants. This was observed by Mr. Fox not adequately to answer his suggestion, since it would fall particularly heavy upon gentlemen of the army and other unmarried men, who were under the necessity of keeping at least one male-servant. An amendment was made corresponding to the objection of Mr. Fox. A similar effort was exerted by Mr. Gamon member for Winchester, and Mr. Courtenay, in favour of officers upon half-pay; but though the proposition was urged with considerable strenuousness, it did not obtain equal success.

But the tax which encountered the most persevering and obdurate opposition in parliament, and the most



most general unpopularity and odium in the nation, was the tax on retailers. It is particularly remarkable of this tax, that it has been uniformly rejected and censured by every politician, whether speculative or practical, to whom it ever suggested itself. It is condemned by Dr. Adam Smith in his standard work of the *Wealth of Nations*. The arguments by which it was opposed are obvious. They may perhaps be summed up in the word inequality. The tax is unequal, because it is placed by the representative upon the constituent, without his contributing an iota of it himself. It is unequal, because being proportioned to the rent, it falls almost exclusively upon the inhabitants of the metropolis. And lastly, it is unequal, because it falls upon a body of men, few in number, industrious and necessary. Taxes may be considered as of two kinds; those which are levied immediately upon the commodity, and of which consequently the whole passes into the purse of the public, and those, which, being committed to the discretion of individuals, may be expected to oppress the nation in a much greater degree than they enrich government. The shop-tax is placed under the necessity of encountering one of two destinies; either it must be levied upon the consumer ten, thirty, and fifty fold by the retailer, or it must fall upon a class, consisting perhaps of twenty or thirty thousand men; and to whom is appropriated little of the luxuries and indulgences of human life. These and other arguments were urged with considerable earnestness by Sir Harbord Warbord, Mr. Jolliffe, and the members for the city of London. At the same time a petition was presented against the tax from the lord mayor, alder-

men and common council: Its disadvantages were placed in a particularly strong point of view by Mr. William Windham. Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Windham; that it was by no means fair to consider the tax simply as falling, either on the income of the trader, or the general consumption. Where the profit on the articles of trade was such as would bear the payment of the tax, there the trader would pay it for his own sake; and it was fair that he should; but where on the contrary the profit was inconsiderable, the tax would be levied by the retailer on his customers. He denied that the object of commerce was to obtain a profit adequate to subsistence; but on the contrary to obtain as great a profit as the market would allow. Of consequence, the richer shop-keeper would not be more ready now to vend his commodities at a price which the poorer could not afford, than he had ever been. Mr. Henry Thornton coincided with Mr. Pitt in his argument in favour of the tax, and inferred from the universal clamour it had occasioned that its operation was totally exempt from the charge of being partial. Several members, who were desirous successfully to counteract the impost upon retailers, declared themselves not inimical to the tax on maid-servants, and took part with still greater sincerity and earnestness in favour of the intended prohibition against hawkers and pedlars. Among these it may be proper to enumerate Mr. Hamet and Mr. Le Mesurier. Sir Edward Ashley, and Mr. Brickdale also took an opportunity of expressing their approbation of the proposed suppression of hawkers and pedlars.

The cause of this humble order of men was undertaken with parti-

ular warmth by Mr. Dempster. He conceived that it was a singular and no very honourable species of regulation, to attempt the suppression of an entire order in the state, from the instigation of private views, and with the single design of conciliating the aversions and gratifying the vindictive passions of another order. He remembered some years ago that a bill for the same purpose was brought into parliament; but it appeared in the discussion a measure big with the greatest mischief. He trusted in proportion as the house received information upon the subject, they would be disposed to think with him, that far from being useless, the hawkers and pedlars were of the highest benefit to the community. Nothing but their palpable and undeniable utility could have kept them in existence so long against all the interests that had been united to destroy them. In compliance with the arguments that were employed, Mr. Pitt departed from his original design, and on the thirteenth of June moved the house, in lieu of the total suppression of the licences, "that a duty of four pounds in addition to the existing duties should be imposed upon all pedlars travelling on foot; and that a duty of eight pounds in addition to the existing duties should be imposed upon all pedlars for every horse, ass, or mule employed by them in the transport of his commodities." It was also proposed by him, that in the same act restrictions should be laid upon pedlars, by which they should be prevented from exercising their trade within a certain distance of cities and market towns. This proposal did not perfectly meet the approbation either of the friends or enemies of the original motion. It was treated by those who acted for

the retailers, as departing from an implied bargain that had been entered into between the minister and the persons exposed to the new tax. By Mr. Dempster, sir James Johnstone, sir Adam Ferguson and Mr. Courtenay, it was still opposed upon the ground that had first been taken up; and it was particularly asserted by Mr. Dempster, that since the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis the Fourteenth, no system had ever been pursued so notoriously partial and oppressive. Mr. Marsham, together with the representatives of the different parts of Kent, were, on the contrary, extremely eager to obtain the total abolition of a body of men, to whose instrumentality it was owing that the illicit trade of this country was kept alive, in defiance of the efforts of successive administrations for its suppression.

It may not perhaps be unworthy of such a performance as ours, to notice the several taxes that were proposed by private members, who were discontented with the articles of Mr. Pitt's budget, as substitutes in lieu of the intended duties. It will be found, upon a retrospect to the history of finance, that such unconnected suggestions have not seldom been ripened in a series of years into regulations of government and laws of the land. A notice like this may therefore not only serve to gratify the curiosity of posterity, respecting the true origin of the measures by which they shall hereafter be affected, but may also assist the conjectures of the present age, and enable us in part to look forward into futurity. In the room of the tax upon maid servants it was proposed by sir James Johnstone that a tax should be imposed upon men milleners, and other persons of the male sex, who

who exercised those branches of trade that seemed most properly appropriated to the female. Sir Richard Hill and Sir Edward Astley brought to the recollection of the house ideas that they had thrown out in preceding sessions respecting a tax upon public places of diversion, and an impost upon dogs. But the most regular species of budget was opened by Lord Surrey, who proposed a tax by way of annual licence upon persons wearing silk stockings, wearing powder in their hair, and wearing watches; the two former at ten shillings per annum respectively, and the latter at two shillings and six pence. The produce of the whole he stated at 160,000*l*. Mr. Pitt excepted to the proposal of Lord Surrey, and particularly observed, that the taxes struck him as depending chiefly for their collection on informers, which was not the most pleasant way of collecting any duty, and which could not be expected to be other than extremely precarious. In lieu of the shop tax Mr. Brook Watson proposed a tax by way of licence on attorneys of 30*l*. per annum, and a tax upon cambrics. It was suggested by Lord North that an adequate compensation might be obtained by extending the tax upon auctions to the sales of the East India company, of the Hudson's Bay company, and the sales from the court of chancery. A proposal that seems to have been more extensive in its origin was brought forward by Mr. Sawbridge and Mr. alderman Newnham. This was a tax of two pence, four pence, and six pence respectively upon every pair of shoes above the price of four shillings, and of one shilling upon every pair of boots. The produce of this tax was computed by the proposers at upwards of 200,000*l*. In substitution for certain deficien-

cies, which he conceived would be incurred by the regulations admitted in the shop tax, the chancellor of the exchequer ultimately adopted the idea of a tax by way of licence upon attorneys, at the rate of 5*l*. per annum in London, and 3*l*. per annum in every other part of the kingdom. To this was added a duty of two shillings and six pence upon writs of arrest, and the whole was taken at 20,000*l*. Certain resolutions were moved in the committee of ways and means on the twenty-seventh of May by Mr. Rose, secretary to the treasury, which however he qualified by observing that they were not so properly new taxes, as regulations for facilitating the collection of old ones. These related in part to the game duties of the preceding session, and in part to the duties upon carriages. By the latter every person exercising the trade of a coachmaker was called upon to take out a licence for that purpose at the annual price of twenty shillings; and a duty of twenty shillings on four-wheeled carriages, and ten shillings upon two-wheeled carriages was imposed, to be paid by the maker.

On the seventh of April the house was moved by Mr. William Grenville, joint paymaster of the army, for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the act for trying controverted elections, commonly called the Grenville act. There were two objects that he had in view in regard to this subject. The one was general, to modify and amend certain parts of the act in question which had been found upon experience ineffectual or noxious. The other was merely to remedy in some degree the interruption, that had frequently been given to public business by that provision of the Grenville act, which forbade the entering upon any other matter

while the ballot for a committee for trying a controverted election was depending. Under the first of these heads Mr. Grenville classed the number of frivolous petitions which had been much increased since the bill he proposed to amend had passed into a law; and this he conceived might be remedied by obliging the parties petitioning to enter into recognizances to abide by their petition, and in case of failure to pay the costs. The other supposed defects, were the want of a power in the election-committees to punish the returning officer, and the want of a certainty of decision upon the rights of election. But with these general questions Mr. Grenville did not propose to interfere till the ensuing session, conceiving them to be much more likely to be discussed with that degree of temper, moderation and coolness which the subject required, when considered in the abstract, than when election cases were exiling untried, to which they might in some degree or other be applied, and thus impressions by no means conducive to impartiality and candor might arise.

The object, which the bill he at present desired to introduce to parliament had in view, was confined to the alteration of the mechanical part of the proceeding to ballot for a committee. The first regulation of this kind he would suggest, was to allow committees, who had finished their business, and who were ready to make their report, to do so in the interval before a ballot had been obtained. This provision, where the two fitting members should be declared duly elected, would add two members qualified to serve to the number of the house, and would extend the power of serving, if they chose it, to fifteen more. Mr. Grenville next observ-

ed, that a cause of adjournment that had frequently operated was the stating the number of persons to serve on the committee to be drawn by the house, so high as forty-nine. He conceived that this number might be safely reduced to thirty nine. The Grenville act directed, that the election committees should adjourn, in case more than two of their members were necessarily absent. He meant to propose that in certain cases a committee should be allowed to sit, though reduced to eleven or even to nine members. A farther alteration suggested by Mr. Grenville, and which excited considerable animadversion in the house, was, that in cases where there were already three or more election committees in existence, if a ballot should fail, public business should not, from that circumstance, be obliged to be suspended. He hinted at two other points, which were not included in the provisions of his bill. One of them was the doubt which had been started respecting the present mode of chusing nominees, and the other the necessity there appeared for allowing committees in some cases to sit after parliament had been prorogued. The house, Mr. Grenville trusted, would give him credit for the veneration he entertained for the act in question, and would believe that he had no view to cast an unworthy imputation either upon the measure itself, or upon its origin and history.

The motion of Mr. Grenville was seconded by Mr. Frederic Montagu. He had particular satisfaction in the circumstance of the subject being brought forward by a person in Mr. Grenville's situation with respect to it, and he approved of most of the intended provisions of the bill offered to  
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their consideration. He however suggested his doubts, in regard to the propriety of suffering public business in any case to proceed before a ballot had been obtained.

Mr. Cornwall, speaker of the house of commons, embraced the opportunity afforded by the progress of this bill of offering to parliament his reflections upon the subject. He observed that he had been in parliament when the Grenville act had been originally introduced; he had had the honour to have been consulted by the author of the bill, and had lived to see its important and salutary effects in a variety of instances. When he recollected the infinite and flagrant mischiefs it had prevented, and with what uniformity it had always kept the main object of its institution in view, he felt himself impelled to speak of it with the greatest tenderness and delicacy. Beside declaring his approbation of several of the objects included in the plan of Mr. Grenville, Mr. Cornwall mentioned the want of means as the act stood at present, in case of the death either of the petitioner or of the sitting member, to secure the trial of the merits of the election. He also observed upon a circumstance of personal inconvenience to himself, the want of a power of adjourning, in cases where the Grenville act interfered, at periods, such as Christmas and Easter, when it was well known that no parliamentary business was usually transacted. Mr. Dempster, Mr. Powys, Mr. Strachey and others expressed their approbation of the general idea of the bill, though they had objections to some of its provisions. Lord Mahon was particularly warm in his reprobation of the design of suffering public business on any pretence to

proceed while a ballot was depending. He asserted that in some cases this might subject the parties contesting a controverted election to the enormous and fruitless expence of a 100l. a day for two months. He hinted that it might be proper, instead of thus annihilating the essence of the Grenville act, to reduce the number of members that should constitute a committee to eleven, and he proposed thirty-five as a convenient number for the prescribed result of a ballot. The question upon this last point coming to be decided in a very thin house, and various material alterations having been brought forward by different persons, it was moved by Mr. Grenville upon the suggestion of Mr. Sheridan, that the farther consideration of the bill should be postponed for the present session.

Two bills which had before been submitted to parliament were again offered, by lord Mahon, to the consideration of the house of commons in the present session. Their objects were for the better securing the rights of voters at country elections; and to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the laws for preventing bribery and expence in the elections of members of parliament. In the first of these bills it was particularly provided, that the names of voters at county elections, should be entered upon a register in each parish, and that the ministers of the several parishes should give notice four times in a year of the existence and operation of the bill. By the latter it was particularly prohibited to give cockades or public entertainments at the times of election, and it was directed that the votes of the electors should be taken in the towns of their respective residence. The



former of these acts, having passed the house of commons, experienced the particular opposition of lord Thurlow. He called the bill a volume of speculation, worked up in order to display the ingenuity and ability of a projector, who had taken pains to shew how many words he could use in stating a simple regulation, in order to lay the ground of a system founded on no necessity, nor justified, in his opinion, by any sufficient motive. He concluded with moving, that the consideration of the bill be adjourned for three months. The house divided on this motion, contents 14, not contents 4, in consequence of which the bill was lost.

On the sixth of May, Mr. Beaufoy moved the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill, to explain and amend the excise laws, and to extend the right of trial by jury. This subject is well understood in Great Britain, and the despotism of the jurisdiction of the commissioners of excise has been frequently the topic of expostulation and invective. Mr. Beaufoy supported the necessity of the measure he had to suggest by a quotation from the commentaries of Mr. Justice Blackstone. "The proceedings of the excise," says this author, "are so summary and sudden, that a man may be convicted in two days time in the sum of many thousand pounds, by three commissioners, or two justices of the peace, to the total exclusion of the trial by jury, and disregard of the common law." The bill, offered to the house by Mr. Beaufoy, proposed to give to the subject, in every case where he chose to claim it, the right of trial by jury. To this general rule there was but one exception, which was that of a pro-

secution for the payment of double duties. In this case a summary proceeding was absolutely necessary on the part of government; and in this case fortunately the point in question was capable of the most unquestionable establishment or refutation, - and the extent of the punishment was not in the discretion of the court. Beside this, it was also intended by Mr. Beaufoy's bill, to reduce into one act the various laws respecting the jurisdiction of the excise, and to reconcile and render their provisions consonant to each other.

The committee on this bill sat on the twenty-seventh of May, and it was at that time suggested to the author by the chancellor of the exchequer, that, in a case of so great importance, it was advisable not to make the bill final, but to regard it as a bill of experiment, and for that purpose to confine its operation only to a small number of exciseable commodities. The bill was objected to by the attorney general, upon its report from the committee, on the fourteenth of June, from the circumstance of the number of cases now tried in the summary courts. These amounted to six thousand per annum. Mr. Arden paid several compliments to Mr. Beaufoy upon the skilful structure of that part of the bill which did not immediately relate to the trial by jury. He however took occasion to observe, from the circumstance he mentioned, how dangerous it would be found to disturb the settled order of things, and to reverse establishments that had stood the test of a century. The trial by jury, the favourite privilege of Englishmen, would infallibly be chosen in every instance, and six thousand cases would at once be brought into the court of



of exchequer. The consequence would be the total ruin of the revenue, and the utmost confusion to the country. Mr. Arden concluded with moving, that the further consideration of the bill be postponed for three months. Mr. Macdonald, solicitor general, supported the arguments of Mr. Arden. He observed that Mr. Beaufoy himself had been obliged to acknowledge, that, however severe and unconstitutional the laws of excise might appear, the practice had been mild, and the administration salutary. It was not to evils of this sort that it became parliament to apply a sudden and a violent remedy. There was no system, however excellent, whose defects, if brought together in one view, and coloured by a man of strong feeling, might not be represented as too monstrous to be borne. Were such a person to say, for instance, that there was a country, in which twelve hundred offences were regarded as capital, in which there were twelve hundred ways for the subject to incur the forfeiture of his life, who would believe that it was of England he was speaking? Mr. Beaufoy replied to the objection of the crown lawyers. He observed, that the vast influx of causes into the court of exchequer which Mr. Arden had stated, was by no means to be apprehended. If the person making his election of the trial by jury obtained a verdict in his favour, his expence would not be less than sixty or eighty pounds, and if he was cast it would be double that sum; but in the summary courts the trial would cost him nothing. Beside the court which tried by a jury had no power to mitigate penalties, which was continually done by the summary jurisdiction.

Under all these circumstances of disadvantage, there was but two cases in which the subject would be likely to advance his claim, and God forbid that in either of them it should be refused him! He would embrace the election that was extended to him where the consideration of the expence of the trial was lost in that of the value to be tried; and he would embrace it in cases where he suspected that the judge of the summary court had conceived a prejudice against him. "It is true," he would say, "the worth of the goods is trifling, and the penalty inconsiderable; but I will not be branded as a fraudulent trader at the pleasure of an arbitrary court. I will throw myself upon my country. I have confidence in the justice of my cause, and whatever be the expence, I will be tried by my peers." A language like this was graceful in the mouth of a free subject of the British crown, and it ought to be heard. The further consideration of the bill was postponed for the present session.

On the tenth of June a petition was brought up by Mr. Beaufoy, in concert with the chancellor of the exchequer, from the merchants of London, trading in tobacco, at the same time with petitions from Bristol and Glasgow. The object of these petitions was to obtain a consolidation of the various imposts into one specific charge, as well as some measure to be selected by the legislature for the reduction of the existing duties, or the suppression of illicit trade. In support of the petitions it was observed by Mr. Beaufoy, that the importation of tobacco into Europe, in the course of the last year, made by Great Britain, was nearly five times as great as that made by France

France and Holland together. It was added by Mr. Pitt, who introduced into the house the proposed bill "for the better securing the duties payable on tobacco," that the revenue at present arising from that article scarcely exceeded the half of what the nett duty would be, if it were paid on the whole quantity consumed in the kingdom.

On the fourth of July a third measure was introduced into the house by this indefatigable and disinterested member of parliament, in pursuance of the reports of a committee, which had been originally instituted in the last session upon the motion of Mr. Dempster. The object of the measure recommended by Mr. Beaufoy, as chairman of this committee, related chiefly to the herring fishery. He observed, that it was well known that this fishery had been engrossed from us by the Dutch, and that the bounties, to the amount of little less than 20,000*l.* a year, had operated as an useless expence. This was attributed by the committee to the circumstance of the English vessels not being permitted to sail till the first of October, though the fishery in reality commenced as early as the first of June. The vessels were also obliged by law to make a circuitous, while the Dutch made a direct voyage. Various other evils were stated, and proposed to be redressed; and Mr. Beaufoy was at particular pains to convince the house, from our success in the Newfoundland fishery, and in the Greenland fishery, that the superiority of the Dutch in the fishery in question was not owing to any inherent and unalienable advantage. It was only in the fishery for herrings, a fishery upon her own coasts, a fishery which she only could continue through the

winter, and thus unite the advantage of both seasons, that the exertions of Britain had failed of success, and that Holland had preserved her ascendancy. Mr. Eden was earnest with the house by no means unnecessarily to precipitate the business, and to adjourn the farther consideration to another session. The measure recommended by the committee was however carried, and a bill "for the farther encouragement of the British fisheries" was at length passed into a law.

The case of the American loyalists was brought before the house, in consequence of the commission to whom the enquiry had been referred by parliament, on the twentieth of June. The whole of the claims allowed by the commissioners, were observed by the chancellor of the exchequer to amount to the sum of 471,000*l.* He should for the present propose, that the sum of 150,000*l.* should be granted for the purpose of affording them a temporary relief. The claimants had been distributed by the commissioners into several classes, and it was intended that this sum should be distributed at the rate of 40*l.* per cent. to the two first classes, and of 30*l.* per cent. to the remainder; the money to be raised through the medium of a lottery. Mr. Martin moved, that a list of the claimants should be laid before the house, but the motion was rejected without a division.

Certain resolutions were moved on the third of June in a committee of the whole house by Mr. Dundas, relative to the courts of judicature in the kingdom of Scotland. which excited a high degree of attention and much discussion in that part of the island. The professed object of these resolutions was to diminish the number, and increase the

the salaries of the judges of the several courts, and particularly of the court of session. A bill was brought in upon these resolutions, which was not intended to be urged at this late period of the year. The objection, that was formed to the measure by the people of Scotland, was particularly founded upon the circumstance, that civil causes were tried in that country without the intervention of a jury, and that of consequence the numbers and the variety of character and disposition that existed in the court were their chief security for an impartial decision.

A bill was introduced to parliament, under the auspices of the attorney general on the twenty-first of June, the object of which was to limit the duration of polls and scrutinies. The bill encountered much animadversion, on the part of Mr. Fox and the opposition, upon the ground of its being totally superfluous, and merely calculated to palliate the illegal and improper conduct of administration in the affair of the Westminster election. Several improprieties were detected in the bill, and it underwent much alteration in the committee. Mr. Courtenay ironically complimented the attorney general upon the ability with which the bill was drawn. He remarked upon a mistake of that gentleman, in consequence of which he had cited, as a bill relative to polls and scrutinies, "an act for regulating the measure of Norwich stuffs and druggets, and for electing proper officers for carrying the same into execution." He observed, that if Mr. Arden had been defeated in argument, he had at least the consolation upon which don Quixote had laid so much stress, that the meanness of the instrument took away the disgrace of the repulse.

The gentlemen by whom he had been discomfited were not of the same learned profession, and therefore his credit and reputation could not suffer by any momentary victory they obtained.

The last of the miscellaneous bills, which we have occasion to mention in this place, and which was not more successful, than the majority of those that have been arranged under the same denomination, was a bill "for the farther prevention of crimes, and for the more speedy detection and punishment of offenders against the peace in London, Westminster, and Southwark." The principal object of this bill was to empower the king to appoint three or more persons to be commissioners of police for the metropolis; and the idea upon which it proceeded appears to have been, that, when the business of administering criminal law should be made a regular department of administration, under considerable and responsible persons, the provisions of that law would be likely to be less negligently executed. These commissioners, beside various other prerogatives, were empowered to appoint a body of constables separate from and independent of the parochial constables now in existence. The power of constables was extended, and it was particularly provided by the occasional substitution of barristers, of ten years standing at the bar, to sit upon the bench, that the sessions at the Old Bailey should be adjourned from week to week, and for no longer time. The police bill was introduced to the house of commons by the solicitor general, but it was understood, that Mr. Macdonald was not its author, but that it had been put into his hands by a gentleman, who had taken uncommon pains, and had consulted some of

of the first persons in Westminster-hall on this important subject.

The bill however was not fortunate enough to obtain the approbation of a body of men, extremely watchful over and tenacious of their privileges, the corporation of the city of London. The bill was introduced to the house on the twenty-third of June, and afterwards withdrawn on account of some informality; and on the twenty-ninth a petition was presented from the court of aldermen, complaining in high terms of the projected measure. Their alarm was aptly represented by Mr. Hamet, one of their body, to be equal to that which would have been excited, if a torch had been put and a general conflagration begun in the city of London. The petition stated, that the bill, under colour of correcting abuses, overturned the forms established by the wisdom of our ancestors for the regular administration of justice; and effected the entire subversion of the chartered rights of the greatest city in the world, and the constitutional liberties of above a million of his majesty's subjects. It was accordingly treated as establishing a system of police so new, so arbitrary and so mischievous, that no amendment or modification could or ought to reconcile the nation to the measure.

It was on occasion of this petition being presented, that the system of police underwent the most considerable discussion. Mr. Newnham, Mr. Hamet, and Mr. Mainwaring, declared their disapprobation of the measure, though the last of them was willing to have an opportunity of seeing the bill in its modified state. Mr. alderman Townsend entered into the subject at considerable length, and with much information. He was how-

ever firmly of opinion, that the laws in existence were sufficient to remedy the evil of which they complained, and he seems to have conceived that nothing more would be necessary, than universally or generally to put in execution every capital sentence that was pronounced. He was warm in his censure of the persons with whom the commission of the peace for Westminster was too frequently filled; and he extended his invective to the judges upon the bench, who were too often known to establish it as a maxim with themselves, to pardon almost every species of offender convicted at a county assizes, before they left the town. Mr. Townsend complained with bitterness of the humanity and consideration that was extended to thieves, in the pains that had been taken to select a wholesome climate to which to transport them, while no compassion was felt for the persons whom they robbed and abused. He sedulously enlarged upon the disgraceful state of the police of the city of London. He knew himself above six hundred persons in that city, who lived by nothing else, and whom he could prove to be thieves.

Mr. Macdonald defended the bill he had introduced to the house with no contemptible zeal and ability. He observed, that the objections that had been started, originated for the most part in a complete ignorance of the language and the clauses of the bill. It had been complained, that the intended commissioners of the police were rendered absolute, and paramount over the corporation of London. But the bill expressly provided, that no warrant from the commissioners could be executed in the city, unless backed by the lord mayor, or one of the aldermen, and when executed, the per-

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son apprehended was ordered to be carried before those magistrates. Mr. Macdonald argued upon the urgency of the case. He enumerated a list of obscure retreats, in the city of London whose character was notorious, and the description of which to the native of any other country in Europe would appear incredible. His attention had been fixed upon this object for several preceding months, and the number of atrocious instances which had fallen under his observation was enormous. He affirmed, from

the most satisfactory information, that there was at this time a growing crop of above three thousand lads, of not more than ten, twelve and thirteen years of age, who were employed every night in the most pernicious practices, and who in the day withdrew themselves into cellars, barns, and the hollow trunks of trees. The improved bill, in consequence of the vigorous opposition of the city of London, was never laid before the house of commons.

## C H A P. VIII.

*System of Intercourse with Ireland. The Eleven Propositions. Modified and Amended into Twenty. Debates. Progress of the System in the House of Lords. Address of both Houses. Adjournment. Prorogation.*

THE subject of the greatest importance that came before the present session of parliament, and by which this epoch will be characterized to the latest posterity, was that which has usually been denominated the Irish propositions. This fertile and generous country, after having lain for centuries under the severest restraints, and been regulated by the harshest and most ignominious policy, at length emerged from its slavery upon the occasion of the American war. The free trade, the trade to the colonies and islands of British America, their independent legislature, and their imperial government, will long remain monuments of the virtuous and patriotic struggles of the conclusion of the eighteenth century. The names of a Charlemont, a Grattan and a Flood, whatever imputations may be cast upon them by their contemporaries, will

be consecrated among the saviours of Ireland, and the fathers of their country. In the earlier part of the present volume we have described efforts of the most exalted nature, and views of the wisest policy and the noblest enthusiasm. Though encountering a present defeat from causes we have endeavoured to investigate, they are such as to do honour to any climate and to any age. We have seen the interesting spectacle of a country borne down by adversity and racked with misery and hunger, undismayed by these circumstances, and extending itself at once to the relief of its distresses, and the placing its liberties, upon the purest and most permanent basis. In this situation it cannot be denied that they deserved the attention, the indulgence and the humanity of the administration by whom the empire was wielded. If those protecting duties,

duties, which their situation and their emergencies pointed out to them as the most immediate remedy, were found not to be consistent with the general weal, some skilful and judicious substitution was to be made in its place. For the defeat of the great measure of a parliamentary reform no boon could compensate.

Such were the motives which, it is apprehended, the friends of the existing government might ascribe to their conduct. Others less elevated and honourable might be suggested by their enemies. It might be said, that in the present convulsions of Ireland, and the struggles that were making for perfect and unbounded liberty, the crafty statesman would find it necessary to present to them a new, an enigmatical and equivocal object. The tub was to be thrown out to employ the gamesome omnipotence of the whale. In this case the propositions in question would equally answer their purpose, whether they succeeded or whether they were defeated. The questions of reciprocity and equal duties, of the interest of manufactures, the value of capital and the price of labour, of what might be the surplus of an hereditary revenue and by whom it should be applied, of commercial union, of federal union and of political union, of the balance and interference between constitution and commerce, were now eagerly bandied about, and engrossed the attention of all men. The questions of independence, of representative purity and general freedom were forgotten.

It was not upon either of the two descriptions of motives we have suggested that Mr. Pitt laid his principal stress before the English house of commons. He principally en-

larged upon the compensation that was made and the boon that was acquired. Other statesmen had given much and obtained no return. It was his purpose to give little, and obtain a benefit which was at present beyond the power of calculation.

The new system of intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland was first introduced into the parliament of the latter kingdom on the seventh of February by Mr. Orde, secretary to the lord lieutenant, in the form of ten propositions. These propositions, by a small alteration, and a distribution of the subject of one of them into two heads, were increased to eleven; and they received the assent of the commons of Ireland on the twelfth, and of the house of lords in that kingdom on the sixteenth of February. The subject was introduced, and regularly opened to the parliament of Great Britain by the chancellor of the exchequer on the twenty-second day of that month.

Mr. Pitt prefaced his speech by an allusion to the prejudices that were endeavoured to be excited against his system, previously to its having been submitted to the consideration of the legislature. There was not a man in that house, of whatever party or description, however attached or connected, who would not agree, that the settling the commercial intercourse of the two countries on a firm, liberal and permanent basis, by which an end might be put to jealousies and clamour; by which all future pretexts to discontent might be removed, and the surest foundations might be laid of future opulence and energy; was one of the greatest topics that could be agitated in parliament, and one of the most desirable objects



objects they could accomplish. It was therefore earnestly to be desired that the house would enter into the discussion of the subject without prepossession from what they might have heard, and without giving ear to the insinuations, that had been so industriously circulated through the metropolis, and distributed perhaps to every corner of the country. It was incident to every proposition, that, till it should be fully displayed, those, who might have the interest or the inclination to raise clamour, by partial statements of it, had the advantage in the conflict for a time. But when the whole could be fairly elucidated, truth would always, as it ought, prevail over misrepresentation, and the delusion, though extensive, would be but momentary. Mr. Pitt called upon the house for the exertion of all the wisdom and science they possessed on this important subject; and he assured them, that full time should be given for the discussion, and every species of information readily granted. It was of the greatest and most decisive moment to both kingdoms, since the object was no less than to establish a system that should be permanent and irrevocable.

Mr. Pitt observed upon the species of policy that had been exercised by government in regard to Ireland, the object of which was to debar her from the enjoyment and the use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country. She had not been suffered to share in the bounties of nature or the industry of her citizens. She was shut out from every species of commerce and restrained from sending the produce of her own soil to foreign markets. Some small relaxation of this system in-

deed had taken place at an early period of the present century, and somewhat more had been done in the reign of king George II. But it was not till a time nearer to our own day, and indeed within the last seven years that the system had been completely reversed. Still however, notwithstanding all that had been done respecting the foreign commerce of Ireland, it was to be observed that we had left the intercourse between the two countries exactly where it was. That house was not to be informed, that Ireland was of consequence still dissatisfied; and that in the metropolis and elsewhere, ideas had been started of imposing duties on our produce of manufactures, under the name of protecting duties. Under these circumstances, in order to discover the best means of uniting the two countries by the firmest and most indissoluble bands, ministers had during the recess employed themselves in inquiries, by which they might be enabled to meet parliament with a rational and well founded system: and the papers now laid on their table, purporting to be the resolutions of the lords and commons of Ireland, were the result of their labours.

Mr. Pitt divided the commercial arrangement with Ireland into two parts; that which regarded the navigation laws, and related to the importation of the produce of our colonies from Ireland into this country; and that which related to the immediate intercourse and the mutual exchange of our respective manufactures. The attention of the house, and the alarms of the people were likely to be excited respecting the first of these, and excited under names, which from long habit they were accustomed to reverence. How far in the mean

time this new measure would depart from the spirit of the laws of navigation would be seen from a short statement of the fact. Goods, the produce of Europe, might now be imported through Ireland into Britain by the express authority of the navigation act. The new proposition applied only to Africa and America ; for Asia was excluded, as the East-India company had the monopoly of the trade of that part of the world. We had already given to Ireland the direct intercourse to our colonies ; and little there was that remained to be done. Ireland was to have the liberty of bringing to Britain circuitously, what she had herself the liberty of bringing directly. The enquiry to be made was, whether there was any thing in the local situation of the ports of Ireland, which could enable her to make this circuitous voyage cheaper, than we could make the direct one. There was still another circumstance that demanded their attention. Ireland could now send a cargo to the West Indies, and bring a cargo directly from thence to Britain ; or she could invoice a part of her cargo to Britain, and a part to Ireland. What was there in the trifling addition to these immunities made by the propositions, that could awaken the apprehensions of a sober merchant or a sound politician ?

The other great leading principle in the measure before the house, was the equalizing the duties on the produce and manufactures of both countries. The result of this Mr. Pitt undertook to explain. Prohibitory duties were at present imposed in Britain on the majority of the manufactures of Ireland : linen however was a liberal exception. On the contrary, our manufactures had been imported into Ireland at low duties. A question

might therefore be put to him, whether, under the accumulation of our heavy taxes it would be wise to equalize the duties, and thus to enable a country free from those taxes to meet, and to overthrow us in their own market and in ours ? To this it might be answered, that it was not to be expected that Ireland with an independent legislature would submit to be treated with subjection and inferiority : a generous effort was to be made by this country, and we were to chuse between inevitable alternatives. But in reality was it much to be apprehended, that a country, incapable of supplying herself, should prove formidable to us in a foreign market ? Our manufactures were so decidedly superior to theirs in workmanship and skill, that the immunity intended to be granted would be productive of little alteration. He might be farther urged with the low price of labour. But it would require time for the acquisition of both capital and skill ; and the capital could not increase without the demand : but in an established manufacture improvement was so rapid as to bid defiance to rivalry. Mr. Pitt added to this observation, that as the manufactures and commerce of Ireland increased, the difference between the price of labour would be incessantly diminishing. After all there might be some branches of manufacture in which Ireland might rival and perhaps excel England ; but this ought not to give us pain. We must calculate from general and not from partial views ; and above all we should learn not to regard Ireland with an eye of jealousy. It required little philosophy to reconcile us to a competition, which would give us a rich customer instead of a poor one. The prosperity of the  
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sister kingdom would be a fresh spring for our own trade:

But the new privileges that were granted to Ireland amounted in Mr. Pitt's idea, to only half the business of the proposed arrangement. The articles which he had mentioned would certainly deserve to be regarded as an improvident surrender of advantages belonging at this moment to Britain, had no compensation been made on the part of Ireland. He could not expect at the outset of the business, that any specific sum should be proposed by the Irish parliament, towards defraying the expence of protecting the commerce of the empire. He had therefore thought it best for this country, that a solid and substantial provision should be stipulated in her favour, and such an one as should keep pace with the benefits that the system would produce to the Irish. Mr. Pitt triumphantly contrasted in this respect, the propositions he introduced to the house, with the measures that had been adopted upon the subject by his predecessors in office. In the late alteration of system, we had opened the way of Ireland to all foreign markets; and in doing this we had conferred no favour, and made no concession. It was the natural right of Ireland, and the measure was a measure of justice, not of grace. But we had gone farther than this; we had given them a direct intercourse with our colonies; with those colonies, which we had acquired by our treasure, and which we maintained by our authority. If there were any mischief that could be done to this country, by the most unlimited trade conceded to Ireland, the mischief was already effected. By the inconsistent and unsystematic concession, that had been made four years ago, the blow was struck. Mr. Pitt

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did not blame those concessions. They were liberal; and they exhibited a suitable proof of our friendship. But we had been inclined to hide our situation both from ourselves and others, neither examining the extent of what we gave, nor providing for the general interests of the empire. We conceded without reciprocity, without securing from Ireland any return, or obtaining any proportionate aid towards the maintenance of trade, or the protection of those very colonies, whose ports were thrown open to the reception of her merchants. Happy would it be for Britain, if, by a profitable use of the little that was left, she could yet secure the advantages, which might have been so much more certainly procured at the period to which he alluded!

Mr. Pitt expatiated on the nature of the hereditary revenue of Ireland, which he affirmed to be of all others the truest barometer of her prosperity and commerce. It was pretty much like the hereditary revenue, that had been annexed to the crown in this country till the accession of the present king, under the denomination of civil list. It was left to the sovereign to be disposed of, at his discretion, for the benefit of the public. The hereditary revenue was raised from such objects as were intimately connected with the situation of commerce; the customs, the import duties, the inland excise, and the hearth duty. The revenue had not, Mr. Pitt acknowledged, for many years back, been equal to its object. The deficiencies had been made up by new taxes, and it did not at present constitute above half of the entire total. Steps however, he understood, were to be taken for the improvement of every part of the Irish revenues. By the

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present arrangement it would therefore be found, that our strength would grow with the strength of Ireland. Instead of feeling uneasiness or jealousy at the increase of her commerce, we should have reason to rejoice at the addition that would accrue to the common defence of the empire. Perhaps we should not very soon experience much assistance from this revenue. But if little should be given to England, it would be because some time was necessary to open new channels of trade, and because little had been gained by Ireland. Mr. Pitt concluded his speech with bringing forward a general resolution, declaring, "that it was highly important to the general interests of the empire, that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally adjusted;" and engaging, "that Ireland should be admitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the commercial advantages of this country, when her parliament should permanently and irrevocably secure an aid, out of the surplus of the hereditary revenue of that kingdom, towards defraying the expence of protecting the general commerce of the empire in time of peace." Mr. Pitt was not desirous of urging parliament to a vote upon this resolution at present, and was willing that the system should be maturely weighed, and deliberately adopted. Beside, the condition, that was required on the part of the parliament of Ireland, he did not conceive to be stated with sufficient precision in Mr. Orde's resolutions. It was with him a fine qua non, and he would not call upon the house to pledge itself to any thing upon the subject, till the most perfect intelligence was established, as to what

was to be given and what was to be received.

There are few things more deserving the attention of an impartial observer, than what we have found denominated by Mr. Pitt on a late occasion, "the spirit of commerce." The man, who, in yielding his attention either to history or politics, shall decide upon any great measure of state from the representations of individuals, interested in some province of the operation of that measure, will often be deluded into views, in the last degree narrow, limited, and partial. If we find this occurring upon every trivial occasion, if we are compelled to confess that taxes, the most wisely chosen, and originating in prudent boldness, and in the most elevated views, have often excited the clamour and obloquy of vast multitudes of men, how much more is this to be expected in a case like that of the Irish propositions. Here the commerce of ages was to be turned into different channels. The laws of nature, and the pillars of the creation were to change their site in reference to each other. An island, (if we may be allowed an apt and striking metaphor) not less richly endowed in the first instance than that of Great Britain, was to join its shores to the seat of empire; and a vast branch of the sea was to be thrust from its place and annihilated. The consequences of such a measure, whether precipitate or wise, no man could predict. A convulsion of the globe is seldom unattended with partial calamity. Beside those events which were really to happen, a thousand others would be glimpsed in the wild excursions of fancy. And what is of more importance than all the rest, no revolution like this demanded a master-hand. It

It was too sacred an object to be attempted by the experiments of adventure, by the cabals of intrigue, and the little and shortsighted views of a faction, struggling to maintain and prolong its superiority.

That very magnitude, which we have ascribed to the proposed system of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, was probably the reason why it appeared to be received in this country with tranquility and acquiescence. The complication of the objects it embraced, inspired a diffident and becoming pause into the minds of men, unhabituated to views of so vast comprehension. Three weeks, from the twenty-second of February to near the middle of March, elapsed, without almost a single petition having been laid upon the table of the house of commons, against the system which had been opened by the chancellor of the exchequer. Administration naturally triumphed in that silence, more singular in reality than to them it seems to have appeared, and complained with considerable acrimony of the delays that were eagerly called for by the leaders of opposition. The business, according to the forms of the house of commons, was originally opened in a committee of the whole house, and the committee was adjourned for one week, at which time it was intended by Mr. Pitt, that they should sit again in order to receive such papers and information as it might be proper to

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report upon this subject of the lords of the committee of council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relative to trade and foreign plantations. This committee had been originally appointed on the fifth day of March 1784, and consisted of lord Sydney, who presided, the first lord of the admiralty, the paymasters of the army, the treasurer of the navy, and fourteen other members of the privy council. Mr. Charles Jenkinson was considered as being the most active member, and the real leader of this board. The questions referred to their consideration, related entirely to the latter of the two heads, into which Mr. Pitt had distributed the benefits conceded to Ireland, and chiefly concerned the propriety of reducing the duties payable in this country upon the importation of goods, the growth and manufacture of Ireland.

On the day upon which the business was originally opened to the house, Mr. Dempster took occasion to observe, that to whatever particular objections the system might seem exposed, there was at present every reason to approve it in the general. The sister kingdom had for some time past been overspread with jealousies and discontents, and divided into parties, delegates controlling parliament, and parliament controlling delegates. If the particular circumstances of the times had induced this country to grant somewhat more than might appear necessary in the eyes of some, he scarcely felt himself satisfied even with this, when he contemplated the sad effects with which a contrary system had been attended in our conduct to America. Objections of nearly a similar nature had been made respecting the cheapness of labour in Scotland

at the time of the union, and yet since that time Scotland had not grown richer, and England had not grown poorer. Mr. Dempster treated the jealousies of this country respecting Ireland as violent, unfounded and absurd. If however it were otherwise, if that country gained and this lost somewhat by the exchange, this should only make us the more vigorous and unremitted in our exertions to free Great Britain from her embarrassments. We should aim at equality, not by pulling down Ireland to our standard, but by endeavouring to raise ourselves to the uninvolved condition of that country. Lord North was anxious to defend himself from the imputations that had been thrown on him by Mr. Pitt. He said, that in the concessions he had made the commercial interests of this country were preserved whole and entire; the British merchant and the British manufacturer were uninjured. The boon was not rashly given, nor bestowed without a return. Ireland was indulged with a right of importation upon equal terms, and for that right she was confined to import the rum and the sugar of the British West Indies. Lord North treated the present system as of a different nature. The trade, the manufactures and the commerce of Great Britain were by this measure thrown at the feet of Ireland. He blamed Mr. Pitt for having opened his propositions in Ireland, before they were submitted to parliament at home. Whenever a bargain was to be struck, and large concessions were to be made on one side, and very slender ones on the other, he should have imagined that the nature of the bargain ought to have first been told to the party who had most to

concede. Mr. Fox enlarged upon this idea. He observed, that, as the business had been managed, there might, and indeed there would be mischief arise, if the house did not agree to the propositions. And yet mischievous as he was free to acknowledge it would be, he for one was afraid that he should not be able to give them his consent. Invert the order of the proceeding, and the house might see how the matter would have stood. Had the business originated in that assembly, and propositions been adopted as the basis of a system of intercourse with Ireland, if the parliament of Ireland had refused its concurrence, they would have only been where they had set out. Mr. Fox asserted, that by far the greater part of Mr. Pitt's speech had been little else than an answer to the speech of Mr. Orde in the Irish house of commons. In Ireland the propositions had been stated as highly advantageous to that country, as putting it upon the same footing with Great Britain, and rendering it an emporium of trade, and the source and supply of the British markets. In England, and in that house, they were told that the system was eligible, because it gave Ireland nothing but what it had before; because Ireland could not rival them; because she was poor and feeble, and would always remain so. He must, however, do Mr. Orde the justice to say, that he thought he had defended the propositions, and argued upon them infinitely better than the British minister.

The report of the committee of privy council underwent a considerable degree of animadversion in the progress of this business. The first thing Mr. Fox observed that

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had struck him was, that the inquiries of the committee had been expressly restrained from extending to every part of the system. The question which had been entirely overlooked by them, had always appeared to him to be the primary consideration; he meant the propriety and policy of permitting the produce of Africa and America to be brought into Great Britain through Ireland. By this measure we threw down the whole fabric of our navigation laws, or committed its preservation to the inhabitants of another country. It was in vain that we provided a thousand new methods for the suppression of illicit trade. It was in vain that we had recourse to odious commutations, if we opened a wide and capacious harbour for the managers of that trade in the kingdom of Ireland. Even with regard to the great article of tea, the period was not very distant when the English company's charter would expire; and under the resolutions their certainly remained no power in this country to renew it with the same, or indeed any exclusive privileges. Mr. Fox observed, that the declarations of the merchants and manufacturers, who had been examined by the lords of council, at their public meetings, convened for the express purpose of considering the Irish propositions, were directly in contradiction to the inferences drawn from their examination in the report upon the table. In this circumstance it was indispensibly necessary for that house to call the merchants and manufacturers to their bar, and to hear from them in the most explicit manner their real sentiments. Mr. Fox loudly censured what he styled the unaccountable precipitancy with which

the business was urged by administration. Not only the manufactures, but the revenues and the political existence of Britain were involved in the discussion. The most cautious, laborious, and indefatigable enquiries ought to precede their final determination. If the lords of the committee of council, whose judgment amounted merely to an opinion, neither operative nor binding, expressed a wish that they had been given farther time for their investigation, and to have obtained a greater degree of intelligence and information, how much more necessary was it for that house, who were to act; and not to state matters of opinion, to be fully informed before they proceeded to vote a definitive resolution? Let gentlemen consider the disagreeable and even melancholy consequences that must ensue, if they precipitately voted the general proposition, and should afterwards have applications made to them in objection to the other nine. In that case, what would Ireland feel, and of what would she have to complain, but a departure from an implied agreement, and a gross breach of national faith. Mr. Fox farther adverted to a circumstance stated by Mr. Pitt in the opening of the business. He had objected to the coming to an explicit vote before the parliament of Ireland had engaged itself for that return, which he boasted of as constituting the peculiarity of his system. Did that house know, as a house of parliament, that Ireland had come to its ultimatum? The very disgrace, therefore, that Mr. Pitt represented as the thing most to be avoided, the house would incur if they came to a vote in their present situation.

Mr. Jenkinson defended the re-  
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port from the animadversions of Mr. Fox. He said, that the committee had in the first place taken care to have it signified in all the manufacturing towns in the kingdom, that they were sitting for the purpose of receiving any information that the manufacturers wished to give, respecting the proposed arrangement of a system of intercourse with Ireland. He was a little surprised at what Mr. Fox had asserted respecting the various language that had been held by the evidence. They had given their answers so readily and clearly, that he could not think they would at another time and in another place contradict those answers. Mr. Pitt remarked upon the inconsistent language of opposition. They had in the first place represented it as a high disgrace to the parliament of Great Britain, that the business should first have been brought forward in the sister country; and now they objected to the house coming to a final resolution, because Ireland had not explicitly given in her ultimatum in the business. Let the house, let the public mark this strange inconsistency, this violence of contradiction, and let them decide what degree of weight ought to be attributed to any arguments that proceeded from a quarter of so little steadiness, and so little authority. Mr. Pitt admitted, that the general proposition involved and implicated the remaining nine, as to their substance and spirit, though it did not bind down the house to the words and the subordinate clauses. For himself he imagined it would readily be perceived, that he had not been governed in his conduct by the report of the committee, which had succeeded his determination. It would however be endless to lay

before the house the different researches, to which he and those in office who had assisted him, had at different times had recourse. It was sufficient to say that there was no light that could be obtained upon the subject, that he was desirous to withhold from the house. Mr. Pitt, however, objected in strong terms to the calling to the bar the same evidence that had already been examined by the committee of council. Such a step was absolutely unnecessary, as the whole appeared upon the face of the report with the utmost clearness, credibility and precision. Disposed as he was to assist the enquiries of the house, he well knew that it was perfectly unnecessary to invite witnesses to their bar. Exclusive of the natural jealousy of trade, which would certainly be a means of impelling into public those who feared any injury, there was another kind of jealousy which in the present case had looked for men and bodies of men, in order to send them to the house sufficiently prepared and prompted with clamours and complaints. If Mr. Fox had thought this oral evidence absolutely necessary, why had he not applied to have it received three weeks ago? But he had hoped before this time, that he and his friends would have sufficiently embarrassed the measure, by causing the table to be covered with petitions, and the bar to be crowded with witnesses. Disappointed in this expectation, he had now no other resource left than by a suggestion, which in effect was the same as if he had moved in plain and direct terms, that the consideration of the question should be postponed to that day three months, and thus a plan be deferred for the present year, which  
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the mutual interests of the two kingdoms demanded, and the peculiar situation of the empire made incompatible with delay. Lord North and Mr. Sheridan took advantage of what Mr. Pitt had said respecting the date of the report of the committee. They observed, that this paper had been compiled for no other purpose than to justify a measure already determined, and they put it to the house, whether it was possible that in this situation, the report should be regarded as fair, impartial and authentic. A considerable degree of altercation took place between Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, respecting the degree in which the house would bind itself by coming to a vote on the general resolution. Mr. Pitt contended that it would reach to the general spirit and substance of the arrangement, not to the particular clauses. Mr. Fox appeared inclined to regard it as extending to the minute provisions and the very words of each individual proposition.

A petition was presented on the third of March from the merchants of Liverpool; and a second on the eighth from the members of the chamber of commerce of the town of Paisley, and the city of Glasgow. But neither of these petitions demanded a hearing on the part of the petitioners. On the eleventh a petition, inclusive of the request we have mentioned, was presented from the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester, and on the fourteenth another by Mr. Stanley, member for Lancashire, from the manufacturers and printers of callico in that county, praying to be heard by themselves or counsel. This was the first symptom of delay in the business, the first step of those numerous ones which speedily followed, and which procrastinated the commercial system beyond

all calculation, and rendered it necessary to extend for this purpose the duration of the session of parliament. The ministers had professed, from the outset of the business, a desire of affording the house every information in their power; and had it been otherwise, it would have been found impossible, in a business of so extreme magnitude, to refuse a hearing to those commercial bodies, who should present themselves at their bar.

The resolutions, which had been passed in the Irish parliament, and which formed the basis of the system that had been opened by Mr. Pitt, of course underwent a severe scrutiny from the leaders of opposition. Were we to enter minutely in this place into the various objections that were started, we should of course be led into a repetition of the arguments that occurred, when the business came on more solemnly before the house, and encountered more warm and animated debates. It will easily be perceived that the reciprocity that was proposed, however simple and perspicuous it might be in its outline, was not capable of being applied in every instance, without much complication and refinement. The situations of the two countries were so extremely opposite, the poverty and cheapness of the one had so little affinity with the great opulence and the large duties of the other, that it was no easy matter to bring them to an accurate balance. The general principle that was established, was that of "reducing the duties on importation, in the kingdom where they were the highest, to the amount payable in the other." It was farther provided, "that the internal duties on the manufactures of either kingdom should be countervailed by duties on the importation" of similar manufactures from the other. This

last provision was selected for the object of the most pertinacious attack. On the fourteenth of March it was moved by Mr. Eden, that the commissioners of customs and the commissioners of excise, should attend at the bar of the house. Upon this occasion he observed, that since the first introduction of the propositions he had paid them the strictest attention, and there was not one of them that did not day after day suggest new difficulties to his mind. The proposition respecting the countervailing duties, in particular, was a proposition extremely prolific of doubt and alarm. To carry it into execution would, in his opinion, lead into so intricate a detail of particulars, as would never admit of order or precise regulation. There were beside many collateral advantages possessed by Ireland, on the bare article of importation, which would not come within any arrangement. In the present state of this country, it was a matter of no small magnitude to remit certain revenues, which our excise duties produced, for the uncertain and precarious ones of import duties. There were six articles, tobacco, soap, sugar, glass, salt and leather, on which the excise amounted in this country to a million and a half annually; with all of which it would be in the power of Ireland to supply us. It therefore deserved the consideration of parliament, whether, exclusively of all other objections, it would be prudent to risque so important a part of our revenue, on which our very existence depended, for the problematical return of the countervailing duties. The motion of Mr. Eden passed in the affirmative.

The petitions presented against the Irish propositions amounted in the whole to upwards of sixty.

They were sent up to parliament from almost every quarter of the kingdom, and there was scarcely a single species of manufacture or merchandise, upon the subject of which the persons peculiarly interested did not appear to have conceived considerable alarm. From the sixteenth of March to the twelfth day of May, the house of commons were almost incessantly employed in the hearing of council, and the examination of witnesses. A striking contrast is presented to us between the evidence collected, and the conclusions drawn, in the report of the committee of council, and the evidence that was given at the bar of the house. This may appear the more singular, as many of the persons examined were precisely the same individuals in both cases. We may perhaps partly account for the circumstance, if we consider, that in the first case the questions were prepared by the reporters, and they must be affirmed, whatever impartiality or rectitude we may chuse to ascribe to them, to have had a prescribed object in view, and a specific system to vindicate. In the other case the witnesses presented themselves at the bar of a mixed assembly. They were examined by persons of various descriptions; some who considered themselves as pledged for the support of the proposed system, some who warmly interested themselves in its overthrow and annihilation, and a few, who, unworped by any previous sentiments, were desirous to deduce their opinion from the result of the whole. The persons examined were unquestionably many of them, not more respectable for their opulence, than venerable for their integrity. The names of several acquired so much celebrity in the progress of the business, that it might be thought an omission

omission in such a publication as ours, were we to fail to enumerate the names of a Mr. Wedgwood of Staffordshire, messieurs Walker, Richardson and Peele of Manchester, Mr. Robertson of Glasgow, and Mr. Gibbons of Bristol.

On the twelfth of May, it was thought proper by Mr. Pitt to wind up the business and to bring the general resolution to an ultimate decision. It then appeared that the pertinacity of opposition, and still more the evidence and complaints of the merchants and manufacturers, had not been entirely ineffectual and nugatory. Mr. Pitt introduced what he had to offer by observing, that his present plan was nothing more than a necessary supplement to those, which had formerly been adopted for the purpose of creating such a mutual interest, as should for ever preserve inviolate and secure the connection between the two countries. If the British parliament were not to adopt a measure similar to that which he suggested, all that had hitherto been done was absolutely nugatory and useless. The advantages which by preceding acts had been put into the hands of the Irish, were such as they were unable to improve, at least in the degree to which it was the avowed intention of parliament that they should improve them. Would the people then, and the legislature of England condescend to assume a credit for what they had never bestowed, and lay claim to the gratitude and love of a nation to whom they had made no concessions, but such as it was impossible to avail herself of? The principle of the treaty Mr. Pitt observed was contained in the first resolution, and though there were several subsequent resolutions to follow it, yet they were but the detail and for-

malty of its application. Variations therefore, which it might be found necessary to adopt in those, would not change the principle or vary the spirit of the proposed system; and Mr. Pitt was desirous of meeting the objections and removing the apprehensions of those persons, who were materially interested in the operation of the system. With respect to the first part, which related to the circuitous trade by which the produce of the West Indies might be brought through Ireland to Great Britain, it had been suggested, that there would be much danger that sugar and other goods, the growth of islands in the West Indies, not belonging to this country, might be imported to England as British. To meet this objection, Mr. Pitt proposed in the first place, to introduce a resolution, by which all the navigation laws in force in this kingdom, or which it should hereafter be found necessary to enact for the preservation of the trade of Great Britain, should be in force in Ireland. Under these laws the door would be shut to the importation of foreign West India goods, and a vessel, arriving in Ireland from the West Indies, would be required to produce a certificate that her cargo was really the produce of a British island. Mr. Pitt was willing to extend this cautionary proviso still farther, and to meet another objection that might be urged. It might be said that our navigation laws were too precious a deposit to be entrusted in any other hands than our own; and that in particular to commit their preservation to persons interested in their breach, was to the last degree perilous. He would therefore require that every ship which came from the West Indies, by way of Ireland, should pro-



produce the same original certificate, which she had shewn in Ireland; and he would require that all importation from Ireland of West India produce should be accompanied with cockets and bonds, in the same manner as coasting ships were in England. Another branch of foreign commerce which demanded regulation, was the trade to the East Indies. This trade being by charter exclusively the property of the East-India company, Ireland would have no better right to complain of her exclusion, than one of our own out-ports, or than even an individual merchant. Such were the outlines of the first part of his system, accompanied with the necessary safe-guards and regulations which he wished the house to adopt.

The second part of the system was in substance, that goods, now prohibited, or subjected to duties amounting to a prohibition, should be admitted hereafter into each kingdom under a duty adequate to countervail the internal excise. To one effect of this regulation a strong exception had particularly been made, and an alarm had been spread in the northern parts of the kingdom, as if the removal of the prohibition with respect to corn and grain would be fatally injurious to the agriculture of Scotland. This dread he should consent to remove by excepting, corn, meal, and flour from the effects of the regulation. Beer he mentioned as another article in the exceptions he designed to introduce in the new model of the propositions. Mr. Pitt entered again largely into the argument, respecting the apprehensions that were created by the cheapness of labour in Ireland. He stated that cheapness, as being in reality nothing more than a deception. It was on-

ly the rudest and most artless operations, that were completed at less expence there, than in England. But it was not on these that the question depended, whether a nation was to flourish in arts and manufactures. No other cause but those which consisted in habits of industry and ingenuity, could produce this effect. But beside the different degree of industry in the two nations, Mr. Pitt undertook to maintain, that the rate of wages was greater in Ireland than in England, in every branch of manufacture which required execution and ingenuity. He concluded this part of his speech with some severe animadversions, upon a part of the evidence which had been delivered at the bar, and particularly upon that of Mr. Wedgwood.

Having proceeded to this point, Mr. Pitt addressed the house in a most earnest manner, intreating them to reflect on the extreme moment of the object before them. It tended to conciliate a difference between this and the sister kingdom, which, though, now confined to repinings, disgusts, and jealousies, and a war of interests and passions, might perhaps in time proceed to a length, which he shuddered to think of, and could not venture to express. He called upon every one acquainted with the situation of Ireland to declare, whether the time was not now passed when temporary expedients, when lenitives, calculated merely to deaden the sense of pain, could be administered with safety. The system Mr. Pitt described, like mercy, the favourite attribute of heaven, as equally a blessing to him that bestowed and to him that received. While it tended to cherish one part of the empire, it did not impoverish the other,



other, and it gave new strength and permanence to the prosperity of both. For himself Mr. Pitt declared, that, among all the objects of his political life, this was in his opinion the most important in which he had ever engaged; nor did he imagine he should ever meet another, that could call forth all his public feelings, and rouse every exertion of his heart in so forcible a manner as the present had done. A question, which he verily believed was involved every prospect that yet remained to this country, of lifting her head to that height and eminence which she once possessed among the nations, and of giving to her commerce, her public credit, and her resources, that spring and vivacity, which she felt at the conclusion of the war before the last, which were now obviously returning, and which he trusted she would never be found to want, as long as liberality, public spirit, and disinterestedness held their place in that house. Mr. Pitt concluded with moving the first resolution.

It had been usual, upon the day when any great measure of state was first opened to parliament, for the members to confine themselves to cursory remarks and general observations. Few indeed are inclined to commit their consistency and their character, by too explicit declarations and engagements previously to a subject having been perfectly understood. Still fewer are able at a single glance to comprehend the whole of a complicated system, and to discover and develop its mistakes and defects. Mr. Fox upon this occasion deviated from the usual practice of the British legislature and of mankind. He entered into a speech of great length, in which he pronounced with equal rapidity, firmness, and penetration his opi-

nion upon every part of the united arrangement, and displayed an ability that will rarely be found to meet with a parallel. He rose in support of a motion of lord North for the farther adjournment of the question for that day. He had not conceived it possible that any objection could be made to the motion, and he had paused to give an opportunity for discovering the intention of administration. He found however from their continued silence, that they were determined at all events to precipitate the house to this extraordinary and unparalleled decision. The witnesses had not been dismissed from the bar, nor Mr. Pitt entered upon a speech of two hours in length till nine o'clock in the evening. In addition to the eleven original propositions, no less than sixteen new ones were now for the first time submitted to parliament; so that at midnight they had to decide upon twenty-seven of the most important and perplexing propositions that ever were the subject of parliamentary discussion. The supplemental propositions were not confined to verbal explanations, or mere literal amendments of the former. They directly changed the whole tenour, and absolutely subverted the main principle of the original system upon which Mr. Pitt had declared it to be his fixed attention to proceed. Mr. Fox asserted that the arrangement had derived from no necessity, and that no calamity had borne a share in its introduction. It was the offspring of peace and domestic tranquility. The people of Ireland had not forced the British ministry into a tame surrender of the manufactures and commerce of his country.

Mr. Fox exclaimed in high terms against the rashness of the chancellor

cellor of the exchequer. He brought forward a set of resolutions as the basis of a system for an intercourse between the two countries. He pledged the government of this kingdom for the literal establishment of his system. He proudly resisted enquiry, and scorned deliberation. But when circumstances had arisen, which he had not ability to overcome, and time, in spite of his opposition, had been procured for enquiry and discussion, he was constrained to acknowledge the error of his first opinion, and he came forward with a set of propositions directly the reverse of the former. If this did not exhibit the rashness of the minister in colours more warm and durable than any which language could bestow, it was impossible to affix any appellation upon any species of conduct. But what was singular and striking in the present case was, that the rashness of one day was proved by the rashness of another. Having himself demonstrated the precipitation of his conduct in the first instance, Mr. Pitt became enamoured of this boasted weakness. He however most liberally determined, that the house should be admitted to a full participation of it by a rash and premature adoption of his latest notions; which might however be as suddenly and as consistently abandoned as the former.

Mr. Fox congratulated the house and the country on the happy escape they had made from the system proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer but two months since. Mr. Pitt had then inveighed against the strange and uncandid opposition which was excited to the measure. He attributed the opinions of that side of the house to mere faction and disappointment. He called their solemn appeals to

the legislature and to the nation illiberal artifices to excite unnecessary clamour. But on this day he had himself described in his own beautiful language the long train of evils they had escaped by opposing his propositions. He had stolen from that side of the house the ideas and suggestions that had been stated. If he were a plagiarist; however he was a plagiarist uncommonly endowed; for he decorated his new materials in apparel so gay and luxuriant, he enriched them with such additions of flower and embroidery, that though as their legitimate parents they recognised their offspring, they viewed them with no small degree of wonder in their strange and sumptuous attire. Accordingly Mr. Pitt had now, for the first time, condescended to depart from his usual stateliness and the overbearing sense of his own superiority. Upon that day, with new and unaccustomed affability, he neither reprobated nor reviled the opinions to which he had deigned to accede. It was to that side of the house a strange and unexpected triumph, not indeed to have their ideas received by the chancellor of the exchequer, for in that case he was courtesy itself; but to hear them, even in the moment they were admitted, unstigmatized by the receiver, and not, as usual, traduced in words at the very moment of their real adoption.

Mr. Fox enumerated the several disadvantages inherent in the original system, which were now admitted to be true, and endeavoured to be remedied by Mr. Pitt. In the first place, it was admitted, that, if the original resolutions had passed, we should have lost for ever the monopoly of the East India trade; we must have hazarded all the revenue arising from spirituous liquors;

quors; we should have sacrificed the whole of the navigation laws of this country. If these resolutions had passed into a law, we should have endangered the loss of the colonial market for the manufactures of Great Britain, and incurred the most extensive dangers to the colonies themselves; we should have left it in the power of Ireland to draw a revenue from our consumption. Mr. Fox observed particularly upon the danger that was incurred to the act of navigation by the original resolutions, which Mr. Pitt had at length acknowledged, notwithstanding his repeated declarations to the contrary. His conviction might be collected from the nature of the remedy he had thought it expedient to adopt. Strong must have been the apprehensions which suggested such a relief. It was a relief, which, in the peculiar circumstances of the two kingdoms, would require a very particular consideration indeed, as its tendency was no less than to assert, that, notwithstanding the independence of Ireland, she must still in commercial laws and external legislation be governed by Britain.

Mr. Fox observed upon the peculiar reasoning of Mr. Pitt, by which he had endeavoured to shew, that, though the giving to Ireland the English market would not enable them to enter into any dangerous competition with us at home, it would yet be of great avail to them by rendering them more capable of taking advantage of the foreign market. But if their having this dependence in the last resort would be a spur to adventure, then with precisely the same ground might it be contended, that they would be able to increase their manufactures with a final view to the English market. In colonial pro-

duce, to which Mr. Pitt had applied the argument, the home market was every thing, and the foreign market nothing. In manufactures it was the contrary, or nearly so. The resolution, by which we bound ourselves, in no future time to prohibit the export of raw materials to Ireland, was strongly reprobated by Mr. Fox. A cargo of raw materials might be entered at our custom-house for that kingdom; but what security should we have, either for their being carried thither, or for their stay in the country if they reached it? Mr. Fox's objection was that the intercourse was not to be regulated by principles of equality and justice. Let the house suppose a fair and equal admission of manufactures into each country, free of all duties, which of the kingdoms would shudder most at such a freedom? We were giving Ireland an intercourse infinitely more beneficial than throwing open our ports entirely, and we gave her a power of offending us without reserving the means of prevention, or even the means of retaliation.

Mr. Fox observed upon the method of proceeding adopted with that country. No attention was paid to their real desires, or those things of which they conceived themselves to be most in want. A stranger was sent thither to offer them a nostrum of his own invention. This was the conciliatory expedient for administering to the relief of a disordered state; not to suffer the inhabitants to speak, but to send a man among them, ignorant at once of their exigencies, their grievances and their policy, to propose wild schemes of extravagant speculation, and prescribe for the disorder without the painful tediousness of trying to understand it.

It was said that Ireland was out of temper, and that she had been irritated almost beyond her bearing. Ministers were answerable for this irritation, if such irritation existed. The violences which they committed in Ireland merited the most decisive and general reprobation. Their attacks on the liberty of the press, their endeavours to prevent the legal and quiet meetings of counties, to deliberate upon the best means of amending their deficient representation; their proceedings against men by summary attachment, all were violences, which might perhaps have inflamed the people of Ireland. And now ministers were desirous of avoiding the consequences of imprudent insult by imprudent concession. But let the house be cautious how they assisted them in a design, which might eventually turn out as insidious to that country as it was ruinous to this, in a commutation of English commerce for Irish slavery. Mr. Fox warmly defended the witnesses that had appeared at the bar, and urged upon the minister the number of petitions, greater than ever had been presented on any former occasion. Mr. Pitt had once, in the affairs of India, been an advocate for the voice of the people; and all the manufacturing communities in Britain were avowedly in opposition to the present system. Mr. Fox remarked that this was a subject, from which, above all others, private partialities or personal attachments ought to be totally excluded. It was not a question of personal struggle between man and man, it was not a question for the official existence of this or that minister; it was a question of life or death for the country. Mr. Pitt had demonstrated to the house, that implicit confidence in him was as dangerous

as it was absurd; that infallibility was no more his prerogative than that of the rest of the world. He, Mr. Fox said, who could understand so complicated and extensive a system upon so slight and transient a view of it, possessed an intellect, not common to the general body of mankind, and which certainly could not be the general characteristic of that house. For one, he could truly say, that such a man must possess an understanding of infinitely more quickness and acumen than any to which Mr. Fox could pretend. He, that voted for the propositions without understanding them, was guilty of such a desertion of his duty as no subsequent penitence could atone. He sacrificed the commerce of Great Britain at the shrine of private partiality, and sold his country for the whistling of a name. The minister who exacted, and the member who submitted to so disgraceful an obedience, were equally criminal. The man, who, holding the first seat in his majesty's councils, could stoop to so disgraceful and fallacious a canvas, must be lost to all sense of dignity, of character and manly patriotism. And he who acquiesced in the measure from any other inducement than that of cautious and sincere conviction, surrendered every claim to honest estimation, and sunk into the meanness and degradation of a mere ministerial instrument, unworthy the situation of a senator and the name of an Englishman.

Mr. Viner, Mr. Scott, Mr. Brickdal and Mr. Rigby were extremely urgent with the minister to comply with the demand of the other side of the house, and adjourn the debate. Mr. Powys stated some of the particulars in the resolutions which he did not correctly comprehend.

head. He asked if there were not many members in the house in the same situation with himself? If there were, and they did not vote for an adjournment, they could not act conscientiously. Men, who gave their suffrage upon a question of such infinite importance, acknowledging at the same time that they did not understand it, must be traitors to their country, and lost to every principle of rectitude and honour. Mr. Pitt made no reply to the remonstrances and expostulations of opposition. In answer to Mr. Fox, who, upon the cry becoming very loud for the question on the minister's side of the house, had addressed himself to the chair, and insisted upon the preservation of order and decency in the house, Mr. Dundas said, that the appearance of the morning was in the highest degree pleasing, and that the house were yet in good spirits. There was nothing to prevent Mr. Fox from entertaining them with a speech of two or three hours, if he thought proper. It was a circumstance to which he was accustomed, and the house certainly felt the greatest pleasure in hearing him. Mr. Lowther and Sir Gregory Page Turner, in reply to the insinuation of Mr. Powys, declared themselves to be in the list of those who yielded up their understandings to their confidence in the minister, in a manner that will probably be thought not to have done much honour to the scrupulousness of their integrity. The question of adjournment was at length put, and the house divided; ayes 155, noes 281. The general resolution was then separated into two upon the motion of Mr. Thomas Pelham, and each part was voted by the house. The sitting broke up at eight o'clock in the morning.

In so complicated a subject, and a subject involved in such endless discussions, as that of the Irish propositions, it cannot be expected from so general and comprehensive a survey as ours, that we should enter into the minuteness of detail, or undertake to do justice to all the arguments and observations that were thrown out on both sides of the house of commons. It is not the object of general history accurately to state every provision included in a measure of government, even when that measure has successfully been carried into a law. From the views that have already been given, and the arguments that have been stated on the part both of administration and opposition, the reader will be able to conceive with tolerable accuracy the general idea, the merits and the defects of the projected arrangement. In what remains we shall pretend to nothing more, than to select the prominent features, and to bring forward those particulars in the system, which either from their intrinsic importance, or from the inclinations and views of political parties, made the most considerable figure in the subsequent discussion.

Lord North had, upon the day in which the two first propositions were voted, confined himself for the most part, in what he offered to the house to the support of his motion of adjournment, and to reasoning upon the impropriety and indecency of a hasty decision. When the house next sat for the discussion of this business, he entered at large into the particulars of the system. He was especially full on the danger that would result to the trade of our West India colonies. He described a variety of methods in which all the new restrictions



restrictions and provisos might be substantially evaded. He added as a notorious fact, that it was only in the principal cities of Ireland, Cork, Dublin, Limeric, and a few others, that the revenue laws were strictly enforced. The coast therefore of every other part of the kingdom was thrown open to the clandestine and most dangerous enemy of our revenues and our empire. He farther adverted to the arguments of Mr. Pitt respecting the price of labour. He had maintained that it was only the rude artificer whose labour could cheaply be purchased in Ireland, and that the industry of him, who superinduced industry and skill upon uncultivated powers, was even dearer there than in Britain. Taking all this for granted, and even supposing that to be true in every other part of the kingdom, which appeared in some measure to hold in Dublin, Lord North still maintained that this was but a temporary disadvantage. If skill were now rare in Ireland, with the increase of her infant manufactures it would soon become less singular and uncommon. As the number of able workmen increased, the wages of their manufacture would necessarily diminish. But there was another circumstance, the cheapness of provisions in Ireland; which would continue long after the high price of skill and execution would be found to cease. Lord North pointed out several particulars, in which it appeared to him that England would by no means secure to herself the boasted reciprocity by means of the present system. The amended propositions he was ready to admit were much less unpalatable and pernicious than they had been in their original state; but there still existed in his mind insur-

perable objections. He particularly instanced in the linens, the manufacture of Ireland, which were admitted into this country duty free, and which might be valued at no less a sum than 1,500,000*l*. He should be very little desirous to see a tax imposed on this species of importation. But then as little was he desirous to take away from England the power of imposing such a tax. He would not by prohibiting Irish linens interrupt the harmony of the two countries; nor would he voluntarily resign a power of that kind, which he considered as the means in our hands of maintaining peace.

Mr. Burke spoke upon the same occasion. He confined his observations to the proposed compensation in the overplus of the hereditary revenue of Ireland. This was to be applied to the support of the British navy when the revenue should exceed 656,000*l*. But at present, deducting from it the expence of collection, and the amount of bounties and drawbacks, it produced little more than 333,000*l*, which was scarcely above half the stipulated revenue: Ireland had in former times, and in the last continental war done much for this country. She had sent men to fight our battles, and she had furnished, at her own expence, numerous recruits. These were substantial advantages, and they were to be derived from that oeconomy, which had once characterised administration in that country. Mr. Burke remarked upon the competition and collision, that might be supposed to exist between Great Britain and Ireland. To Ireland independence of legislature had been given; she was now a co-ordinate, though a less powerful state. But pre-eminence and dig-

nity



nity were due to England. It was she alone that must bear the weight and burthen of empire; she alone must pour out the ocean of wealth necessary for the defence of it. Ireland and other parts might empty their little urns to swell the tide; they might wield their little, puny tridents. But the great trident that was to move the world, must be grasped by England alone; and dearly it cost her to hold it. Mr. Burke appears to have felt himself in a situation of some delicacy, and to have been restrained by that circumstance from taking any general part in the debates upon this subject. He conceived that much was due by every man to the place of his nativity. But this duty ought not to absorb every other. When another country was generous enough, to receive a man into her bosom, to raise him from nothing, as this great country had raised him, to stations of the greatest honour and trust, and confer upon him the power of doing good to millions, such a country had claims, not inferior to those of the land which had given him birth. It was the duty of such a man to reconcile, if possible, the two demands. But should they unfortunately point different ways, he ought either to return the trust reposed in him by the adopting country, or to consider her interest as paramount to every other upon earth.

The most animated debates, and those which principally attracted the attention of the public, respected that article which stood the fourth in the new code, as amended by Mr. Pitt. The object of this proposition was to declare, "that it was essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that the navigation laws made or to be

made in Great Britain, should be in force in Ireland, by laws to be passed in the parliament of that kingdom." This proposition was one of those, which was represented by lord North, as a considerable melioration of the original system. It was, he said, unquestionably a proposal on the part of the British parliament, that Ireland should, upon certain conditions, surrender her now acknowledged right of external legislation, and return as to that point to the situation from which she had emancipated herself in 1782. Though he might not approve of the manner and circumstances under which the offer was made, he sincerely hoped that Ireland would forget both, and perceive her interest in acceding to the proposal. Under the same construction of the proposition, lord Beauchamp; and Mr. Courtenay strenuously argued against its being voted by the house. Mr. Sheffidan particularly distinguished himself on the same side, and displayed a degree of energy and eloquence, which he had not exhibited on any former occasion.

Much he said had been argued relative to the extent and spirit of this proposition. The event and conclusion of those arguments on both sides of the house warranted him now in asserting that it went in the fullest extent to a complete resumption of the right of external legislation so lately exercised, but so solemnly renounced by Great Britain over Ireland. The settlement was final and perpetual. The contracting parties being presumed to act with perfect foresight of the consequence of their irrevocable engagements, neither party could recede from any of the stipulations without breach of faith. Such an infraction in the stronger power

would be an act of despotism and oppression, and in the weaker would authorize all the rigour of coercion. It was a miserable sophistry to contend, that, as the ceremony was permitted to Ireland of placing our commercial laws upon their own statute-book, it was the Irish and not the British statute that bound the people of Ireland. For his part, if he were a member of that parliament, he should prefer the measure of meeting the immediate operation of the navigation laws by one decisive vote, and should chuse to avoid the mockery of pronouncing without deliberation, and deciding where there was no power to dissent. Where fetters were to be worn, it was a wretched ambition to contend for the distinction of fastening our own shackles.

Mr. Sheridan adverted to the situations in which the two kingdoms stood with respect to each other, in consequence of the alterations that had taken place within a few years past. It had been solemnly stipulated between them, "that the right claimed by Ireland to be bound in all cases whatever only by laws made by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, should never more be questioned or questionable." Mr. Fox and the administration of that day were blamed by Mr. Pitt, for permitting Ireland to assert the freedom of her constitution unconditionally, and without reserving to Great Britain a necessary controul over her trade and navigation. Fortunately for the peace and future union of the kingdoms, no such miserable and narrow policy had then entered into the minds of our statesmen. They had disdained the injustice of bargaining with Ireland on such a subject, nor would Ireland have listened to them if they had attempted it.

She had not applied to purchase a constitution, and if a tribute had been demanded in return for what was then granted, those patriotic spirits, who were at that time leading the oppressed people of that insulted country to the attainment of their just rights, would have pointed to other modes of acquiring them, and would have called to them in the words of the old Roman, to "take up arms, and to purchase their liberties, not with gold, but with the sword."

Mr. Sheridan enlarged upon the period, and the manner, in which the new claim contained in the fourth proposition had been brought forward. It was so far from being any part of the offer made by Ireland, that it had not even been hinted at or alluded to in the Irish parliament. It had never once been glanced at by Mr. Orde. It had not been mentioned in the speech at the opening of the session; it was not to be found in the report of the committee of council; and Mr. Pitt himself in opening the business to that house had not uttered a word, to show that this proposition was essential to the settlement proposed between the two kingdoms. Ireland was treacherously encouraged to demand a benefit, and then a price was exacted of greater value than any favour Britain had to bestow. It was therefore for the consideration of that house, whether this country should insidiously, collaterally, and by surprize, make a proposal, which would argue in her a repentance of the justice which she had done to Ireland, and which might for ever destroy all confidence in that country towards Great Britain. If the English government really thought it was essential to the good understanding and the common interests of the two kingdoms, that

that the power of legislating for particular objects should be lodged in one for the common benefit of both, it should have been distinctly so stated in the first overture made to the Irish parliament as the basis of a permanent agreement. Instead of this, all had been delusion, trick, and fallacy. A new scheme of commercial arrangement was proposed to the Irish as a boon, and the surrender of their constitution was tacked to it as a mercantile regulation. Ireland, newly escaped from harsh trammels and severe discipline, was treated like a high mettled horse, hard to catch; and the Irish secretary was to return to the field soothing and coaxing him with a sieve of provender in one hand, and a bridle in the other. But it was folly to believe that this political jockeyship could ever succeed. It was not enough to say that the parliament of Ireland ought not, and dared not, to agree to it. They had not the powers to accede to it. It would be a concession beyond the limits of their trust. The Irish nation would spurn at the bondage to which their degenerate representatives had no authority to engage their submission.

With regard to the state of Ireland, Mr. Sheridan said it was ridiculous to argue that the circumstances of that country called for or justified the present arrangement. Two or three acts were cited by the committee of council, by which Ireland had imposed duties on some articles of British export; and when we considered the perpetual shifting of government there, and that every three months waited over a new lord lieutenant, the only wonder was, that the principles of connection between the two countries had been so steadily adhered to. The clamour and riots of Dublin had been resorted to

as pretences for this arrangement. That sort of argument had already been sufficiently reprobated. But if they must attend to clamour, let the meaning of it, where there was any, be preferred to the noise. Had the Irish clamoured for the present settlement, or for any one article contained in it? Had they been loud in demanding access to the British market, in preference to protecting duties? Had they requested to be tied for ever to the British monopoly in the West Indies? and to have the price of the commodities of those colonies increased to them? Had they complained that fortune had offered them the trade of the United States of America, without condition or restraint? Had they vehemently expressed their apprehensions, that the rich commerce of the East would speedily be opened to them, if effectual measures were not taken to prevent it? Had they regretted that they were burdened with a surplus of the hereditary revenue? Had they called out that they were tired of their legislative independence, and intreated to be relieved from it? But the fallacy of such allegations stood in no need of refutation. The true spring and incentive to this complicated business evidently lurked in the fourth pernicious resolution, the tendency of which was of a piece with their whole system of government in Ireland, with the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of their agents in the business of attachments, with their attacks on the liberty of the press; measures, arguing a mind hostile to the true principles of constitutional freedom, and justifying the presumption, that similar steps would be pursued in this country if they could be practised with equal impunity.

And by what argument was it

that Ireland was to be induced to relinquish her rights? could it be stated that she had ever once exercised them to the injury of this country? No; but it was possible she might do so. And was it not equally possible that Britain might abuse the trust, and employ this concession to the detriment of Ireland? It was argued that the malice of party, the interested views of mercantile speculation, or the folly of narrow politicians, might at some time or other lead Ireland, even at the expence of her interest, to measures, which might embarrass the trade and navigation of the empire. And had Ireland nothing to apprehend from party, from mercantile avarice, or from blind and narrow policy? Two hundred thousand manufacturers, if they were to believe the chancellor of the exchequer, were at that moment, and in that individual business, either influenced by the suggestions of faction, or blinded by prejudice and selfishness. Mr. Sheridan produced various instances in which Britain might employ the power of legislation for both countries to the oppression of Ireland. She might restrain the trade of the colonies to vessels of considerable burthen, and a proportional number of seamen. England had large ships and numerous crews, Ireland had neither. She might make it a condition that no ship should clear out a cargo from the West Indies, unless she carried thither a stipulated quantity of some British manufacture, not to be obtained in Ireland.

Mr. Sheridan entered into a minute detail in order to prove; that in the system of the propositions every thing was sacrifice and surrender on the part of Ireland. But though he could not go with the

manufacturers of this country, to the extent of the evils which they apprehended, there was one point, however, in which he completely agreed with them; that the gain of Ireland must be the loss of England. Ireland, Mr. Sheridan said, must not endeavour to rise on the ruin of the trade of Great Britain. She must not aim to thrive avowedly at the expence of the British manufacturer, however alluring the prospect. Not justice and generosity alone, but interest and policy would call upon her to desist from the attempt. Possibly at first she might find profit and advantage in the contest; but how was a great part of this advantage to be obtained? By means incompatible with the true spirit and principles of commercial prosperity: by a lax execution of her revenue laws; by the corrupt countenance of her legislature to such a conduct; by stealing her manufactures into this country; by passing those of foreign countries for her own; by obtaining a transfer of capital, and enticing over artists and workmen by false hopes, and ill-founded prospects. In short, by smuggling, by evading, by defrauding, by conniving, by deceiving. The profit earned by such means, would immediately and deeply injure the sister kingdom. But that would not long continue. The consequence would be, that even the name of Irishman would become odious and detestable to the commercial interests of Great Britain; and Ireland would soon be taught to know, while she was pressing her own advantage under the present settlement, that she had by the same settlement surrendered into our hands the power of crippling her commerce, of chastising her presumption, and of reducing her to her

her former state of abject dependence.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with declaring, that, if he were a person of consideration in that kingdom, so far from encouraging the people to struggle for the British market, he should conceive it to be what he owed to the interest of his countrymen, earnestly to call upon them to turn away their eyes and thoughts from that object; to attempt no race with the British manufacturer; to shun as the greatest evil, the jealousies, the heart-burnings, and the destructive ill-will which would necessarily breed upon such a competition; circumstanced so peculiarly with respect to burthens as Great Britain was, and biassed by rooted habits of thinking upon this particular subject. He would endeavour to persuade them, by fair and gentle means, to increase the home consumption of the produce of their own industry; and by systematic and vigorous enterprise, to aim at a successful intercourse with every foreign port. There if they met the British merchant, it would be a liberal emulation. There he could have no innovation or unfairness to complain of, and if successfully rivaled, he would be conscious that the increasing wealth of Ireland from such a source, might with truth be stated to be a fund for the general commerce of England, and an augmentation of the common defence of the empire. Thus Ireland might be addressed under her present circumstances. But let the settlement now proposed be once established, and what would be the answer. Would not the Irish merchant and manufacturer reply, "What you recommend to us is unreasonable and preposterous; we have bound ourselves for ever to the monopolies of Great

Britain; we are crippled in our intercourse with the states of America; our dreams of being the emporium for the foreign countries of Europe, are become visionary and ridiculous; we have surrendered our constitution into the hands of the British parliament. For all this the British market is our compensation. Upon that we are compelled to fasten our minds; so that we must cling, and if Great Britain suffer by it, the mischief is of her own seeking, and the restrictions which force us to the contest, are of her own imposing." These would be the happy fruits of a plan whose boasted object was to cement the union of the two countries in bonds of eternal amity and reciprocal affection!

Mr. Pitt replied to Mr. Sheridan in a style considerably marked with invective. He charged that gentleman with inconsistency, and with having for many weeks concealed his intentions so effectually, as to leave it a doubt whether he were friendly, or inimical to the proposed arrangement. But the conduct of Mr. Sheridan was not to be wondered at, when it was remembered how inconsistent all the measures of the party, of which he was the mouth, were in themselves, and how inconsistent the persons who composed that party were with each other. Still their pursuits, however various and contradictory, had one uniform tendency. Whether they reprobated on this day what they had approved on the preceding, or whether one individual differed from or coincided with the rest of his associates, still the effects of all their efforts, of the artful silence of one man, and the prolix declamations of another were to be the same: to embarrass and confound the measures of administration,



tion, to embroil and disunite the affections of their fellow-subjects, to excite groundless alarms and toment the most dangerous discontents. Mr. Pitt enlarged with some humour on the pains which gentlemen had taken to deprecate in their speeches any imputation of inflammatory or dangerous intentions. It was not for him to determine whether their intentions were really so bad as they seemed apprehensive they should appear. On the present occasion however, he predicted they would have no occasion to exult. The proposition, which so much pains had been taken to wrest, instead of being insidious with respect to Ireland, was a virtual recognition of her complete emancipation. With respect to the light in which the system would be regarded in that country, he would answer with the boldness which became him, and he would not scruple to say, that as far as probability would go on such an occasion, it certainly would be received with gratitude and joy. An enlightened and liberal nation would not suffer itself to become a dupe to the designs of a set of men, who having exerted all their industry for the space of five months in alarming every interest in this country against the original propositions, were now, with equal diligence, employing the same violent methods for creating a similar opposition in Ireland, against the modification applied by the British house of commons. Their conduct was not in reality dictated by a friendship to one country or to the other; but by a desire to embroil the legislatures of both, and to defeat a measure which was necessary to the public tranquillity and permanent welfare of the empire. To illustrate the spirit of the fourth pro-

position, Mr. Pitt referred to the negotiations of states independent, and unconnected with each other; and asserted that provisions exactly similar to that in question were frequently adopted on such occasions. He instanced in the late treaty with France, in which that kingdom bound herself to publish certain edicts, as soon as other acts stipulated on her part were performed by this country; and he defied opposition to produce a single collection of treaties, in which there was not in almost every page, a contract of a similar tendency.

If Mr. Pitt employed invective on this occasion, Mr. Fox was roused in his reply to a language, perhaps more pointed, and scarcely less severe. In the personal and political character of the chancellor of the exchequer there were many qualities and habits, which had often surprised him, and which he believed confounded the speculations of every man who had ever much considered or analysed his disposition. But his conduct on that night had reduced all that was unaccountable, incoherent, and contradictory in his character in times past to a mere nothing. He shone out in a new light, surpassing even himself, and leaving his hearers wrapt in amazement, uncertain, whether most to wonder at the extraordinary speech they had heard, or the frontless confidence with which that speech had been delivered. Such a farrago of idle and arrogant declamation, uttered in any other place, or by any other person on the subject in question, would naturally have filled the hearers with astonishment; but spoken by that gentleman within those walls, in the presence of men who were witnesses of all the proceedings in the business, it was an act of boldness, a species



species of parliamentary hardihood, not to be accounted for upon any known and received rules of common sense or common reason.

Mr. Fox remarked upon the vast disparity in the tone of temper, and the style of expression, exhibited by Mr. Pitt upon this occasion, from those which he had employed upon the first introduction of the twenty propositions. In that debate he had observed that the *ampullæ* and the *sesquipedalia verba*, his magnificent terms, his verbose periods and bombastic sentiments, were for once relinquished in exchange for a language and manners better accommodated to his disastrous condition. Then they saw that preposterous ambition, that gaudy pride and vaulting vanity, which glared beyond all the other features of Mr. Pitt, and which prompted him to look down with contempt, upon his political coadjutors, melt away. Then they saw him descend to a curious and most affecting sympathy with the other supporters of the system, as well as into something like a modest and civil demeanour towards those who opposed it. But the change was transient and temporary. Mr. Pitt had relapsed into his favourite and darling habits. Nerved with new rancour, and impelled with fresh vehemence, he rushed blindly forward. Mr. Fox however inferred from this conduct that he was reduced to the last extremity. Finding it impossible to say one word in favour of his deformed and miserable system, he was obliged to throw out a series of invectives, and by exhibiting a list of charges, charges which at the moment he gave them utterance, he knew to be absolutely and entirely destitute of every vestige of truth, to engage the attention and divert the notice of the

house from his own wretched and contemptible schemes.

Mr. Fox took notice of Mr. Pitt's having reflected on Mr. Sheridan for the length of his declamation. Such a charge came with peculiar grace from that gentleman, who, like himself, was under the necessity of troubling the house much oftener and for a much longer time than might be agreeable. Grateful for the indulgence with which they were favoured, and thankful for the patience and politeness with which they were honoured, they should certainly be the last to condemn that, in which themselves were the greatest transgressors. Mr. Fox added, that, if an almost uniform deviation from the immediate subject in discussion, if abandoning fair argument for illiberal declamation, if frequently quitting sound sense for indecent sarcasms, and preferring to rouse the passions and to inflame the prejudices of his auditory to the convincing their understandings and informing their judgments, tended to diminish the title of any member of that house to a more than common portion of its temper and endurance, he did not know any man who would have so ill founded a claim upon such favours as Mr. Pitt himself.

The charge, of shifting their ground and playing a double game, which Mr. Pitt had made upon the opposition, Mr. Fox considered as particularly unguarded and unfortunate. He—he to talk of their shifting their ground! he, who had shifted his ground till in truth he had no ground to stand upon! he, who had assumed so many shapes, colours and characters in the progress of this extraordinary undertaking! he, who had proclaimed determinations only to recede from them, and asserted principles only

to

to renounce them! he, whose whole conduct from the first moment the system had been proposed was one continued chain of tricks, quibbles, subterfuges and tergiversations, uniform alone in contradiction and inconsistencies! he, who had played a double game with England, and a double game with Ireland, and juggled both nations by a train of unparalleled subtlety! Let the house reflect upon these circumstances, and then let them judge whether a grosser piece of insanity was ever heard of, than that the author of all this miserable foolery, should charge others with tergiversation and duplicity.

But it was not in retorting these silly charges that they rested their defence upon these points. It were indeed a hardship and injustice, that, because they combated the defects of a new scheme, they should be liable to the charge of shifting their ground against an old one no longer the object of discussion. Mr. Fox added, that, if it was true, that ingratitude was the worst of sins, he could see no other fight in which Mr. Pitt appeared but that of the worst of sinners. What a pernicious scheme would this have been, unpurged by their amendments! and now what a return did he make them? But there were proud and sullen souls in the world, enveloped in a fallacious admiration of themselves, and an austere and haughty contempt for the rest of the world; upon whom obligation had only the effect of enmity, and whose hatred was best secured by redeeming them from danger and dishonour.

Mr. Fox replied to the argument of Mr. Pitt from the case of treaties between sovereign states. In this case one state bound itself to do something defined and specific, when the other adopted some defin-

ed and specific measure. There was no condition of servitude and obedience, but a mutual agreement to accomplish something, understood and particularized, by common consent, and for their common advantage. To make the cases similar, an instance should be produced, which Mr. Fox affirmed could not be found in the history of mankind, where one independent state bound itself solemnly to do any thing undefined, unspecific, and uncertain, at the arbitrary demand of another. Mr. Fox concluded with repeating a sentiment, at which he had hinted in the former discussions of this business. He would not barter English commerce for Irish slavery. That was not the price he would pay, and that was not the thing he would purchase.

The propositions having been more than three months under the consideration of the house of commons, they were at length on the thirtieth of May carried up to the house of lords. Here they experienced a violent opposition, and a most minute and accurate investigation on the part of lord Loughborough, and particularly of lord viscount Stormont. A number of detached and verbal amendments, which were brought up by that nobleman received the sanction of the house. The earl of Carlisle and lord Fitzwilliam took an inferior part in the contest that was maintained against the proposed arrangement. A question underwent considerable agitation, whether the manufacturers should be heard at the bar of the house, and whether if they were heard, they should be attended by council? Both points were carried with some modifications. In the debate upon this question an expression escaped lord Camden which underwent considerable animadversion. In censuring the manufac-

turers,

turers, he declared that the design of hearing them, by themselves and council, was of no use but for puzzling the cause and occasioning delay. The manufacturers had unnecessarily teased and tormented the house of commons with a large body of evidence, and a printed copy of that evidence was now on the table of the house of lords. The duke of Richmond, lord Thurlow, lord Sydney, lord Gower, and lord Walsingham, each of them contributed to the support of the resolutions. As the arguments which were employed by the leaders of either party were necessarily coincident with those which had been employed in the house of commons; perhaps the most important information respecting this part of the progress, will be found to consist in the sentiments of those noblemen, who regarded themselves as most detached from any particular party or connexion. Lord viscount Townshend was desirous, in delivering his sentiments, to discharge the duty he owed to his country, and in a question of such infinite importance to register to posterity the part he should take. He professed to attach himself much to the side of Ireland in this question. He applauded the change the propositions had undergone, and considered as laudable the concessions, and, as they had been called, the inconsistencies of the minister. He suggested his doubts respecting the propriety and construction of the fourth proposition. He wished the hereditary revenue of Ireland to have remained in its original situation; but he was not desirous of embarrassing a system, of the failure of which, he owned, that he dreaded the consequences.

Two noblemen whose opinions and declarations on this subject attracted a particular degree of the

public attention were the earl of Shelburne, lately created marquis of Lansdown, and lord viscount Sackville. They were both of them men of eminent abilities, of deep research in the topics of political knowledge, and of consummate experience. Lord Lansdown had been the friend of lord Chatham, and in a manner the patron and introducer of Mr. Pitt into public life. The character which has commonly been ascribed to him is that of unbounded ambition; and he was regarded as entertaining some degree of personal pique and resentment, at the manner in which Mr. Pitt had burst from the trammels of pupillage, and placed himself at so early an age at the head of administration. Lord Sackville appeared to be at this moment destitute of every sort of bias that could mislead his judgment or corrupt his integrity. He was considerably advanced in years, and his health had for some time been precarious and infirm. He survived the period of which we are treating scarcely more than a month.

The Marquis of Lansdown introduced what he had to say with-observing, that with respect to the present arrangement, he should not enter into any discussion of the interests of Ireland, as that care more properly belonged to her own parliament. He paid many compliments to the evidence of the manufacturers. They were sensible, enlightened, clear-headed and provident. He had always been in habits of intercourse and friendship with them; and if at any time he had been able to advance any thing in that house on subjects of trade, which had recommended itself to their attention, he was indebted for it to the information he had gained from the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain. But when

when he spoke in these terms, it must be remembered that the manufacturers were men influenced by prejudices and subject to error, particularly where they were blinded by personal interest. To such a length did they push this, that if one were to ask a manufacturer of Halifax, what was the greatest crime upon earth; was it felony, was it murder, was it parricide? he would answer, no, none of these; it was the exporting of wool. Lord Lansdown spoke of the institution of the chamber of manufacturers. It was nearly like what he had long wished to see established in the city of London. He confessed he was an enemy to people's assembling and giving themselves what names they pleased. He hoped however that the chamber would confine itself to its simple object, and not harbour the idea of setting itself up as a body, to overawe parliament, or to interfere with the political measures of the country.

Lord Lansdown entered into the particular construction of the proposed arrangement. He declared that Ireland having an unlimited trade, would by no means enable her to beat England out of the foreign markets. She was equally incapable of the carrying trade. She had little capital, and the value of money was higher in Ireland than any where else. Lord Stormont had intimated that a stipulation to receive Irish linens duty free for ever, and to continue the duties on foreign linens might be attended with pernicious consequences in a future negotiation with some foreign power. Lord Lansdown was not afraid of these consequences. He was sure no prince in Europe would load British manufactures with prohibitory duties for such a reason. He would despise their impotent menaces. It

was the material distinction between this country and the powers on the continent, that there was not one of them who must not sacrifice its commercial to its public interests; but with England it was otherwise. It had been suggested that in consequence of the new arrangement of the hereditary revenue, Ireland might disband the three thousand men she at present lent to England. He should rather reflect with satisfaction, that instead of three thousand, whenever the exigencies of England might require it, Ireland might send fifteen thousand men, her whole military establishment, to our aid, as she was herself secure from invasion through the numbers, discipline, and spirit of her volunteer army. Lord Lansdown treated the idea of an union as impracticable. He observed upon the disadvantages that had resulted from the want of a parliament sitting in Scotland. In the rebellion of 1745, he had been thoroughly informed, that the extent of the evil had not been known to the representatives of that country. The same thing had lately been instanced in respect of the Roman catholics of Scotland. A toleration had been granted, without suspicion of offence to the inhabitants, till we heard of the outrages that were committed in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The objection was much stronger, when it was applied to a country separated from us like Ireland. Beside, there was scarcely any confidence in either country in its respective parliament; and though the cause of such want of confidence was easily known, it was not so easy to apply a remedy. These were a few, and but a few, of the obstacles which lay in the way of an union. High minded and jealous as were the people of Ireland, we must first learn whether they

they would consent to give up their distinct empire, their parliament, and all the honours which belonged to their royalty and state.

Lord Lansdown was copious in his expressions of confidence in the present administration. They must be lost in the most criminal infatuation, if they had not prepared this great system with due and proper deliberation; if they had not made themselves masters of its bearings and its tendencies, and consulted with every individual capable of giving them light and assistance. He had the utmost reliance on the industry and abilities of the nobleman who was at the head of affairs in Ireland, and on those of his secretary. Their property was one ground of confidence; and he was at least certain that they would not disgrace themselves in a transaction to which they were in every respect equal. He could not take upon himself to say what were the present temper and disposition of Ireland with regard to the resolutions. He was just from the woods, and he had not thought proper, from the path which he had prescribed to himself in this business, to be very inquisitive. But from the common information of a private man, he could assert, that delay would be most dangerous; and that, if the present session were to pass without something decisive being done, it would be difficult to answer for the consequences. If this were not the proper measure, what was to be substituted? How were the jarring opinions of that house to be reconciled? They might find fault with the system, and say it was badly planned, and not likely to have the desired effect. They might say that the author was too young, and was ignorant of what should constitute a minister. That if they were in place they could do better, and that

if another had remained in his situation a little longer, every thing would have been settled. They might exclaim, how in the name of God, did this man twist himself in to be a minister! But we were to take things as we found them, and deliberately reflect upon the consequences before we decided. One of the most serious interests of the country was at stake, and bloodshed might attend the postponement of the business.

Lord Sackville declared, that the salutary effects which were proposed to be the result of finally establishing the resolutions into a law, were what every member of the house, and every individual, who panted for the liberty of his country, undoubtedly wished. But he was by no means satisfied that they would be productive of all those advantages which their advocates suggested. He felt a particular approbation of the conduct of the manufacturers. They had proceeded with seriousness and hesitation. Their general reasoning on the complexion of the whole system, involved and complicated as it was, appeared to him unanswerable. He particularly coincided with them in their assertion, that there was in the resolutions no trace of that mutual benefit, that reciprocity, which was said to constitute the basis of the whole. He conceived no very high presages of the revenue that was to be derived from Ireland. He was disposed to trust to the generosity of that country, and he urged the house at all events to erase every stipulation of this kind from the settlement. He thought it required no great foresight to predict the consequences which would arise from the entire system. The matter was trivial to him, in comparison with many men in that house. He could be only interested for posterity.



sterity. He was come to a time of life when it did not become him to be very deeply affected by political decisions. But he saw those whose age entitled them to look forward to futurity with more sanguine expectations. To them the system was singularly important; and should it finally be adopted, many of them, he doubted not, would live to curse the day that gave it birth. He saw in its aspect incurable jealousies, and endless discord.

Lord Sackville was earnest in the recommendation of an entire union. Where two nations were one only on commercial principles, he knew not by what means they could agree or harmonize with each other. But where all their dependence was placed in the same legislature, every source of jealousy, suspicion, and distrust, was for ever at an end. It had been denied that such a measure could be effected. But he was not aware of any insurmountable difficulties. Was an equal representation in the house of commons the obstacle to the measure recommended? He trusted that few peers were of that opinion. It was obvious from what had happened, that what would affect to be called a system of reform, had not the concurrence of any very large body of men in either country. Though the minister was professedly for the measure, but a very moderate number in the house of commons of either nation had concurred with him on the question. This objection therefore he deemed the least formidable, which a measure of such magnitude and importance, as a union of the two nations, would have to encounter. Indeed, he saw nothing extremely impracticable in the proposition. It was not less the interest of Ireland than it was of England. He warned the house to consider, whether

the resolutions included any thing of an insidious nature. Whatever was for the general good of both countries, Ireland would not resist; but they were too sharp-sighted and too wise to be imposed upon. He hoped the present business might yet be suspended. In that case, should no other lord undertake the business, old as he was, he would himself move an address to the sovereign, that steps might be taken for accomplishing an union, and commissioners appointed to adjust this important object, on which the prosperity of each country and the whole empire so much depended. Lord Sackville concluded with moving, "that the propositions should be taken into consideration on that day four months." Upon this ultimate question the house divided, contents 30, not contents 84.

The Irish resolutions were sent down from the house of lords to the house of commons on the nineteenth of July. On this occasion a considerable debate took place in the lower house. The business was concluded with a motion from Mr. Pitt, for leave to bring in a bill upon the basis of the resolutions. The bill was read a first time on the second of August, and on the twenty-eighth of July an address to the sovereign was agreed on by both houses of parliament, acquainting him with what they had done in the business, and adding, that it "remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions according to their wisdom and discretion, as well as of every other part of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent." Immediately after the first reading of the bill, the house adjourned to the twenty-seventh of October, and on the thirtieth of September it was prorogued by royal proclamation.

P R I N



**P R I N C I P A L  
O C C U R R E N C E S**

**In the Year 1785.**

**(A)**

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question.

*Journal of Management Studies*, 19(1), 67-80.

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# PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1785.

## JANUARY.

1. **I**N November last, the rev. Dr. Seabury, a D. D. of Oxford, formerly a persecuted American missionary, after having applied in vain to the English bench of bishops, with the most honourable credentials, was consecrated bishop of Connecticut *in partibus infidelium*, by the episcopal college at Aberdeen; or, in other words, the five nonjuring Scotch prelates, who have regularly kept up and continued their succession in that kingdom ever since episcopacy was abolished. Whether this first American prelate will apply, or not, and with what success, for the large sums bequeathed by archbishops Tenison and Secker, and bishop Benson, towards the establishment and support of episcopacy on that continent, time must shew.

— A great cause came on to be tried in the court of Exchequer, Dublin, on the 3d of December, 1784, between the king and messrs. Connor, merchants, which was decided in favour of the latter. The subject of litigation was as follows: on the equalizing duties being passed, there was a duty of 11d.  $\frac{1}{2}$  per pound laid on tobacco imported from America, but by some mistake tobacco imported from Great Britain or elsewhere, was not mentioned. Messrs. Connor therefore entered a large quantity of tobacco from Great Britain (the duty of

which, if entered from America, would have amounted to upwards of 3000l. but under an old unrepealed act of William and Mary, at 2d.  $\frac{1}{2}$  per pound); and in consequence of the omission in the late acts for equalizing the duties have got this verdict, by which they will clear 2000l.

— At a coal-pit near Manchester, on Saturday the 11th of December, as soon as the first man had got down to work, a large part of the mouth of the pit fell in, and shut him up in darkness. Every effort was tried to deliver him from this dreadful prison, but without effect, till the Saturday following, when, to the astonishment of all who saw him, he was dug out alive; but a most shocking object, worn down by fatigue in endeavouring, by incessant labour, to work his deliverance, and emaciated with hunger and thirst, till he was to appearance a living skeleton. He languished a few hours, but no means could preserve his life.

— On the 24th of December, about nine at night, a fire was discovered in the sloop Anne, captain Kidd, lying in the middle of the harbour of Leith, the flames of which burst from the cabin. The vessel was lying in the third tier from the quay; and it being low water, it was next to a miracle that the whole fleet, more than 200 in number, were not all reduced to ashes. Fortunately for Leith, in  
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about three quarters of an hour the fire was got under.

*Extract of a letter from Lewes,  
Jan. 3.*

Last Monday a fisherman, belonging to Hastings, was shot thro' the head by a light dragoon belonging to general Harcourt's regiment, quartered in this county. The circumstances attending the above murder were as follows; three soldiers were assisting some revenue officers in the seizure of several boats lying on the beach there of an illegal structure, when the deceased, to prevent his boat being seized, attempted to put to sea with her, but by the time he had got her afloat, he was fired upon by three soldiers, and immediately dropped dead in his boat, a ball having passed through his head as above mentioned. A boy was in the boat with the deceased, but fortunately escaped unhurt, though a ball went through her very near him. The coroner's jury sat on the body, and brought in their verdict wilful murder, whereupon the offenders were committed to the gaol of the above place. The people were at first so exasperated at the rash conduct of the prisoners, that some very disagreeable consequences were apprehended from it; but the criminals being very heavily ironed, they were in some measure appeased. The deceased was named George Wood.

6, Early on Wednesday morning the house of Mr. Henry Springall, timber-merchant, in East-lane, Bermondsey, was broke open, and robbed of about 700 ounces of plate, and a pocket-book containing bills and notes of hand to the amount of 1210l, besides bonds, policies of insurance, bills of sale, &c. The papers were recovered in an extraordinary manner. During the last

execution in the Old Bailey, Mr. Leech, of Snow-hill, going into the kitchen, found his two maid servants busily employed in examining the contents of a pocket-book, which they said had been thrown down the area. Mr. Leech soon discovered to whom it belonged, and went with it immediately to Mr. Springall's, who happened not to be at home; he therefore left word what business he called about, and when he returned deposited the pocket-book with Mr. Sheriff Bates. It was this morning restored to the owner, with all its contents. Mr. Springall went yesterday to the public office, in Bow-street, to learn if there was any probability of recovering his property. Sir Sampson Wright told him that the pocket-book was all that he stood any chance of getting again, as it was of no use to any person but himself; as to the plate, he had not a doubt of its having been melted in a very short time after the robbery. Mr. Springall's house was secured in the best possible manner with bars, bolts, &c. of an enormous thickness. It is imagined the villains were disturbed, as the closet from which they took the plate contained 500 ounces more.

— Yesterday, George Owen, who was ordered for execution the Wednesday before, but respited the preceding day (see Vol. V. p. 105, 107), was executed at Newgate. He was prepossessed with a notion that he should receive the royal mercy, to the last moment of his existence. He had a week before been perfectly reconciled to his sentence, and often declared he should have felt no regret at leaving the world at that period. His unexpected respite, and the sum left him by his father (near 700l, and a freehold of 52l, per annum) recalled

called all his affection for sublunary enjoyments. On leaving his cell, he said, "Surely God will grant me a longer life;" and intreated the sheriffs to wait for some "good news." Their humanity, upon this melancholy occasion, does them honour. They postponed the poor creature's execution till near two hours after the usual time. He desired to give the signal, by dropping a handkerchief; but continued so long (near half an hour) without making that sign, that the executioner was ordered to drop the scaffold.

7. The wind being N. N. W. very moderate, and the sky clear, Mr. Blanchard, accompanied by Dr. Jeffries, took his departure for the continent in his balloon, from the castle at Dover. Nine bags of ballast; the French edition of Mr. Blanchard's Voyage with Mr. Sheldon; a large inflated bladder, containing a number of letters from people of distinction in this country to several of the French nobility; a compass and some philosophical instruments; a small bottle of brandy; two beautiful silk ensigns, English and French; a few biscuits; and two cork jackets; made the whole of their cargo. They ascended at 13 minutes past one, close to the large gun, well known by the name of Queen Anne's Pocket Pistol. Mr. Blanchard kept the balloon in exact equilibrium for a considerable time. The greatest silence reigned among the spectators, until Mr. Blanchard had got so far from the cliff as to be over the sea: he stood erect in the car, and saluted the spectators most gracefully, by bowing, taking off his hat, and waving his ensign. He was then cheered by the loudest acclamations.—"I cannot describe to you," says Dr. Jeffries, in a let-

ter to a friend, "the magnificence and beauty of our voyage. When about mid-channel, and at high elevation, we had such a prospect of the country as surpasses my descriptive faculties; when two-thirds over, we had expended the whole of our ballast. At about five or six miles from the French coast, we were again falling rapidly towards the sea, on which occasion my noble little captain gave orders, and set the example, by beginning to strip our aerial car, first of our silk and finery: this not giving us sufficient release, we cast one wing, then the other; after which I was obliged to unscrew and cast away our moulinet; yet still approaching the sea very fast, and the boats being much alarmed for us, we cast away, first one anchor, then another; after which my little hero stripped, and threw away his great coat. On this I was compelled to follow his example. He next cast away his trowsers. We put on our cork jackets, and luckily at this instant we found the mercury beginning to fall in the barometer, and we soon ascended much higher than ever, and made a most beautiful and lofty *entré* into France, exactly at 3 o'clock. We entered rising, and to such a height, that the arc we described brought us down just twelve miles into the country, when we descended most tranquilly into the midst of the forest De Felmores, almost as naked as the trees, not an inch of cord or rope left, no anchor or anything to help us, nor a being within several miles. My good little captain begged for all my exertion to stop at the top of the first tree I could reach. I succeeded beyond my comprehension; and you would have laughed to see us, each without a coat of any sort, Mr. Blanchard assisting at the valve, and I

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holding

holding at the top of a lofty tree, and the balloon playing to and fro over us, holding almost too severe a contest for my arms. It took exactly twenty-eight minutes to let out air enough to relieve the balloon without injury. We soon heard the wood surrounded by footmen, horsemen, &c. and received every possible assistance from them. I was soon well mounted, and had a fine gallop of seven miles. We were invited to the chateau of M. de Sandrouin, where we received every attention and refreshment, and at nine were sent away in a chariot and six, but under a promise that we would call at the chateau of M. Brounot at Ardingham, where we stayed an hour, and then set off for Calais, where we arrived between one and two this morning. The guards had orders to let us pass, the commandant having sat up for us. We visited him, and were very politely received; but the attentions of M. Mouron and his family exceeded all description. This morning the mayor, governor, commandant, and officers, in a body, the king's attorney-general, &c. have been to pay us a congratulatory visit, and we have been complimented as they compliment the king alone, by sending us the wine of the city. A patent is now making out to make my captain a citizen of Calais."—A column was ordered to be erected, on the spot where the aeronauts alighted, to perpetuate the event; and the French king has granted to Mr. Blanchard a bounty of 12,000 livres (525l.) and an annuity of 1200 livres (52l. 10s.)

*Extract of a letter from Dublin, Jan. 1.*

Thursday last, John Masterfon was brought before George Lowther, esq. of Kilrue, in the county

of Meath, for attempting to break open the dwelling-house of John Wilson, esq. of Rush, in whose neighbourhood he, with his accomplices, had lately committed various robberies. During the examination of one of Mr. Wilson's servants, the prisoner seized a charged gun, which the servant had left carelessly near him, and instantly shot one James Mahon, herd to Mr. Wilson, who, with several others, was left to guard him; the gun being so near Mahon as to drive into his body his shirt, clothes, and wadding, of which wound he languished four hours, and died in the greatest agonies. So hardened was the villain who perpetrated this horrid murder, as to declare, that he would have killed without reluctance twenty men who would oppose him, and that he had now committed an act worthy of being sent to gaol for. He was escorted to Trim under a strong guard.

15. Thursday the coroner's inquest sat on the body of a young woman, aged 21, servant to Mr. White, surgeon, in St. Paul's Church-yard, who was accidentally poisoned by about half a wine-glass of laudanum, given instead of tincture of jalap, for a sore throat. The fatal dose was taken about ten at night, when she was in bed. Her fellow-servant, who lay with her, did not go to bed till one, at which time she only complained of her throat, and passed a quiet night till between five and six in the morning, when she became stupid, and unable to speak. She continued in that state till near ten; the girl thinking she was in a natural sleep; at which time, upon an attempt being made to give her some tea, she was found unable to swallow. Upon this the mistress of the house went to her, but she died in a few minutes.



minutes afterwards. The accident was not discovered till some hours after her death; at which time Dr. Sims and Dr. Hawes were sent for, and tried the usual remedies, but in vain. The body was afterwards opened by Mr. Whately, in the Old Jewry, and a quantity of laudanum found in her stomach. The jury brought in their verdict, Accidental Death.

*Extract of a letter from Barbadoes, Oct. 16.*

On Monday last, the inhabitants of part of St. Joseph's parish, called Crab Hole, just under Hackleton's Cliff, were alarmed by the appearance of several fissures in the earth, and the sinking of one or two tenements a little below the surface. On Tuesday the cracks increasing, some of them began to prepare for flight, by removing their effects to places of greater safety. In the evening, Mr. Phillips, manager of the plantation formerly belonging to Mr. Walcott, but now to the representative of the late Sir William Baker, was informed that the land above him was making extraordinary advances towards the house, which, in a few hours, induced him to quit it, and take shelter, with his family, in one of the negro huts for the remainder of the night; in the course of which, the kitchen and stock-house fell down, and a range of hog-sties adjoining to them sunk into a deep chasm, which was presently filled up by a heap of mould from the ground above them. At day-light next morning the neighbourhood in general took the alarm, and assembling near the spot, were witnesses to a scene affecting and terrible beyond description. The country, from Crab Hole down to the plantation, looked as if it had been torn and shattered by an earth-

quake. The curing-house was down; part of the mansion was still standing, but flanked by a mound of earth higher than the top of it: the ground was intersected by a number of fissures, and in many places swelled into monstrous tumours. Between six and seven the remainder of the house came down with a tremendous crash. The mill, boiling-house, and stable, had received so many cracks, that every moment appeared to be equally critical with them; though the former stood till about half an hour after twelve, when the wall went off in two or three immense flakes, and the timbers followed it with such violence, as to bury an arm in the earth up to the neck of the shaft. The wreck was soon universal; and long before the close of day many of the buildings had sunk so low, that no traces of them were, at some distance, discernible. The face of the country had undergone so total a change, that the neighbours were frequently unable to determine where many objects, familiar to their remembrance, had stood before. A large piece of edoes above the house had soon occupied the site of the mansion, and brought with it a long slip of the common road, as entire as if nothing had happened to it. Another slip of canes, on a chalky soil, with two cocoa-nut trees at the end of it, still appears to have kept its ground, though every thing else had been in motion round it. The cocoa-nut trees which grew about the house have been gradually carried with the mass of ruin some hundred feet, if not yards, from their original situation. The mill itself has gone with the sliding mound, though little more than an arm or a piece of the tail-tree is visible at present. The calamity is

still extending. A corn-piece to the northward of the building towards the sea (for the motion has been from north to south, with little or no variation) is now the theatre of this surprising spectacle. It has uniformly proceeded towards the sea, which it will, in all probability, reach in a day or two, as it has now got to the foot of an eminence at no great distance from it, the two sides of which go sloping downwards, and form, with the opposite ridges, an easy passage to it.

17. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when eleven capital convicts received sentence of death, viz. Edward Payne, for being concerned with some others in robbing the ship *Elbe*, Joel Goddard, master, lying in the Thames, and bound to Hamburgh, of two casks and two packages, containing 10,000 dollars; Joseph Fitzpatrick, John Brice, Joseph Jeffs, James alias William Balding, and Thomas Till, for burglaries; Thomas Brown and William Hurt for highway robberies; Ann Read and Samuel Davis, for street robberies; John Mills, formerly a letter carrier, for stealing a share of a ticket out of a letter.

*Extract of a letter from Bury, Jan. 19.*

The following is an account of the death of the son of admiral Rowley, who was educated at Westminster school. He went to see a lady in Jermyn-street, London, who kept a little dog, which being interrupted by the child while it was feeding, flew at him, and bit his lip. His friends having some suspicion that the dog was mad, went to Dr. Hunter, who recommended them to an eminent surgeon, who put a caustic to the lip, and applied such medical treatment as was thought necessary. A few days af-

ter the child went on a visit to some friends at Boxford, in this county, where he complained of illness and pain; a physician in the neighbourhood was sent for, but to no effect; he was seized with the hydrophobia, and died in twenty-four hours.

20. The sessions of the Irish parliament opened by a speech from the duke of Rutland, and loyal addresses voted to him by both houses. See *Public Papers*.

22. A loyal address to his majesty, in the Gazette of this day, from the gentlemen, clergy, freemen, and freeholders of the county of Dublin, signed by twenty-one peers, and 1,113 commoners, gentlemen, freeholders, and others, declaring their attachment to the government and constitution, and their utter abhorrence, &c. of every attempt to create unjust and dangerous discontents, tending to subvert the constitution in church and state. They reject, with indignation, the interference of any body of men unknown to the laws or constitution. They rely upon the continuance of his majesty's paternal regard for the welfare of that kingdom, feeling the warmest and most grateful confidence in his majesty's late gracious declaration, and in the equity and wisdom of the respective legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, that such regulations upon the important objects of trade and commerce will be established, as shall be found best calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of all parts of his majesty's empire. They cherish a firm and unchangeable attachment to the connection with their sister kingdom, as the great band of mutual strength and safety. And they will suffer no assumed authority to dictate to the legislature of the land.

22. On Saturday came on, at Surrey

Surrey quarter-sessions, in Southwark, the trial of a waterman, on two indictments, for contracting with, and enticing journeymen curriers to go out of this kingdom into Sweden, to follow their trade, and thereby to carry the art and manufacture of currying leather into foreign parts, contrary to the statutes, and to the great detriment of the manufacture of this kingdom; when the prisoner being fully sensible of his guilt, and of the strong evidence against him, and also of the humanity of the prosecutions, in their being carried on upon an act of parliament which subjects the offender to a much milder punishment than another act of parliament does, pleaded guilty: whereupon sir Joseph Mawbey, the chairman, pointed out to the prisoner the heinousness of his offence, and the bad effects the continuance of such practices must be to this country, and the arts and manufactures thereof; and after having expatiated on the lenity of the prosecution in proceeding against the prisoner on the mildest act of parliament, delivered the judgment of the court, which was, that the prisoner be fined 100l. and imprisoned in the county gaol for the space of three calendar months on each indictment, and until the respective fines are paid.

— On Thursday came on, at Guildhall, the adjourned examination of messrs. Touse and Joy, drapers, of Lynn Regis, from the first instant: when, after an examination of upwards of six hours, they were, for refusing satisfactorily to answer questions put to them by the commissioners, committed to Newgate.

It is to be hoped that this (together with the late testimonies of honest zeal in the commissioners of bankruptcy) will have a tendency

to correct that most enormous of all evils in a commercial country, fraudulent bankruptcies.

— They write from Dover, that the Weazel sloop of war being on a cruize off Dunkirk, fell in with a vessel under English colours, which they boarded to examine their cargo, as they seemed to be steering for France, when they found 150 live sheep, several calves, three bullocks, and some bacon on board. They brought her into the pier, but on Tuesday sailed with her for Portsmouth. The commander will not say from what part of the coast of England he came, and declared that he was driven on the coast of France by contrary winds.

*Extract of a letter from Edinburgh,*  
*Jan. 21.*

Yesterday came on before the High Court of Justiciary, the trial of lieut. George Storie, for the murder of Mr. Stuart, surgeon. He entered his shop in Paisley, on the 14th of September last; and, after quarrelling with Mr. Stuart for spoiling his hat the evening preceding, took up a crystal bottle full of some liquor, with which he struck the deceased on the head till it broke, and then did the same with another bottle till it also broke; and afterwards beat and kicked the deceased in different parts of the body, who, after lingering for the space of five days, died on the 19th of the same month. Mr. Robert Cullen, counsel for the pannel, opened his defence upon the relevancy. After stating the cause of the original quarrel between the parties, the provocations his client had received from the deceased on several occasions, by throwing upon his cloaths *assa foetida*, some of which he poured upon his hat the evening before the melancholy accident happened; the cordial friendship which subsist-

ed between the parties, the deceased being nephew to the pannel; and the general good character his client had universally sustained, both as a soldier and a citizen; Mr. Cullen contended, there could not be the shadow of reason for supposing that murder was intended, malice not being so much as libelled against the pannel; and that therefore, if their lordships allowed the libel to go at all to the knowledge of an assize, he hoped they would restrict it to the crime of culpable homicide only, which would infer an arbitrary punishment, and not death. Mr. solicitor-general Dundas, on the part of the prosecutors, maintained, that the crime charged against the pannel could not be viewed in the light of culpable homicide only. Had the pannel, immediately on receiving the supposed affront, attacked the deceased in the violent manner set forth in the indictment, some argument, in favour of the pannel, might have been set up on that head. But, after four and twenty hours had been allowed to elapse before he took his revenge, no such plea could be admitted. The injury could not be said to be committed in a sudden gust of passion, which was the only excuse the law could admit for the frailties of human nature. Mr. solicitor-general was followed by the lord advocate, who defended the indictment in all its parts; at the same time his lordship observed, that if the proof came out, as the pannel's counsel had stated it would, he should certainly agree with him in thinking, that the pannel ought only to be found guilty of culpable homicide. His lordship admitted, that the case appeared to him a difficult one. It therefore gave him great pleasure to see gentlemen of such eminent abilities as counsel for

the pannel. Mr. Maclaurin made a short reply. He thought it unnecessary to enter fully into the business, after what had been stated by Mr. Cullen, and the very candid concession made by the lord advocate of the difficulty of the case. The lords pronounced the usual interlocution, finding the libel relevant to infer the pains of law; but allowing the pannel a proof of all facts and circumstances which might tend either to exculpate him, or alleviate the guilt of the crime charged. Previous to which the lord justice clerk observed to the court and jury, that though the above was the interlocution necessary to be pronounced upon this occasion, yet, if the pannel proved the defence set up for him by his counsel, the court, upon a verdict from the jury of *guilty*, would have it in their power of punishing the pannel arbitrarily, on account of his commission of culpable homicide. The jury after this was chosen, and the court proceeded to the examination of the witnesses on the part of the prosecutors, which finished about eight o'clock, when the lord advocate charged the jury very ably on the part of the crown, as did Mr. Maclaurin for the prisoner. The lord chief justice then summed up the evidence with very great candour. The jury returned their verdict this day, at one o'clock, finding the pannel *not guilty of murder*, but guilty of *culpable homicide*. The court will pronounce sentence on Saturday." See Jan. 29.

25. This day his majesty went to the house of peers, and opened the second sessions of the sixteenth parliament of Great Britain, with a most gracious speech. See *Public Papers*.

27. Yesterday Mr. Bearcroft moved the court of Exchequer for a rule

a rule to shew cause, in Sutton and Johnson, to set aside the last verdict obtained by captain Sutton. Mr. Bearcroft urged the following arguments in support of his motion: first, that an action would not lie against a commanding officer, for an arrest upon a supposed breach of duty; secondly, that captain Sutton was not acquitted of the *whole* of the charge by the court martial; and, thirdly, that as it was alledged that the plaintiff, captain Sutton, was deprived of the benefit of a considerable capture by such arrest, yet his subsequent acquittal restored him to his primæval state. A rule to shew cause was granted. See *Vol. V. p. 101.*

*Edinburgh, Jan. 29.* This day the High Court of Justiciary met, pursuant to adjournment of Tuesday, and pronounced sentence on lieut. George Storie. The court assythed the said George Storie in the sum of 1000 marks to the nearest of kin of the deceased William Stuart; ordained him to be carried back to the Tolbooth of this city, and from thence to be transmitted to the Tolbooth of Paisley, where he is to be confined for eight months; to find bail to keep the peace for two years, under the penalty of 2000 marks, and to be imprisoned till payment of the assythement, and finding caution.

31. Thursday se'nnight, a very extraordinary and terrifying accident happened at Winster, in the county of Derby: a show being exhibited at a public-house, many people (men, women, and children) to the number of fifty or sixty, were collected together in a room, and in the middle of the exhibition the house was suddenly blown up with gunpowder, occasioned by a small quantity being scattered on a cham-

ber floor, and the snuff of a candle thrown amongst it, which instantly communicated to a barrel in the same room, containing about fifty pounds weight. The house, though a large one, was instantly in ruins, and totally destroyed; and dreadful were the shrieks of a numerous crowd, who immediately collected on the outside of the house, under the apprehension that their husbands, wives, and children, were destroyed, and buried in the rubbish; and it was some time before a passage could be got into the exhibition-room; but it is very remarkable, that no lives were lost, nor one person hurt, except a boy, the son of the showman, who set fire to the powder, and is much burnt. It is presumed the escape was owing to the powder being in a chamber, and the company in a room on the ground floor. A similar circumstance happened a few years ago in the city of Chester, with the unhappy addition, however, that many lives were lost.

— Saturday morning, between the hours of two and three, a set of fresh water pirates, broke into the back part of the house at Whitehall, inhabited by the speaker of the house of commons: they cut a hole in the window-shutter of the dining-parlour, and having entered the house, took thence the speaker's rich gold robe of state, several suits of clothes, silk breeches, a number of silk stockings, about two dozen silk handkerchiefs, two gold snuff-boxes, one of which had been made a present to the speaker by Mr. Flood, and was remarkably elegant: they took likewise a small sum of money in a purse; they afterwards broke open the next house, but, being disturbed, made a hasty retreat to their boat, and got clear off.

FEBRU-



## F E B R U A R Y.

1. A rebellion had for some time subsisted in Transylvania and Wallachia, both subject to the emperor of Germany, in which countries the insurgents had committed great cruelties and depredations. Their army, however, amounting to 9000 men, were lately defeated by an Imperial detachment of 4000.—The following advices, dated at Vienna, Jan. 15, have been since received: “The courier from Hermanstadt is just arrived with an account that the two chiefs of the rebels, Horiah and Kloska, have been taken in the woods of Kadakes, by two Wallachians, their intimates, who knowing the paths of the wood, traced them to their retreat, where they found them warming themselves in their cave. On a signal, a detachment of troops, which followed them, came forward, and secured both the rebels. When Horiah was taken, he had in his possession property to the amount of thirty thousand florins, in gold, silver, and jewels; the seal of his monarchy was likewise found upon him. The device a heart pierced with a spear, with the following words, “Horiah Rex Daciæ.” The capture of these leaders has put an entire end to the troubles in Transylvania; the insurgents laid down their arms, and again returned to their respective employments.”

— Mr. Kersley, of Micheldover, returning from London in the stage, was shot by the carelessness of the guard, who was in the basket, whose piece went off by accident. Three slugs went through the back of the coach.

2. This day exhibited the awful spectacle of no less than twenty criminals executed before Newgate, viz. John Hamilton, Wm. Astel, J. Kelfey, Wm. Finder, Wm. Stew-

ard, and Melvin Simmonds, for different burglaries; and George Goldsmith, Richard Hobson, Lawrence, and John Jones, for a burglary at the Black Dog in Shore-ditch; Edward Johnson and John Evans, for privately stealing in separate dwelling-houses; James Dunn, for publishing a forged seaman's will; William Abbot, for publishing a counterfeit bill of sale, with intent to defraud the owners of the Warren Hastings East India-man; Allen Williams, for assaulting and robbing a passenger at Shepherd's-Bush; and John Shaw, Thomas Tabbs, George Harris, Thomas Battledore, and John Moody, for assaulting Thomas Francis, near Bagnigge Wells.

— Monday died in Newgate, John Mills, the letter-carrier, who was capitally convicted last sessions for taking a share of a lottery-ticket out of a letter.

4. On the 27th of October, 1784, several delegates from different counties, cities, &c. of Ireland, assembled in national congress, and adjourned to the 20th of January last, when they again met, and after continuing their deliberations to this day, farther adjourned to the 20th of April, after first publishing sundry resolutions, and an address to the people of Ireland. *See Jan. 22, and also Public Papers.*

5. This day, the committee appointed to wait on Mr. Pitt, with the freedom of the city, went in procession from Guildhall to his house in Downing-street. When the committee were introduced to Mr. Pitt, sir Watkin Lewes addressed him in the following speech.

“S I R,

“We, the committee appointed by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, in common-council assembled, to present you with



with the freedom of the city of London, voted unanimously in one of the full-st courts ever remembered, cheerfully embrace this opportunity of repeating our sentiments of satisfaction and confidence which we entertain, respecting your principles and perseverance for the good of your country.

“ We repose in your abilities and firmness for the permanent security and extension of our commerce, as citizens, and our happiness as Britons.

“ The committee feel, with satisfaction, the honour conferred upon them, in being thus delegated to so pleasing and distinguished a commission.

“ Be assured, Sir, that the city of London will ever stand foremost to support the measures of government, whilst they continue to be so manifestly founded in wisdom and integrity.”

Mr. Pitt received them with great politeness, and returned an answer, the substance of which was as follows;

“ He must first,” he said, “ thank Sir Watkin Lewes for the very flattering manner in which he had conveyed the sentiments of the committee. He trusted the city of London would do him the justice to believe, that the security and extension of their commerce, and the maintenance of the true principles of the constitution, would continue to be the first objects of his attention.”

5. Thursday night Jos. Church, John Miles, and James Gray, three of the villains who robbed the ship *Elbe* of the dollars, were brought before Sir Sampson Wright. These three persons were banished from Dunkirk by the court of France, and by the extraordinary exertions of the merchants, and of Moses

Murant, John Townsend, and Thos. Ting, belonging to Sir Sampson Wright's office, were apprehended and brought to England. Such was the nicety of the French officers in the execution of their orders, that Sir Sampson Wright's men waited near a month on the coast, before they were able to apprehend them. *See Jan. 17.*

— A society of medical gentlemen is just now established at the West end of the town, under the immediate patronage of Dr. Fordyce, and Mr. John Hunter, of which Dr. Ferris, Mr. Baillie, Mr. Ray, and Mr. Home, are elected annual presidents.

7. The countess of Strathmore, lady of Andrew Robinson Bowes, esq. exhibited articles of the peace in the court of King's Bench against her husband, for ill treatment of her person: her ladyship desired to have the protection of one of the tipstaves to her house, which was complied with.

8. Monday a complaint, upon affidavit, was exhibited in the court of King's Bench, against several persons, prisoners in the prison of that court. The case was as follows: a clerk to an attorney went into the prison to serve a mandamus on the mayor of a borough confined there. A young gentleman, also a prisoner, being in the mayor's room, thinking it was the service of a writ, gave an alarm, and the lawyer was immediately brought down to the tap-room, where a court was held for his trial, and a chief-justice, clerk of the arraigns, and other officers, appeared in their insignia. The lawyer being convicted, judgment was passed, that he should be pumped, then steeped in the urine reservoir, and afterwards pumped clean, or else pay the sum of thirteen and four-pence for beer.

—The

—The lawyer having but ten shillings about him, the young gentleman who was informer, lent him the remainder, and he was dismissed with hooting and jostling. The court took up this business in a very serious light, and made an order, that the prisoners complained against should answer the complaint by affidavits.

*Extract of a letter from Leeds, February 8.*

“A few days ago was married, at Newcastle, Mr. Silvertop, to Mrs. Pearson:—this is the third time the lady has been before the altar in the character of bride, and there has been something remarkable in each of her three connubial engagements. Her first husband was a Quaker, her second a Roman Catholic, and her third is of the established church. Every husband was twice her own age; at 16 she married a gentleman of 32; at 30 she took one of 60; and now, at 42, she is united to a gentleman of 84.”

11. Was argued in the court of King's Bench, the great question whether the insurance-offices had a right to recover of the inhabitants of this city about 22,000*l.* which they paid to Mr. Langdale, and other sufferers, during the late riots. It was decided in favour of the city.

10. Monday night, about eight o'clock, a man knocked at the door of Mrs. Abercrombie, in Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, calling out “post,” at the same time, with a very loud voice; the maid servant immediately opened it, and the man, accompanied by six others, armed with swords and pistols, rushed into the house, and threatened the girl with the most horrid punishment if she spoke a word. They then went into the parlour where her mistress was sitting alone, and

took from her all her jewels, to a very considerable amount, between fifty and sixty guineas in money, and all the clothes and linen they could get. While they were thus employed, the girl got out of the house by a back door, and gave the alarm to the neighbourhood, which prevented their taking the plate also, which they had begun to pack up. A great crowd immediately assembled about the house, and the ruffians sallied forth, with dreadful menaces, waving their swords, and directing their pistols at the mob, who tamely suffered them to escape without making the least resistance. Mrs. Abercrombie is wife to the captain of one of the East India company's ships, now on its voyage to China.

11. Eleven resolutions, respecting a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, agreed to by the Irish house of commons. *See Public Papers.*

—Yesterday major Archibald Browne was brought into the court of King's Bench to receive judgment, for sending a challenge to a gentleman, whose name is Archer; the court ordered him to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, to be imprisoned six months, and to find security for his good behaviour for five years.

—Articles of peace were exhibited in the court of King's Bench against William Grenville Hoar, esq. on the prosecution of a Mr. Smith, for sending him a challenge, which he refused to accept, but claimed the protection of the court. Their lordships declared their abhorrence of duelling, and that they were determined to make examples of those who under false notions of honour think fit to break the peace. An attachment was granted accordingly.

*Extra.*

*Extract of a letter from Dublin, Feb. 5.*

"This day, Mr. Magee, proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post, was brought to the King's Bench, in custody of the high sheriffs.—The judgment of the bench was delivered by lord Earlsfort, for publishing some paragraphs in said print, Nov. 9, 1784, which were pronounced and declared a contempt of that court. The sentence was one month's imprisonment, and a fine of 5l. with security for good behaviour for three years."

12. Thursday the directors of the East India company gave a very splendid and elegant entertainment to his excellency the French ambassador at the London Tavern: the dinner consisted of all the delicacies of the season, served up in three courses, with a profusion of wines. The number of persons who sat down to table were above forty, consisting of twenty-one of the directors, the ambassador, his secretary, the French consul, four principal merchants of the city, and some foreign nobility.

14. A remarkable cause was tried in the court of Common Pleas. A man had promised marriage to a woman, and gone from his word. A Bible was produced, wherein an entry was made as follows: "I promise to make — my ~~un~~lawful wife for 12 months, or forfeit one hundred pounds." It was proved that the parties lived together three years, during which time the plaintiff had two children by the defendant; therefore, the jury gave 300l. damages to the plaintiff.

15. A dreadful fire at Weyhill fair, which consumed upwards of three hundred bags of Farnham hops, &c. &c.

— A letter from Paris, dated the 5th instant, has the following article, the substance of which has

also appeared in the Paris Gazette: a short time since four men, who obtained a living by shewing wild beasts about the country, meeting a traveller with his wife and child in the forest of Orleans, after robbing them of their property, cruelly murdered them, and having stripped off their cloaths, gave the bodies of these victims of their barbarity to be devoured by their beasts. The inhuman wretches are apprehended; and in a sack in their possession were found the man's head, and one of the thighs of the woman.

17. On Monday evening the court of delegates decreed in the cause between Dr. Hind and Mr. Martyn the late rector and curate of St. Anne, Westminster. The subject of the appeal was the sentence of the ecclesiastical court in a libel of office promoted against Mr. Martyn by Dr. Hind in the year 1776, charging him with drunkenness, immorality, and neglect of duty; and also with preaching, reading prayers, and solemnizing marriages in defiance of him. All the charges, excepting that of defiance, were adjudged by the ecclesiastical court to be void of proof; and they appeared, as well from the evidence of Dr. Hind's witnesses, as on the testimony of many gentlemen of rank who appeared in behalf of Mr. Martyn, to have no shadow of foundation. Dr. Wynne, the judge of the Consistory Court of London, decreed, notwithstanding, on hearing the cause in 1779, that Mr. Martyn "ought to be removed from the curacy of St. Anne," and condemned him in costs; which, in that court only, amounted to near four hundred pounds. From this sentence Mr. Martyn appealed, and being heard personally before Dr. Calvert, the judge

judge of the Arches Courts of Canterbury, in 1781, the sentence of the Consistory Court was affirmed, and the costs nearly doubled by the expence of the appeal. The last resort was the Delegates, to whom an appeal was immediately entered, the hearing of which commenced on the 31st of January, and a final decree was given on Monday last; when the Judges Delegates pronounced for the appeal, and annulled the sentence of the ecclesiastical courts; by which Mr. Martyn is delivered from a prosecution as unjust and oppressive as ever appeared before a court. Mr. Martyn, who pleaded for himself, received every indulgence from the court which humanity could shew to an injured man; and was opposed by Dr. Hind's counsel with that candour and liberality which always do credit to an advocate; but which, in the present case, did particular honour to their feelings.

18. This day came on, in the court of Common Pleas, before lord Loughborough, and a special jury of Middlesex, the long contested cause between Richard Arkwright, of Cromford, in the county of Derby, esq. and Peter Nightingale, of Lea, in the same county, esq. to ascertain Mr. Arkwright's exclusive right to his patent for preparing cotton for spinning; when, after a hearing of nine hours, the jury brought in a verdict for Mr. Arkwright. *But see June 27.*

21. Friday a remarkable indictment against a surgeon and the late master of Shoreditch workhouse, for a conspiracy in conveying dead bodies from the workhouse to the surgeons for dissection, was tried before lord Mansfield, at Westminster-hall, when both the defendants were found guilty. *See May 7.*

22. On Monday was tried in the

court of Common Pleas, before lord Loughborough, an action brought by Mr. Rowley, a coachmaker, against Mr. Sabin, the proprietor of the Croydon stage. The plaintiff and his wife were outside passengers on the Croydon stage on the 12th of September last, when the coachman instead of stopping at the Swan, at Charing-cross, drove past it, and, in endeavouring to turn round, overturned the coach, by which the plaintiff's wife's foot was so much bruised that it was obliged to be taken off, and she has been ever since confined in the hospital—the coach was very much loaded.—A verdict was given for the plaintiff, with 100l. damages and costs. Lord Loughborough made the following remark during this cause, which is highly worthy the attention of coachmasters in general, viz. that if an accident happened by the overloading the coach, the master of such coach will be liable to the damages, he overloading the coach for his own emolument.

— On Friday the captain of a frigate was ordered by the court of Common Pleas to pay a poor Frenchman 60l. and costs of suit, for sending him on shore on a desolate island, under the idea of leaving him there, and afterwards giving him two dozen lashes, contrary to the rules of the navy.

25. The recorder made his report of the convicts sentenced to death in January sessions (*see Jan. 17*), when Edward Payne, John Price, John Brown, Samuel Davis, and William Hurt, were ordered for execution, on the 3d of March.

— This day was tried at Guildhall, before a special jury, a cause wherein Mr. James (son of the late Dr. James) and Mr. Newbery the vender of Dr. James's powder) and

one of the doctor's executors) were plaintiffs; and Mr. William Bartlett, wholesale druggist, in Throgmorton-street, was the defendant. The action was brought against Mr. Bartlett for selling Dr. James's powder in packets similar to those sold by Mr. Newbery, and on which Mr. Newbery's signature was forged, his seal counterfeited, and his printed bill of directions imitated. The fact being clearly proved, the jury gave Messrs. James and Newbery 300*l.* damages, with costs of suit.

28. Thursday came on to be tried before lord Loughborough, by a special jury of merchants, a cause of great importance to his majesty's navy, wherein John Murray, esq. a planter in Georgia was plaintiff, and James Reid, esq. commander of a detachment of his majesty's ships of war from sir Peter Parker's squadron, in Savannah, was defendant. The action was brought to recover satisfaction for maliciously seducing, harbouring, and detaining the plaintiff's Negroes from Savannah; when it came out by the plaintiff's evidence, that the defendant, instead of being chargeable with any improper conduct, deserved the thanks of the plaintiff for protecting, preserving, and sending the plaintiff's Negroes (who had fled to the defendant's ship for protection from the hands of the rebels) to St. Augustine, a loyal settlement; and his lordship, after very long arguments on the part of the counsel on both sides, gave his opinion on the case decidedly against the action, and particularly observing the defendant's conduct was perfectly just, upright, and proper, comparing it to a person assisting his neighbour whose house was on fire, in conveying his effects to a place of safe-

1785.

ty; and the plaintiff was thereupon nonsuited.—There was another action brought by the plaintiff against the defendant for the value of the Negroes, but in consequence of the opinion above stated, he withdrew his record.

— On Tuesday died, at Broadway Farm, near Great Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, the person distinguished by the appellation of Peter the Wild Boy, who was picked up in a wood in Germany, in the latter end of the reign of George the First, while the king was hunting, and by that monarch sent over to England, where he has remained ever since.

*Extract of a letter from Reading, Feb. 27.*

“ Friday last the coroner's inquest sat on the body of a person that was shot by the guard near Hounslow, and from the evidence of several persons present, it appearing that he attempted to stop the coach with no other view than to ride, brought in their verdict Wilful Murder. In consequence of which the guard was committed to Aylesbury gaol, to take his trial for the same. There was another person in company with the deceased at the time he was shot.”

### M A R C H.

31. The five convicts reported by the recorder on the 25th ult. and ordered for execution this day, suffered accordingly. Price declared in the most solemn manner, after he was ordered for execution, and on the scaffold, that he and another man, now in custody, were the persons who robbed Mr. alderman Kitchen, about two years ago, on the highway, near Hornsey, for which Peter Airey and — Davies were capitally convicted, but received

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ceived a respite, and were a short time ago transported to the British settlements in Africa. And, previous to his execution, William Hurt confessed to the ordinary of Newgate, the rev. Mr. Vilette, and to Mr. Akerman, the keeper, that he and another man now confined in a county gaol, were the persons that robbed sir Thomas Davenport and his lady in October last; for which Thomas Wood and George Brown were tried, and acquitted, at the December sessions. *See Vol. V. p. 102.*

5. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 23d of February, ended this day, when 33 convicts received sentence of death, viz. Peter Newbury and William Iverfon, for assaulting John Locket, a Chelsea pensioner, in the Five Fields, Chelsea, beating and wounding him, and robbing him of one guinea and a pension ticket; Joseph Hitchcock, alias Church, John Miles, and James Gray, for stealing on board the ship Elbe, Joel Goddard, in the river Thames, 3 casks and two boxes, containing 10,000 dollars and 40 watches [*see Jan. 17.*]; John Lucas, John Waters, and Richard Summers, alias Smith, for burglariously breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Thomas Knott, in King-street, Covent-Garden, and stealing a large quantity of black and white lace, ribbon, and other things, value 700l. and upwards; James Lapiere, Henry Jackson, James Corwan, Henry Murphy, Jasper Robins, Robert Roberts, and Wm. Bland, for divers burglaries; Tho. Ives, for horse-stealing; Joseph Meads, for sheep-stealing; Benj. Stokes, for stealing two bullocks; William Weston, for a highway robbery; James Wiggan and James Russel, for footpad robberies; James Coyle,

John Oliver, and John Johnson, alias Bandy, for street robberies; Elizabeth Chapman, Anne Mott, and Rose Fitzpatrick, for privately stealing; Charles Peyton, Robert Mott, and Thomas West, for returning from transportation; Michael Johnson, alias Mac Mahon, for forging a seaman's will; and Holland Palmer, alias Farmer, and Anne Jones, who in December session were convicted of feloniously uttering and vending certain forged receipts for payment of money, with certain stamps thereon, resembling the stamp provided by the late act.

In the course of this session came on the trial of Jacques Phillippe Hardy, secretary to the count de Mirabeau, for stealing several of his master's effects, part here, and part in France. The trial having proceeded to some length, and there appearing no sufficient evidence on which to convict the prisoner, Mr. justice Buller recommended it to the counsel for the prosecution to drop it. This was agreed to by the count, provided his motives for commencing it might be permitted to be explained to the court, and to the public; to which no opposition was made. It appeared, that the count had received his trunk almost empty from Paris, and that among the articles missing were some confidential papers that had been entrusted to the prisoner: that, in hopes of recovering those papers, sir Gilbert Elliot had advised the count, to apply for a warrant to apprehend his secretary; but this not having the desired effect (the warrant not having been executed till more than ten days after it had been issued), sir Gilbert, to clear the count of any malicious intention, advised the carrying the affair into court, which he was now ready



ready to drop, at the recommendation of the bench. Judge Buller then directed the jury to acquit the prisoner, at the same time allowing the propriety of the prosecution on the grounds on which it was undertaken; which however did not, in his opinion, affect the character of the prisoner.

On the trial of Hitchcock, Miles, and Gray, it appeared in evidence, that the prisoners, with four others, having obtained information that a large quantity of dollars and watches were sent on board the brig, agreed together to steal the same, and accordingly proceeded on their purpose on the 6th of October last, between six and seven in the evening. They took a boat on the Middlesex side of the Thames, and crossed the water, after which they returned in another boat off New Crane, where the ship lay. To disguise themselves, they blacked their faces with soot. Three of them first went into the cabin, where a boy was, who went and told two revenue officers and another person what had happened, and then, actuated by fear, concealed himself. The other parties on board had a short scuffle with the depredators, but were soon overpowered by the superiority of their numbers, and after the robbers had effected their purpose, fastened down below the hatches. The Jews, to whom they sold some of the dollars, gave them three shillings, and for some three shillings and ninepence per piece.

— On Thursday came on at Guildhall, before the earl of Mansfield, the trial of an indictment against a person in Hertfordshire, for contracting with, enticing, and endeavouring to seduce several curriers to leave this kingdom, in order to carry on that trade at a ma-

nufactory at Pontaudemer in Normandy; when upon hearing the testimony of only one witness on behalf of the prosecution, the jury found the defendant guilty. *See Jan. 22, and May 5.*

— The chairman of the East India company had a conference on Saturday with Mr. Pitt, at his house in Downing-street, concerning the Ganges East Indiaman, captain R. Dempster, which was seized at Tarbut, near Limerick, in Ireland. Captain Dempster had arrived within soundings from India, with fair wind and weather, when the wind suddenly veered about to the south-east, and came on with squalls, snow, &c. which obliged him to bear away for Ireland. They made the mouth of the Shannon, and went in. The people of the ship, as usual, began to make every effort for disposing of their little ventures; but being in some measure too open, and a dispute happening between the sailors and the revenue officers, the surveyor of the customs at Limerick issued an order, and officers were sent on board, who put the king's broad arrow upon the ship and cargo. The commander immediately dispatched an express to the directors of the India company, who laid the matter before government, and an order has been sent to discharge the ship: but as the Irish are now perfectly independent, and governed by their own laws, the forms of the courts of law in that kingdom must be gone through.

— The following are the particulars of the final sentence against Charles Clutterbuck, late a clerk in the Bank:—about four months ago, he was tried in France, for a felony in defrauding the Bank; but there appeared a flaw in the indictment.

indictment—calling the *Bank of England* (its common and mercantile title), the *Bank Royal*. The indictment, after many hours argument, was set aside for the present, to be finally referred to the king. The king accordingly sat in judgment upon the referred case; and as it is, an etiquette in the French laws, to annex a degree of extension to the king's decisions in situations of this nature—his sentence, which would have been death, had he been found guilty in the first court, is altered to a condemnation to the galleys for life. This tedious and complicated affair has cost the Bank of England double the sum they were defrauded of: however, they have so far gained their point, in making an example of a man who was guilty of a breach of public confidence.

— The court-martial, which was lately appointed to try general Ross, on account of a disagreement between him and sir Robert Boyd, met yesterday at the Horse Guards, pursuant to their adjournment. General Ross was called in, when lord Townshend, the president, informed him, that the court had adjourned formerly to ask the opinion of the twelve judges, respecting the competency of their jurisdiction to try him; that they had received a letter from the chief baron, saying, that the judges were gone their circuits, and would not be reassembled, till the next term, the 13th of April. The court, therefore, adjourned sine die, and informed the general, that he would have notice from the judge advocate, when his appearance was again wanted.

6. A few days ago died, at Stepney, an apparently poor old man, who used to hawk quills about the streets; but who hath bequeathed

by his will, which is dated about fourteen months back, the following legacies, viz. to the Religious Society at the rev. Mr. Brewer's Meeting, near Stepney church, 10,000l.; to ten nephews and nieces 10l. per annum for life; and to a female acquaintance, with whom he had been long intimate, and who had assisted him with her kind offices, 20s. per week, to be paid every Saturday morning: all which is to go to the above religious society as the lives of the several legatees drop off.

7. On Wednesday came on before the lord chief baron, in the court of Exchequer, a cause instituted by the commissioners of the Stamp-office, against Mr. Newbery, of St. Paul's church-yard, for selling medicines without a licence. From the very liberal manner in which the cause was opened by the solicitor-general, it was evident that this prosecution was commenced, solely with a view to have the right construction of the medicine act fairly determined. A witness being called to prove that he had purchased several medicines at the defendant's, and among them Dr. James's Analeptic pills, which is a patent medicine, the solicitor-general contended, that though Mr. Newbery had kept a shop for three years before the passing of the act, for the sale of medicines only, yet by having sold a patent medicine, he was thrown out of the exception, and must therefore take out a licence. Mr. Cowper, counsel for the defendant, argued that from the ambiguity in which the act was involved, it was difficult to draw from it any clear sense or meaning; but whatever was the sense of the particular clause in question, he could not understand, that it could be applied so as to affect Mr. Newbery's case.

case. From a general view of the act, the intention of the legislature, he observed, was to impose a duty upon patent medicines, and to restrain booksellers, perfumers, and other shopkeepers, from selling medicines without a licence and stamps; but that the general dealers in drugs or medicines should be exempted. This seemed to be the spirit of the act; but if the literal construction of it was resorted to, he shewed that his client had a good claim to exemption even upon that ground. Mr. Cowper's arguments were much approved of, and appeared to be founded on a fair and reasonable interpretation of the act; but as the question was of nice import, a special verdict was agreed upon, in order that the opinion of the court might be taken.

This cause was followed by another upon similar grounds, with Messrs. Dicey and Co. of Bow church-yard, which was also referred to be argued before the court.

After this, a cause was tried with Messrs. Wrays of Birchin-lane, for selling medicines without a licence, and it being proved that they had dealt in articles of perfumery as well as medicines, the jury found a verdict against them.

— Monday evening about eight o'clock, the same atrocious expedient, which was lately so successfully practised at the house of Mrs. Abercrombie, in Charlotte-street, was repeated at colonel Arabin's, in Gresse-street, in the same neighbourhood. A man knocked at the colonel's door, which the footman did not open, but was asked who it was, and was told it was the taylor, upon which the man opened the door, and five men immediately entered, whose faces were disguised, and who were armed with the usual

instruments of violence. They threw a cloth over the face of the footman, pinioned him, two female servants, and the colonel's lady, after which they proceeded to rifle the house of plate, jewels, money, and linen, to the value of near 2000l. See Feb. 10.

*Extract of a letter from Salisbury, March 7.*

“ A very dreadful instance of the deleterious effects of the fumes of lighted charcoal presented itself on Tuesday morning in the house of Mr. Seymour, baker, in Castle-street. Mrs. Seymour had been some time in a declining state, and on Monday night her two sisters and a nurse sat up with her; in the morning Mr. Seymour's maid-servant went into the room, and found them lying in different parts, and going to her master, reported them to be asleep; he immediately went into the room, when, to his inexpressible horror, he found his wife, one of her sisters, and the nurse dead, and the other scarcely sensible. Medical assistance was instantly procured, but too late to recover any, save the last person, who is now out of danger, and says, that about twelve o'clock at night, finding themselves very cold, and there being no fire-place in the room, they lighted some charcoal in a pan, and when the smoke was gone off, brought it into the room; that after this she lay down by Mrs. Seymour, but observing her other sister and the nurse appear as if fainting, and finding the room very hot, she got up, and carried out the pan of fire, and returned to assist her sister, but in going to her fell backwards. After this she at intervals again attempted to go to her, but as often failed; which is the only account she can give of this melancholy event.”

*Edinburgh, March 9.* The silver plate taken in April, 1778, by the crew of the Ranger American privateer, then commanded by Paul Jones, from the earl of Selkirk, was last week sent back to his lordship by Paul Jones, carriage paid.

*Paris, March 18.* The 11th instant, about eight o'clock in the evening, the sieur Mechain, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, discovered a new comet in the constellation Andromeda, which is not yet perceptible to the naked eye. At 26 minutes after eight the altitude of this comet was 7 degrees, 8 minutes; and its northern declination 26 degrees, 35 minutes.

25. Count Zambeccari and admiral sir Edward Vernon made an aerial trip from Tottenham-Court Road, to a ploughed field, about 3 miles beyond King's-field, near Horsham in Sussex, distant from London 35 miles, which they sailed in less than an hour. This was by far the most hazardous voyage that has yet been made. At first setting out, the wind tore away the lower part of the netting, and broke the glass at the lower part of the machine through which the string of the valve passed, in consequence of which, a piece of silk was hastily applied to stop the aperture, and the string in the hurry left in the inside, by which they were deprived of the means of descending at pleasure. When they were far above the clouds, three of the strings that attached the boat to the balloon gave way almost at once, by which it is not to be wondered that they were desirous to change their element; but all means of descending seemed out of their power, till the count thought of cutting the filken tubes, which fortunately gave the necessary exit to the inflammable air; but not before the balloon had

mounted so high, that the clouds appeared at a great distance below, and the sun shone very bright; at the same time the quicksilver in the barometer fell suddenly to 28:8, whereas on earth it stood at 30:4: the distance, to which the balloon had reached, nearly two miles in perpendicular height. In descending, they passed through a dense cloud which covered them with snow, and felt very cold; but their motion being very rapid, they soon arrived safe. The observations they made were, that the balloon kept perpetually turning round its vertical axis, sometimes so rapidly as to make each revolution in 4 or 5 seconds; that a peculiar noise was heard like rustling among the clouds; and that in their descent the air was cold, and the balloon much agitated.

26. Yesterday at five o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out, in the house of earl Spencer, at Wimbledon, which, for want of water, entirely destroyed the house, and the most valuable part of the furniture, pictures, &c.

30. On Wednesday night a fire broke out at the house of Mr. Ward, at Rhos-Fawr, near Llanfair, Montgomeryshire, when all the family were in profound sleep. A tenant lived in one part of the house, whose servant maid was first alarmed by the flames, just time enough to wake her mistress, who was sick, and whom she carried upon her back out of the house. Before she could alarm her master, or Mr. and Mrs. Ward, the whole building was in a blaze, which was entirely consumed to ashes, together with the owners and tenant. Mr. and Mrs. Ward were far advanced in years, and the tenant, who perished with them, is supposed to have been suffocated in his sleep.

APRIL,

## A P R I L.

1. Mr. and Mrs. Gorton, of St. James's Palace, going to Streatham, were stopped by two highwaymen, near the four-mile stone from Westminster-bridge. They took from Mr. Gorton eleven guineas: they afterwards went to Mrs. Gorton, and in attempting to rifle her, she seized the pistol which one of them held to her, and the man, not being able to extricate it from her, fired it at her, and then rode off full speed. The ball went through Mrs. Gorton's great coat, close to her breast, and fortunately between her and Mr. Gorton, without doing any farther damage than greatly alarming them both; each thinking the other was shot.

— Wednesday night Lucas and Waters, two convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, broke out of their cells, by digging through the floor. They got into the common sewer, where they wandered all night, and yesterday morning came to the grate, facing the door, where, calling for assistance, they were pulled out with ropes, and secured in Newgate.

*Leyden, March 29.* They write from Carlsbourg, that on the 27th of last month Nicola Ursz, surnamed Horiah, and Ivan Klotscha, the Wallachian rebel chiefs, were executed before the gate of that city, by being broken alive on the wheel, and that their bodies being quartered, the parts thereof are ordered to be exposed in the places where their greatest cruelties were committed. The letters add, that the province is restored to perfect tranquillity. *See Feb. 1.*

*Constantinople, Feb. 5.* The printing-office, opened here by the solicitations of the grand vizir, is now employed on several works, at the

expence of the government: one of the most important is the History of the Ottoman Empire, by order of the grand signior; when this edition is completed, a copy of it will be delivered to every member of the Divan, and to the governors and bashaws.

*Naples, March 8.* All our neighbouring mountains are deeply covered with snow, and that of Somma affords a very singular spectacle, consisting of the burning lava issuing from the mountain, and melting the snow it encounters; in many parts torrents of fire and water are seen intersecting each other in a variety of directions amidst the white and glittering congelations with which the face of the country is overspread.

2. This day, about one o'clock, a fire broke out in the large room at Spring-gardens, Charing-cross, formerly known by the name of Cox's Museum, but at this time taken by a man who was exhibiting Windsor cattle cut in cork, and Mount Vesuvius: the person was shewing the burning mountain to a company; in throwing up the lighted rosin, some of it fell upon a large quantity of combustible matter, which, through forgetfulness, had not been put into its proper place, and in an instant set the building on fire, the whole of which was consumed, with two adjacent houses.

*Petersburgh, Feb. 22.* On the 6th ult. the festival of the Benediction of the Waters, we had an example of toleration which does honour to the age. The empress's confessor, the prelate Iwen Pamsito, gave a grand dinner to the ecclesiastics of all the religions at Petersburgh. Among those invited were the Russian archbishop of Polocz, the patriarch of Guinia, se-



veral Russian archmandrites, a bishop, a prior, and several other Roman Catholic Priests, six Lutheran preachers, and those of the English, French, Dutch, and German Protestant churches.

4. On Saturday, at the quarter-sessions for Westminster, Richard Cope (a soldier in the guards) was tried for assaulting and imprisoning a gentleman, of great eminence, fortune, and honour, in Lincoln's-inn, detaining him in a place, called the Black-hole, without fire or candle, all night, of the 7th of December last, and charging him with an unnatural crime, in order to extort money from him, when the defendant was found guilty, to the great satisfaction of a crowded court, and sentenced to be imprisoned in Tothill-fields Bridewell, five years, and to stand in the pillory, at Charing-cross, five times, viz. once in every year.

5. On Monday was executed at Leicester, Abraham Shaw, for a burglary. He was only 23 years of age. His behaviour was remarkably hardened and impenitent. On the morning of his execution, being asked if he had any thing to say before he left this world? he said No; he only wished that where there was one robbery committed there might be a thousand; which with great earnestness he repeated, "a thousand! a thousand!"—He sung several verses of lewd songs before he left the gaol the same morning, and declared he would do the same at the place of execution; but notwithstanding this affected boldness, before he was turned off his mock-courage forsook him, and he was evidently much convulsed, in which state he was launched into eternity.

6. On Friday Robert Carpenter, some time ago a navy-agent at

Portsmouth, was executed at Winchester gallows, for forging seamen's wills and powers, in order to defraud them of their wages. He is said to have left a fortune of upwards of 7000l. behind him, besides a house superbly furnished at Portsmouth, which, it is said, the sheriff seized on his condemnation. He has left a wife, a very genteel woman, and three children, unprovided for. He died very penitently in sight of a vast number of spectators, many of whom shed tears upon the melancholy occasion. He formerly belonged to Drury-lane theatre, and was the clown in the pantomimes.

7. On Tuesday, George Peters, esq. was chosen governor, and Edward Darell, esq. deputy governor of the Bank of England. And yesterday the following gentlemen were chosen directors, viz.

Samuel Beachcroft, esq.

Daniel Booth, esq.

Thomas Boddington, esq.

Lyde Browne, esq.

Thomas Dea, esq.

William Ewer, esq.

Peter Gaussen, esq.

Daniel Gilcs, esq.

William Halhead, esq.

John Harrison, esq.

Beeston Long, esq.

Job Mathew, esq.

James Maude, esq.

Richard Neave, esq.

Joseph Nutt, esq.

Isaac Osborne, esq.

Edward Payne, esq.

Christopher Puller, esq.

Thomas Raikes, esq.

William Snell, esq.

Samuel Thornton, esq.

Brook Watson, esq. and alderm.

Mark Weyland, esq.

Benjamin Winthrop, esq.

*St. Jago de la Vega, December 10, 1784.* On Monday Maurice Keating



ing was executed near Port Royal, for piracy and murder, and afterwards hung in chains. The night before his execution he most solemnly declared, that the following outlines of the latter part of his life were strictly true:—That he had been a volunteer in the king's army in America, and afterwards a lieutenant in Arnold's regiment, when that officer joined the British; that he had been in nine actions, and employed by general Clinton in three different messages to lord Cornwallis, when besieged in York-town, Virginia; that, on the conclusion of the peace, Arnold's regiment being disbanded, he was discharged without half-pay, or any other provision. He then made a voyage to Santa Cruz, where he had a brother, who trusted him with a very considerable venture for America, which was unfortunately lost with the vessel within sight of New London, where he arrived with nothing but the clothes on his back. From New London he found means to get to Norfolk, in Virginia, where he became acquainted with Benj. Johnson, Jos. Twentyman, and one Hughes, with whom he had several meetings; at one of which it was proposed by Hughes to procure a passage on board the schooner *Friendship*, commanded by William Lewis, and bound to St. Thomas's; to seize upon the said schooner when opportunity offered; to murder all belonging to her; and to sell the ship and cargo. This bloody project, in the evening of the 9th day after their departure, they carried into execution. Keating, Twentyman, and Hughes, went up to Mr. Chadwick at the helm, and, presenting a loaded pistol to his head, swore if he spoke a word they would shoot him dead; they then bound and gagged him. Twenty-

man took the helm, and the others secured the men upon the watch, all of whom Hughes proposed instantly to throw over-board. This done, Johnson and Hughes went into the cabin, and seizing the captain first, made him secure, and then attacked Mr. Wilkin-son, a passenger, who made resistance, and could not easily be overpowered; but, at length, by stabbing him in several parts of his body, and chopping off his fingers as he grasped the shrouds, they completed their horrid purpose. William Price, Ch. Brown, and a Negro-man and boy, who were asleep, they easily subdued; and, after swearing them on a book to be true, kept them alive to work the ship. Chadwick refused to join them, and him they threw over-board without resistance. Twentyman assumed the command of the vessel, as the only man who could direct her course; and, after thirty days sail, coming in sight of Antigua, Hughes having rendered himself suspected, Twentyman ordered him to be thrown overboard, which was the more readily obeyed, as he had some days before dispatched the Negro-man in the same way. Antigua being in sight, there was now but little time to deliberate; and it was, on consultation, their unanimous opinion to make for a French port rather than an English port, to dispose of the ship and cargo. Port Louis was therefore made choice of for that purpose, and Guadaloupe was the island to which Twentyman steered. Here Keating assumed the character of a merchant, and would have succeeded in the sale, had not Ch. Brown found means to escape; which so alarmed the pirates, that they instantly sailed to St. Martin's, where they disposed of a small  
part

part of their cargo, took two or three Mulattoes on board to work the ship, and steered for Hispaniola; where Keating, disposing of all the cargo, escaped from his companions, and got to Port Royal, in Jamaica, Dec. 8, 1784, in a very bad state of health. Here he took lodgings at Mrs. Dubois's, where he grew worse, and sent for a physician, who, talking on various subjects, discovered that his illness did not proceed so much from a bodily complaint, as from a disordered mind. Among other questions he put to the physician, he asked, "if some pirates had not lately been apprehended there?" He was answered in the affirmative, and, "that they were the most bloody and abandoned villains that had ever appeared upon record."—"My God! (cried he) what a pain have I in my head, and deadly sickness at my heart! Send for a barber instantly, or I shall be distracted!" The physician now suspected the real cause, and Keating having been advertised, he had recourse to the news-papers; his patient answering the description, a warrant was obtained; and, on apprehending him, he did not hesitate to acknowledge his guilt, though he was unwilling to disgrace his family. It has since been found that he was born at Munster, and of no mean extraction.—On his trial he pleaded not guilty; but he was condemned upon his own confession, notwithstanding his counsel objected to the admissibility of it. Twentyman and Johnson had likewise been apprehended; but not having signed their examinations, their trials were postponed. Twentyman soon after died in gaol.

*Extract of a letter from Whitehill, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, Dec. 30, 1784.*

"A dreadful tragedy was lately

acted at Windsor estate in this parish. One of Mr. Stirling's new Negroes set fire to six Negro houses, which were burnt to ashes, murdered three black children, and wounded seven others, together with two old women, without having received the smallest provocation. After this he pursued one of the book-keepers, who very narrowly escaped, by picking up a large stone that lay in his way while running from the murderer, and throwing it with great violence at him, which brought him to the ground, when he was immediately secured. The wretch was only three feet from the book-keeper, and had the instrument of his bloody deeds uplifted, when he was knocked down. He was brought to a summary trial at Lacovia, and sentenced to be burnt alive; which was carried into execution on Thursday last; and he sustained the fiery trial with amazing indifference. He declared upon his examination, that he panted after the life of his master, Samuel Mure, esq. or any other white man, and that he had formerly murdered several people of his own colour both on the coast of Guinea, and on board the ship which transported him hither."

*Kingston, Jamaica, Jan. 8.* Information having been received that Hector Mac Millan and David Mac Neil, who lately murdered Mr. George Deares, were on board a small vessel in Cow Bay, Mr. Coakley, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Ryal, and Mr. Thomas Deares, friends of the deceased, immediately resolved to take them. When they came alongside the vessel, Coakley jumped on board, and took Mac Millan prisoner without resistance. Mac Neil retreating to the cabin, was pursued by Lambert and Ryal, the former of whom summoned him to surrender, which

which he resolutely refused. Ryal rushed into the cabin with a loaded pistol, and unadvisedly discharging it at Mac Neil, without effect, the latter returned the fire, and lodged the whole contents of his pistol in Ryal's breast. Mr. Lambert then forced his way into the cabin, and closing with Mac Neil, from whom he took a second loaded pistol, threw him upon his back, and, with assistance, secured him with a rope, and dragged him upon deck. Immediately after Mac Neil was brought out of the cabin, Ryal shewed him his bleeding bosom, and said, with a most affecting manner, "See what you have done, but I forgive you:" he then instantly expired.

9. On Saturday last was executed at Norwich, William Newland, for uttering forged notes, purporting to be the notes of the governor and company of the bank of England. He was tried at the summer assizes, and convicted upon the clearest evidence; but a doubt arising as to the finding of the bill by the grand jury, he did not receive sentence, till the opinion of the judges was taken. The prisoner was the person who went to Yarmouth with the forged notes, and employed the people to go to Ostend and Bruges, where they were detected. Fortunately for the public, the first note offered was detected; and the magistrates at Bruges, highly to their honour, delivered up to the solicitor for the bank the parties detained there, and all the notes; in consequence of which, the prisoner was convicted.

This morning a fire broke out in the house of Edwin Francis Stanhope, esq. in Curzon-street, Mayfair, and raged with such violence, that not a single article of plate, jewels, or furniture, could be saved. Lady Stanhope's life was with dif-

ficulty saved, she being taken out of bed by her servants wrapped up in a blanket. On strict enquiry into the cause, suspicion fell upon Peter Shaw, one of her ladyship's footmen. It came out, on examination, that he had lived with Mr. Stanhope but three weeks, and had robbed him of medals, watches, rings, and jewels, to a considerable amount, some of which he had sold to a jeweller in Westminster. He confessed the robbery, but denied his having set fire to the house.

The same evening a fire broke out at a subscription house in St. James's street, adjoining to the Thatched-house tavern, and entirely consumed the same before any water could be got to extinguish the flames. The Thatched-house tavern was much damaged, and narrowly escaped the same fate. As the fire burnt fiercely backwards, the clerks at the secretary of state's office in Cleveland-row secured the papers of consequence; but happily the engines soon extinguished the flames. The fire begun in the upper part of the house, either by the negligence or malice of a servant boy.

11. At a court of directors of the East India company, "Resolved unanimously, that, in consideration of the steady exertions of George Leonard Staunton, esq. and the abilities he displayed in the trusts reposed in him by the select committee of Fort St. George during the government of lord Macartney; and more particularly in the negotiations carried on with the marquis de Bussy and Tippoo Sultan, in all of which he acted without emolument or reward of any kind; Resolved, that Mr. Staunton be allowed 500l. per annum, during his life; to commence from the 12th of March, 1784, being the day on which the peace was signed with Tippoo Sultan;

can; and that he be permitted to proceed to Bengal as secretary to Lord Macartney, on entering into the same covenants as he did formerly in going with his lordship to Fort St. George."

12. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on the sixth instant, ended this day, when the following prisoners received sentence of death; viz. William Harding, James Haywood, James Jones, and Richard Clark, for burglaries; Thomas Scott, Henry Wood, George Ward, Thomas Connor, Thomas Bateman alias Parker, and John Hughes, for divers robberies; Patrick Daley, Stephen Langden, Margaret Gardener, and Sarah Whitehead, for private thefts; George Pidgeon, for horse-stealing; George Mawley, for escaping a second time from the hulks; Thomas Brown, for returning from transportation; John Thompson alias Wrinkle, for entering the dwelling-house of Henry Wells, silversmith, in Thames-street, with a felonious intent to steal his goods; Patrick Egan alias M'Grah, for taking a false oath to obtain the probate of a seaman's will; and John Henry Palmer, and Mary Jones, for forging, and publishing as true, knowing it to be forged, an indenture of apprenticeship, whereby Edward Jones, a child of fourteen, was bound apprentice to one Richard Buckley, and also a receipt, purporting to be the receipt of the said Richard Buckley, for the sum of 20*l*, (the apprentice fee) with intent to defraud the stewards of the society for the benefit of the sons of the clergy.

During this session, William Higson was capitally convicted for the murder of his son, a child of nine years old, by repeated barbarous

treatment; and he was executed accordingly on the 11th.

In the course of this sessions also, the noted George Barrington was tried for stealing a gold watch, in the pit passage of Drury lane theatre, the property of Mr. Bagshaw.

Mr. Bagshaw deposed, that he saw the prisoner near him just before he missed his watch, and immediately on missing it, saw him behind him; he accused him of taking it; to which he replied, "Have I, Sir, your watch?" and held out his hand with the palm downwards. He did not see any thing drop, but at that instant heard a glass break, and stooping down picked up his watch, and secured the prisoner; a person near, whom he suspected as an accomplice, assisted Barrington to make his escape, but he was secured. Another witness heard the watch drop, but could not tell from whom, but no other person was near; and the prosecutor positively said it must drop from Barrington.

The judge called upon Barrington for his defence, who delivered an extempore one, which was much admired by every person present: indeed, the like has not been heard since he was tried last. He vindicated his holding out his arm, which he said was the natural position on such an accusation; and as to the supposed accomplice taking his part, he said, as both himself and the prosecutor were genteelly dressed, on hearing a scuffle, it was not easy to distinguish the supposed offender. He adverted to his former unfortunate situation with great feeling; he hoped the ears and hearts of all present would be as ready to receive impressions in his favour, as they might be to admit those of a contrary nature. "Prejudice, said he, sees

fees through a glass, which makes things appear quite different from what they really are." He concluded with saying, "Gentlemen, I have an implicit confidence in your goodness, and I trust you will not only lay aside all passion and prejudice yourselves, but will be pleased to make a candid allowance for the effects of it in others; that you will proceed with that cautious and tender regard which good men feel when the fate of a fellow-creature is depending; and which will insure satisfaction to your own minds, when words cannot be recalled, and the power of prejudice is no more."

Baron Eyre summed up the evidence in a very able manner; and observed, on the defence, that no one could hear it, without lamenting that a man of such abilities should stand in such a situation: he left it with the jury, saying, if they did acquit him, he hoped a man possessed of such talents would make a good use of them, and that it would be the last time they should see him in that place. The jury conferred a short time, and brought in their verdict, Not guilty.

14. Yesterday came on the election for six directors for the East-India company, at their house in Leadenhall-street. On casting up the poll the numbers were as follow:

|                         |     |
|-------------------------|-----|
| For George Cuming, esq. | 690 |
| John Roberts, esq.      | 690 |
| Lionel Darell, esq.     | 675 |
| Jacob Bosanquet, esq.   | 671 |
| John Townson, esq.      | 629 |
| Thomas Cheap, esq.      | 617 |
| Thomas Fitzhugh, esq.   | 611 |
| John Scott, esq.        | 548 |
| John Travers, esq.      | 460 |
| Robert Mendham, esq.    | 202 |
| Richard Wyatt, esq.     | 61  |

The first six were declared to be duly elected.

*Naples, March 11.* By order of his majesty, four different convents have been suppressed in Cosenza, the capital of Calabria, the revenues of which will be given to the hospital of that city. In the morning of the 12th of this month all the heads and superiors of the religious orders were summoned to the hotel of the duke of Turito, deputy of the royal jurisdiction, where notice was given them of the different amounts of the taxes imposed upon each of the convents, to pay the annual donation of 36,000 ducats, which are to be employed in the maintenance of the new hospital already established for the children of the military.

15. On Wednesday arrived an overland packet from Bengal, which, among other intelligence, brings advice of a duel having been fought at Madras, on the 24th of September, 1784, between lord Macartney and Mr. Sadleir. Their seconds were Mr. Davidson and major Gratton, by whom the distance was marked ten paces. The lot to fire first fell to Mr. Sadleir, who firing accordingly, the ball struck lord Macartney on the ribs of the left-side, which was not known to the seconds till after his lordship had fired without effect. It had been previously agreed between the seconds, after the first fire, if no material execution had been done, to interpose their good offices to effect a reconciliation. This they were about to do, when it was discovered that lord Macartney was wounded. When the previous agreement was told to lord Macartney, and he was asked his sentiments, his answer was, that he came there to give Mr. Sadleir satisfaction, and he was still ready so to



to do. And Mr. Sadleir being told that lord Macartney was wounded, and that in the present circumstances the affair could not honourably be pursued any farther, he acquiesced, and declared he was satisfied. And thus the affair ended.

There has been a mutiny among the black cavalry in the English pay at Arnee, on account of arrears. They have made their officers prisoners.

Six midshipmen, who were taken by M. Suffrein in the captured ships, and sent up to Tippoo, have renounced their religion and country, and voluntarily turned Mahometans: they have married Mahometan women.

On the 4th of June last, a Portuguese ship, called the *Priozo*, laden with some pipes of Madeira, and a very rich cargo from Europe, was totally lost on the Gaspar-sand, at the entrance of the Ganges. The captain, two officers, and forty men, perished for want of assistance, which could only be had from Calcutta. This is the second Portuguese ship lost at the entrance of the Ganges within these two months, laden with Madeira wine. This dangerous navigation is thoroughly known only to the English, which is their great security at Calcutta.

The ship *Bellona*, captain Richardson, is gone on a voyage to Malacca and China, from whence she is to proceed to the S. W. coast of America. This is in pursuance of the plan proposed by the late captain King, in his last voyage with captain Cook.

*Osseid, April 13.* Luke Ryan and Macarthy, the two piratical captains who committed so many depredations on the English east country trade in the last war, and were capitally convicted for their offences at the Old Bailey, after

their enlargement, which was procured by the interference of the first female character in France, returned to Dunkirk, and, to their great surprise, found the bank, in which they had deposited near a hundred thousand pounds of their ill-gotten wealth, was broke, and themselves reduced to poverty. Macarthy embarked, as mate of a ship, soon afterwards, for the West Indies, and perished in a storm off Cape Francois. Ryan is now a waiter at an hotel in this city, and conducts himself with the utmost propriety in that humble station.

23. Yesterday the recorder made his report to his majesty of thirty-one capital convicts in February sessions (*see Mar. 5.*), when the following were ordered for execution on Thursday the 28th, viz. James Wiggan, Joseph Hitchcock, William Iverson, Peter Newbury, Thomas West, James Russel, James Coyle, William Weston, John Oliver, James Cowan, William Bland, John Johnson alias Bandy, Robert Roberts, Michael Johnson alias M'Mahon, Robert Mott, Charles Peyton, John Waters, John Lucas, Richard Summers alias Smith, Holland Palmer alias Farmer, James Grey, and Jasper Robins, were ordered for execution on Thursday next, the 28th instant.

Anne Jones is respited for a fortnight, and the other convicts during his majesty's pleasure.

John Thompson alias Wrinkle, convicted the last session for breaking into the house of Henry Wells, in Thames-street, violently throwing down Mrs. Wells, and other outrage, with intent to rob the house, is ordered to be executed by himself, on Tuesday the 26th.

26. Tuesday the court-martial appointed to try general Ross (respecting a letter written by him, reflecting



reflecting on general Boyd, who had been lately honoured with the vacant red ribband), met agreeable to their adjournment, to receive the opinion of the twelve judges of England on the point submitted to them, viz. Whether general Ross, as an officer on half-pay, was subject to the tribunal of a court-martial? The judges gave an unanimous opinion that he was not, as a half pay officer, subject to military law. They stated their answer on two points, and in both declared it as their opinion, that neither his warrant as a general officer, nor his annuity of half-pay, rendered him obnoxious to military trial. In consequence of this the general was discharged from the custody of the marshal, and the court broke up. The decision of the judges is highly interesting to the people of England. If it had been their opinion, that men discharged from the army on half-pay were liable to be called upon at pleasure, or were subject to trial by military law, and that their half-pay was not only a reward for past services, but a retaining fee for future, then the crown would have been invested with a standing army, which, in any contention with the subject, might be called forth without the authority of parliament.

The grand jury of Lancashire, at the last sessions, presented Samuel Higginson, of Manchester, for having, on the 4th of November preceding, breathed into, blown, and inflated the loin, heart, liver, and lights of a calf then newly slaughtered, to the intent of giving them the appearance of large, fine, and wholesome victuals, by which means the said loin, &c. became corrupt, nasty, fetid, and unwholesome, and unfit and unsafe to be eaten by his majesty's subjects; and for having

afterwards hung up and exposed the same to sale, contrary to the statute in that case made and provided.

*Offend, April 23.* Yesterday the edict against selling, harbouring, and reading of the *Courier de l'Europe*, was published here in the town-house, on a fine of 300 guilders for the first time, 500 for the second time, and banishment for the third time.

27. Yesterday John Thompson was executed pursuant to his sentence. See *April 23*.

29. Yesterday all the malefactors ordered for execution on the 22d instant, suffered pursuant to their sentence, except Peter Newbury, William Imerfon, and John Oliver, who were respited during pleasure.

30. The merchants of Corke, having received information that, from so long a continuance of easterly winds, many homeward-bound vessels from America and the West-Indies were then near that coast, unable to make the land, and in great want of the necessaries of life, did, at their own expence, dispatch a fast-sailing cutter to cruize off Cape Clear, laden with bread, water, beef, pork, and likewise fresh provisions, &c. in order to administer immediate relief to such as might be found in need thereof. The management of this expedition was entrusted to a confidential person, who went as supercargo, and was directed to relieve whoever he might meet with in distress, no matter to what country they belonged, or whither they are bound. He had it also in particular charge, not to accept the smallest return for what assistance he might happily afford, as the gentlemen, who promoted this undertaking considered themselves amply rewarded by the pleasure which results from so benevolent an action.

This

This humane idea was no sooner suggested, than, in order to carry it into immediate effect, a most liberal subscription was filled up with alacrity.

### M A Y.

2. On Saturday was argued in the court of king's bench, upon a special verdict, the case of Sarah Hazel, who was tried at Norwich at the last assizes before lord Loughborough, for murder. The facts found by the jury were, that the prisoner being angry with the deceased, a child of ten years old, for something she had done wrong, threw a stool at her, which wounded her in her head, of which wound she died. The jury also found, that the prisoner had no intention of killing the deceased. The court, having considerable doubts upon the facts found in the verdict, postponed giving judgment till after the opinion of the twelve judges should be taken. Lord Mansfield said, the intention of the prisoner was not a matter for the jury to have found. It was an inference of law, and not always necessary to conviction. If a man, in endeavouring to kill a person with a malicious intent, kills another against whom no malice could be implied, it would notwithstanding be murder, and the jury must find it so.

About six this morning a young man, genteely dressed, was found hanging on a tree in the Park. He proves to be a youth of genteel education, whose friends insisted on his going apprentice to a hatter. *A Caution.*

*Northampton, April 30.* On Sunday the 17th ult. a stock of bees, the property of Mr. Jeremiah Tomalin, of Byfield, produced a fine swarm, which was hived from a

gooseberry-bush in an adjoining garden; and what appears more surprising, the old stock, whence the swarm issued, is still a very promising one.

On Friday a dreadful accident happened near Kelmarsh, in this county. One of the northern coaches passing through Oxendon, the coachman stopped at a public-house, and imprudently quitted his seat whilst he went into the house to drink, leaving a young gentleman, who was an inside passenger, but had got on the outside for the air, on the box; when the horses took fright, and set off full speed down the hill towards Kelmarsh, near which place, meeting another coach, they ran the pole of the carriage with such violence against the opposite horses, that one of them had his leg broke, and the coach was overset; by which accident the young gentleman above mentioned had his skull fractured in such a manner, that his life is despaired of. There were five passengers in the coach at the time of the accident, among whom was the father of the above unfortunate youth, together with a nurse-maid and three children, none of whom received the least injury.

5. On Wednesday last Luke Danforth, who was convicted at the sittings after last Hilary term, at Guildhall, London, upon an indictment for endeavouring to seduce a currier to leave his kingdom, in order to carry on and teach that trade at Pontaudemer, in Normandy, was brought into the court of king's bench, to receive judgement; which was a fine of 100l. and imprisonment for three months, and till the fine was paid. *See Mar. 5.*

*Cadiz, April 8.* A ship from Bourdeaux was lately chased into this

this port by an Algerine bark, of 18 guns. A king's frigate of 32 guns slipped her cables, and went in pursuit of the rover, and in a short time came up with her, when she poured a whole broadside into the pirate. The salute was returned, and a bloody conflict ensued, which lasted upwards of two hours; during which time a sloop of war came up to the assistance of the frigate, who kept up such an incessant and well-directed fire on the barbarians, as carried away their main-mast by the board, and killed a great number of their men; notwithstanding their disabled situation they would not strike, but endeavoured to grapple the sloop. At last, finding it in vain to resist any longer, they set fire to the powder, and blew up their vessel, in which the whole crew, together with a number of Christian slaves on board, immediately perished.

6. Advices from France mention, that the drought in the inland provinces of that kingdom is so great, that whole ponds of water are dried up, the canal of Bourdeaux is so empty of water between Châteaux la Mere and San Santoine, that the barges can no longer navigate. The peasants are obliged to drive their cattle three miles or more for water; and in many places the poor people have been obliged to kill or dispose of their beasts for want of drink. In many very fertile provinces they are threatened with a great scarcity of the fruits of the earth, unless rain should soon come down. The same complaints are made in Spain, Italy, and Piedmont, except in the parts near the sea, where the marine fogs keep the earth moist, and in some sort supply the place of rain.

7. Yesterday in the court of king's bench, the late master of Shoreditch

workhouse, and a surgeon, his son-in-law, were brought up to receive judgment for a conspiracy to steal the dead bodies of the paupers, for dissection. The prosecution was carried on by the parish, who had discharged the master; and the man having lost his character by that infamous traffic, the court fined him only 20l. and sentenced him to three months imprisonment. The surgeon, pleading his profession, was fined 10l. and discharged. See p. 16.

— This morning, about three o'clock, a terrible fire broke out in a warehouse in Potter's Fields, Tooley-street, which destroyed a great many warehouses; and these being chiefly filled with pitch, tar, and turpentine, the flames were so rapid, that they soon communicated to four dwelling-houses, which were all consumed. Three East-India hoys, that lay close to the buildings, were burnt to the water's edge, as were likewise three barges laden with corn; the tide being down, it was near two hours before the engines could get any water. A warehouse with about 600 chests of tea is also destroyed. The damage is computed to amount to upwards of forty thousand pounds.

11. Yesterday se'nnight, about three o'clock, a fire broke out in a wood adjoining to the ville of Dunkirk, in the parish of Boughton, in Kent, occasioned by some men, who were employed to fell the underwood, keeping a fire to light their pipes: a brisk wind springing up, the fire communicated to some dry heath and leaves, which ran in a most surprising manner, and burned with incredible fury, consuming about 120 acres of underwood, seven acres of which had been felled and made up into hop-poles, cordwood, and faggots. Many of the lofty trees were greatly scorched,

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and

and some of them caught fire. By the assistance of the country people, it was happily got under about seven o'clock in the evening.

*Berlin, April 30.* Intelligence has been received from Francfort on the Oder, that prince Leopold of Brunswick, son of the reigning duke of Brunswick, having gone upon the water on the 27th instant to relieve the inhabitants of a village which was overflowed, the boat was overset, and his highness was unfortunately drowned.

The Leyden Gazette gives the following account of this melancholy accident.

"We have within these few days experienced the greatest calamities by the overflowing of the Oder, which burst its banks in several places, and carried away houses, bridges, and every thing that opposed its course. Numbers of people have lost their lives in this inundation; but of all the accidents arising from it, none is so generally lamented as the death of the good prince Leopold of Brunswick: this amiable prince standing at the side of the river, a woman threw herself at his feet, beseeching him to give orders for some person to go to the rescue of her children, whom, bewildered by the sudden danger, she had left behind her in the house: some soldiers, who were also in the same place, were crying out for help. The duke endeavoured to procure a flat-bottomed boat, but no one could be found to venture across the river, even though the duke had offered large sums of money, and promised to share the danger. At last, moved by the cries of the unfortunate inhabitants of the suburb, and led by the sensibility of his own benevolent heart, he took the resolution of going to their assistance himself: those who

were about him endeavoured to dissuade him from this hazardous enterprise; but, touched to the soul by the distress of the miserable people, he replied in the following words, which so nobly picture his character: "What am I more than either of you or they? I am a man like yourselves, and nothing ought to be attended to here but the voice of humanity." Unshaken, therefore, in his resolution, he immediately embarked with three watermen in a small boat, and crossed the river: the boat did not want above three lengths of the bank, when it struck against a tree, and in an instant they all, together with the boat, disappeared. A few minutes after the duke rose again, and supported himself a short time by taking hold of a tree; but the violence of the current soon bore him down, and he never appeared more. The boatmen were saved, and the duke alone became the victim of his own humanity. The whole city is in affliction for the loss of this truly amiable prince."

12. On Saturday, Thomas Skinner, esq. was elected alderman of Queenhithe Ward, in the room of John Bates, esq. deceased.

14. The grand jury for Middlesex found a bill of indictment against John Lockrell and a constable, his accomplice, for perjury, having sworn against two men, Peter Newberry, and William Ivesen (both capitally convicted and included in the dead warrant), but since found innocent on the fullest enquiry, and sworn against only to obtain the reward. See *May 19.*

16. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began the 11th, ended this day, when thirteen convicts received sentence of death, viz. Thomas Goldfinch, Samuel Roberts, and Abraham Godin alias Gordon, for

for feloniously stealing in the bleaching grounds of messrs. Adams and Lay, at Old Ford, by Bow, Middlesex, six pieces of British calicos; Peter Shaw, for stealing in the dwelling-house of Edwin Francis Stanhope, esq. in Curzon-street, May-fair, two gold boxes, six watches, &c. (*see April 9.*) John Ivemay, John Honey, and Samuel Yeldham, George Partridge, and Mary Greenwood, for highway robberies; Joseph Brown, for a burglary; Burwick Mayton, for privately stealing; Joseph Sturmy, for stealing seven guineas, &c. in a dwelling-house; Thomas Baker Hopkins alias Baker, for returning from transportation; and Robert Jackson, for forging a seaman's letter of attorney.

*Reading, May 14.* Tuesday afternoon some persons set fire to the heath growing on Windsor Forest, in the parish of Easthampstead, which, from the dryness of the season, ran in a surprising manner, and burned with great fury, consuming a valley of heath several miles in length, and in its course damaging the park pales of ——— Moss, esq. as also several timber-trees in the park. It still continues burning, notwithstanding the exertions of great numbers of the country people. *See May 11.*

19. His majesty has been pleased to grant his free pardon to Peter Newberry and William Iverson, the two men falsely sworn to have robbed John Lockrell on the highway.

26. Yesterday the recorder made his report to his majesty of the convicts, at the last sessions at the Old Bailey (*see April 12.*), when the following were ordered for execution on the 11th of June, viz. George Ward, Thomas Scott, Thomas Connor, Henry Wood, Thomas Bateman alias Parker, Patrick Da-

ly, George Mawley, William Harding, John Hughes, and James Haywood.

27. On Monday last, about five o'clock in the morning, the boy who drives the mail-cart from Dartford to London, coming over Blackheath, observed a woman on the ground at a small distance from the road. The boy stopt his cart, and went to her: she was without any other clothes than shift, shoes, and silk stockings; the mark in the bosom of her shift, and on both her stockings, cut out; a very coarse tape several times bound round her neck, in every appearance with a view to strangle her, and her face on one side bruised. The boy cut the tape from her neck, placed her in the cart, and brought her to a public-house on Deptford-bridge, where she was immediately put to bed. As soon as she was able to speak, she said that her name was Bridget Bonnet, and she gave a long account of herself, the substance of which was, that, on pretence of visiting their brother at Dover, she was induced to accompany a Mr. and Mrs. Dunmore, who were in a phaeton, with a miss Brown, to Dover, she herself being on horseback; that Mr. Dunmore was executor to an uncle that had left her five hundred guineas, which sum, with clothes, &c. she had in a trunk; and that they all joined in stripping her, and reducing her to that condition. Every possible care was taken of this seemingly unfortunate woman, who, in the sequel, however, proved to be an errant impostress. She was afterwards discharged from the workhouse at Deptford, her relations in Lincolnshire having undertaken the care of her, and however iniquitous her intentions were, not having committed any act cognizable by the law.



*Teneriff, Dec. 18. 1784.* By a bark which arrived here on the 14th instant, from the island of Hierro (one of the Canary islands subject to Spain), we have the following most melancholy account. On the 6th, a vessel displaying white colours landed thirty-seven people, amongst whom were five, or, as some say, seven women, some of them with infants in their arms. They came ashore on a beach on the S. W. part of the island, surrounded on the land side by high inaccessible rocks, which entirely prevented all ingress into the country, except at one particular part, where there is a narrow defile, through which one person at a time may pass. This inlet was immediately secured by some of the islanders who happened to be near, whilst others went to the town, and gave an account of the coming of these people to the governor, don Juan Briz Calderon: this officer convened the council. Unfortunately for these devoted people, very strict orders had been issued (in consequence of the plague raging in some parts of Europe) not to admit any vessels whatever, until, upon a due examination of their papers, it should appear there was no danger of infection. The governor, fearing, or pretending to fear, that the newcomers might possibly have the plague amongst them, proposed the horrid measure of cutting them all off. Some of the council strenuously opposed so shocking a step, and pleaded the cause of the innocent victims, and of humanity itself. They argued, that these unhappy strangers all appeared healthy; that some unavoidable distress might have compelled them to seek an asylum on their shore; that it was cruel and unjust to inflict the severest of all punishments upon

them, for transgressing a temporary law of the country, which they could not possibly be acquainted with; and that, though they should be infected, the spot of ground they occupied effectually secured the inhabitants from infection, by only guarding the avenue; offering to maintain these unhappy strangers until the governor-general of the islands, residing at Teneriff, should be informed of the case. Unhappily their humane sentiments were not listened to by Briz and others, who adopted the bloody resolution of slaughtering them. Accordingly the militia armed, and officered, with Briz at their head, marched to the place. They found the poor victims dispersed along the beach: the men, some gathering shell-fish, and others walking together in simple sociable parties; the women were, some sitting on the sand, combing and dressing one another's hair, others washing some linen in the sea-water, and others fondling their infants. Thus situated, they were found by their butchers, who, in order to gather them together to perpetrate with more ease their diabolical purpose, threw down an empty cask upon the beach. The unhappy people, thinking it was some kind relief intended for them, immediately flocked together where the cask stood; and there the bloody massacre began. In a few minutes an end was put to all their existence, except of one of the women, who took shelter with her child between two rocks, and of a man, who, after having a ball lodged in his arm, took to the sea, where he kept swimming upwards of two hours, but, being obliged to cling to a rock to escape drowning, was there cut to pieces with a sabre; the woman was also soon followed into her retreat, and stabbed to death with a knife,



knife, as was the infant on her breast.

That merciless miscreant the governor was the first who fired his piece; and, observing a visible backwardness in many of the militia in following his example, he threatened them with instant death if they hesitated in the least; and, to shew he was in earnest, knocked down the nearest man to him with the butt-end of his musket, for appearing reluctant to the slaughter.

The news of this savage act of barbarity has been received at Tenebris by all ranks of people with the deepest concern and regret, and by none more than the governor-general, who deploras it extremely. He could not at first give credit to it; but was at length convinced of the fatal truth by letters from the infernal wretch, Briz himself. Exasperated to the highest pitch, he has given a commission to an officer of rank to go over to Hierro, to take cognizance of this tragical affair.

*Dublin, May 12.* This day Mr. Crosbie, who had constructed a balloon upon principles of his own invention, mounted his car in the Palatine-square, Dublin, and ascended as high as the roofs of the houses, but descended again with a velocity that alarmed all the spectators for his safety. It was found that his weight was so great as to overcome the power of ascension in the machine; but in an instant Mr. M'Guire, a college youth, sprung into the car, and ascended with majestic grandeur, to the astonishment of all who beheld him. It was about half after two when Mr. M'Guire mounted, with seemingly the wind at east. When the balloon had reached a certain height, it appeared for a few moments stationary; but presently it was car-

ried with incredible violence towards the Channel, in the direction of Holyhead. This being observed, a crowd of horsemen pursued full speed the course it seemed to take, and saw the balloon descending with great rapidity into the sea, at the distance of about nine miles. A wherry, and some open boats, were immediately sent after the gallant adventurer, one of which came up most opportunely to save him, when he could not have struggled much longer, having already swum more than forty minutes. The balloon was found at a considerable distance from Mr. M'Guire, who had been deprived of all sensation on falling into the water, and on his recovery found himself totally disengaged from it. He landed in great spirits; was received by the duke and duchess of Rutland; and he has since been knighted by his grace.

31. William Curtis, jun. esq. was elected alderman of Tower-Ward, in the room of Richard Atkinson, esq. deceased.

## J U N E.

*St. James's, June 1.* This day John Adams, esq. minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, had a private audience of his majesty to deliver his credentials. To which he was introduced by the marquis of Carmarthen, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, and conducted by sir Clement Cottrell Dormer, knight, master of the ceremonies.

3. The right hon. Thomas Harley, alderman of Portsoken ward, having become father of the city, by the death of Robert Alsop, esq. was translated to the ward of Bridge Without. A wardmote being held for Portsoken ward, on Wednesday,

a poll commenced between Benjamin Hammet, esq. M. P. and Josiah Dornford, esq. which finally ended this day, when the numbers were,

For Mr. Hammet 168

Mr. Dornford 127

Majority 41

*Paris, May 12.* The king has named two vessels, destined for the voyage round the world, la Boussole, and the Astrolabe. They are of the same size and force with those which captain Cook commanded in his last voyage. The English admiralty, and the Royal society of London, have sent to M. de la Peyrouse, all the observations, original charts, and papers that can be of use to him. The admiralty has besides made him a very valuable present, the time-keeper and azimuth compass which captain Cook made use of. Our Academy of Sciences has named a commission to prepare the necessary documents and instructions, that M. de la Peyrouse may be able to throw upon astronomy, navigation, and natural history, all the lights expected from so important a voyage.

14. On Wednesday, ten malefactors were executed before Newgate, pursuant to sentence. See May 26.

13. *Derby, June 9.* Friday morning a shocking murder was committed at Newark-upon-Trent, by William Lantern, a weaver, on the body of Hannah Stinley, his mother-in-law: he had quarrelled with his wife for not rising earlier in the morning, and high words ensuing, he seized a board on the side of the bed, and aimed a blow at her, the children in bed crying out to spare their mother; upon which the mother-in-law stepped in between them, and unfortunately received the blow, which fractured her skull,

and notwithstanding every assistance from the faculty, she languished till six o'clock on Saturday morning, when she expired.

14. On Saturday came on to be argued in the court of King's Bench, the return filed by the city of London to the writ of mandamus brought by Thomas Wooldridge, esq. to be restored to the office of an alderman; when, after an argument of four hours, the court unanimously pronounced judgment in favour of the city, declaring their opinion that the court of mayor and aldermen had power to remove any one of the aldermen for a just and reasonable cause; and that in the present instance their exercise of such right was perfectly legal.

*Galway, June 1.* Yesterday morning as Mr. Anthony Horan, of this town, was on his journey to a farm not many miles distant, he was met by three men on horseback, who with horrid imprecations demanded his money and watch; having but two guineas about him, they compelled him to ride with them towards the ferry of Headfort, and dismounted at the old castle near Moycullen, where taking paper and ink from a pocket-book, they extorted from him at the peril of his life, a letter, to his wife, informing her that he had bought three puncheons of rum and brandy, and desiring her on the receipt of that, to give the bearer 6ol. 4s. 8d. who was mate of the vessel on board of which the liquor was.—With this letter one of the villains was dispatched, Mr. Horan being left bound and guarded by the other two. On arriving at Mrs. Horan's, she with pleasure acceded to the demand, with which he returned to his associates, when after shooting Mr. Horan's horse to prevent all possibility of a pursuit, and wishing

wishing him a good morning, they crossed the ferry and got clear off.

17. Yesterday prince William Henry went to the navy-office, to pass for a lieutenant; his highness was received there at commissioner Marsh's house, whence he proceeded to the board-room in the office, where the several commissioners were introduced to him by the comptroller of the navy, after which his royal highness produced his log-books, journal, and captain's certificates, and was examined, and passed for a lieutenant accordingly. His royal highness answered all the usual questions, which were asked him on the occasion, very expertly. His log-books and journals were written by himself, and left to be recorded in the clerk of the act's office.

— On Wednesday Mr. baron Eyre delivered the opinion of the barons of the Exchequer, on the cause of Sutton and Johnstone, and discharged the rule for arresting the judgment against commodore Johnstone. By this opinion no new trial is granted. Commodore Johnstone instantly sued out a writ of error, and this cause will next come on in the lords. *See Feb. 27.*

The same day arrived in town from Falmouth, the hon. Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, by whose return, the office of governor-general devolved on John Macpherson, esq.

— M. Pilatre de Rozier and M. Romain ascended on the 15th inst. from Boulogne. Their balloon was of a spherical form, 37 feet diameter, filled with gas. Under this was a Montgolfier, or fire-balloon, 10 feet diameter. The gallery was attached to the net of the upper balloon with cords, which were fastened to a hoop rather greater than the Montgolfier, and

descended perpendicularly to the gallery. The Montgolfier was intended to promote and prolong the ascension, by rarefying the atmospheric air, and by that means gaining levity. They rose about a quarter after seven in the morning, intending to cross the British Channel; for the first 20 minutes they appeared to take the best possible direction; for a few seconds they seemed to vary their direction; and at length seemed for a moment stationary; but in less than ten seconds the whole apparatus was seen in flames, and the unfortunate adventurers came to the ground from the supposed height of more than a thousand yards. M. de Rozier was killed on the spot, his belly burst, and his breast-bone broken; the sieur Romain survived about 10 minutes; one of his thighs was broken, and nearly separated from his body; before he expired, he pressed the hand of a friend, in sign of being sensible. It is not certainly known whether the balloon was actually set on fire by the Montgolfier, or, being over-rarefied by the heat beneath, burst, and by that means the inflammable air was set in a blaze.

M. Rozier, previous to his ascent, made his will. He has left a wife and two sisters, in the deepest affliction. He was the first person who explored the regions of the air, with the marquis d'Arlandes, and was the first victim of this discovery. The marquis de la Maison-fort offered M. Romain 200 louis d'ors to go up in his stead, which the latter, after some hesitation, positively refused; and the marquis was one of the first that came to the spot, to witness the last sigh of his unhappy friend.

18. At Axminster revel, in Devonshire, held on Monday the 6th,  
(C 4) a man

a man (who had formerly acted in the capacity of a Merry Andrew) had the presumption to stand twice on his head on one of the battlements of the Tower, to the astonishment of a number of spectators; and being liberally rewarded for so doing, was induced to make a third attempt, in the performance of which he fell down, and was killed on the spot.

19. Last Thursday, about twelve at noon, a dreadful fire broke out at Biggleswade, in Bedfordshire. The wind being very high, the flames were communicated, with astonishing rapidity, to different parts of the town, and consumed upwards of 120 dwelling-houses, the meeting-house, with several granaries, barns, a large quantity of malt and grain, a great number of calves, hogs, &c. The conflagration lasted till six in the evening.

21. Geo. Coombes was capitally convicted at the admiralty sessions, in the Old Bailey, for being present aiding and abetting one Parrot, in the wilful murder of William Allen, late master of the *Orestes* sloop of war, in Christ-church harbour, Hants. It appeared on the trial, that two smuggling luggers were observed by two of his majesty's cutters running uncustomed goods on shore; on which they applied to the *Orestes* for assistance, which pursued them, and manning the boat with the deceased and others, it proceeded into the harbour. The boat grounding on the sand, the deceased got out in order to set her afloat, when a firing began, in which the deceased was wounded in the leg and belly, of which he died. The prisoner was found guilty, but his sentence respited on a suggestion of the counsel, that the boat being aground

on the sand, and the deceased out of the boat on that ground, though up to his knees in water, whether it could be said to be done on the high seas, within the jurisdiction of the admiralty.

24. Brook Watson, esq. alderman, and M. P. and James Sanderson, esq. alderman, were elected sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

27. Saturday came on in the court of King's Bench, Westminster, before Mr. justice Buller, and a special jury—a cause on *scire facias*, the king against Richard Arkwright, grounded on complaint that the said Rich. Arkwright was not inventor of certain machines for preparing cotton for spinning, which he had obtained a patent for, under the name of a preparing machine, and also that he had not specified the construction. This interesting trial commenced at nine in the morning, and at half past twelve at night the jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the king, whereby the right of monopoly claimed by the defendant becomes extinct. See Feb. 18.

→ The last letters from China mention, that by accident a shot was fired from on board one of the East Indiamen lying at Canton, which killed a native, on which the governor sent on board for the offender, who was secreted. This occasioned his seizing a man on shore belonging to one of the ships by way of reprisal till reparation was made, which causing some disturbance, they, as is the custom in China, immediately lighted their signals, and in three days a numerous army came down from the country, who have stopped the ships loading till farther directions are received from the emperor, to whom an express was sent, and it was supposed

supposed would detain the ships four months before an answer could be returned. *See page 47.*

29. Sunday afternoon a murder, attended with uncommon circumstances of barbarity, was perpetrated in Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place. Mr. Orell, an attorney in that street, and his wife, went out at three o'clock, leaving their maid in the house. They returned within the hour, when the servant not answering the door, they concluded that she had slipped out; and they went away again for a short time. Upon their second return, the same difficulty occurring, it was determined to enter the back part of the house, by getting over a wall; when the girl was discovered upon the kitchen floor, weltering in blood, a most horrid spectacle. From the various marks of violence she must have made strong resistance. Her head appeared to have been struck at with a poker; her throat effectually cut through the wind-pipe; two fingers nearly cut off; a deep gash on one breast, and otherwise dreadfully mangled. She was yet alive, and made signs, but was unable to speak; and was conveyed to the Middlesex Hospital, where she expired about one in the morning. The house was found to be robbed of spoons, and some other plate that lay about; and the suspicion fell upon a Mulatto who had visited the girl on the two or three preceding Sundays, and who was apprehended accordingly, but, for want of evidence, discharged.

— Yesterday was brought into the court of King's Bench, an action by Mr. William Fregleton, of Wolverhampton, against Mr. Godbehere, of Birmingham, and Mr. Ibberson, of the George and Blue Boar, London, to recover 100*l.* being the amount of cash and Bank

notes sent in a parcel by the defendant's coach to London, but never delivered. In course of the evidence it appeared clearly, that the plaintiff had previously received into his shop a hand-bill, in which was a N. B. that the proprietors would not be answerable for property above 5*l.* unless entered and paid for as such. His lordship immediately requested the jury to give a verdict for the defendants, which they did accordingly.

*Tralee, Ireland, June 15.* Yesterday some young gentlemen near this town floated a large balloon, called a Montgolfier, which ascended to a considerable height, but taking fire, it unfortunately descended on a farm-house at about two miles distance, and notwithstanding every assistance, the dwelling, stable, with two horses, and a haggard, in which there was a considerable quantity of corn, were totally destroyed.

*Edinburgh, June 22.* This day came on in the court of Exchequer, a cause at the instance of the officers of the crown, against Mr. Robertson, a farmer in Linlithgow, on the construction of the horse act. It was contended on the part of the defendant, that a farmer riding one of his labouring horses, at times, did not subject him to the tax, because, though he used such horse, yet he did not keep him for the purpose of riding. The lord chief baron then delivered his charge, in which he told the jury, that though, in this particular instance, he was inclined to be of opinion, that the defendant should have taken out a licence for one horse, yet he thought it but candid to inform them, that he had consulted with his brethren; and that the two on his right hand agreed with him in sentiments; while the two on his left were equally



qually clear in a different opinion. His lordship, therefore, said, that he should be no wise surpris'd if the jury entertained difficulties likewise. The jury then retired, and, after being out some considerable time, returned, when their foreman declared, that they found by a majority of voices, for the plaintiff. He was, however, informed that their verdict must be unanimous; but that if they were at a loss concerning the construction of the act, they might return a special verdict, finding such and such facts proved, and then it would remain with the court to apply the law. The jury again retired, and having staid so long, as to induce the court to believe they were at a loss how to frame a special verdict, one was wrote out for them, in sight of the counsel for both parties, and sent with a macer for their adoption, in case they should be inclined to return a special verdict. The macer soon after returned and informed the court, that he had offered the paper, but that the jury would not look at it. They then came in themselves into court, and declared they unanimously found for the plaintiff.

30. Yesterday the recorder made his report of eleven of the convicts in May sessions (*see May 16*), when John Honey, John Ivemay, Peter Shaw, and Robert Jackson, were ordered for execution,

### J U L Y.

1. This day counsel were called to the bar of the house of peers, to be heard on the writ of error, the king against Atkinson, when after hearing Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Wood for Mr. Atkinson, the attorney and solicitor general on behalf of the crown, the question was put to the judges present,

“Whether the assignments of error by the plaintiff, are duly and sufficiently made?”

“Whether there be error in any of the respects or instances assigned as errors by the plaintiff in error?”

“Whether there be any error in the record of the judgment?”

The judges being of opinion that there was no error, the judgment of the court of King's Bench was affirmed.

*Vivay, near the Lake of Geneva, June 7.* A late event here has occasioned the utmost consternation. One of the houses belonging to the sieur Sauveur was this morning, about five o'clock, engulfed by the waters of the lake; at the same time a large building in the lower court of M. Triquet, and a part of the house of the sieur Jeannot disappeared, and not the smallest trace of either of these buildings is to be discerned. The number of persons drowned is not known.

2. It now appears, that the unfortunate people, who were massacred in the island of Hierro (*see page 36*), were convicts, 92 in number, shipped on board the Dublin, the 17th of November. They were become mutinous; and, on their making Hierro, absolutely insisted on being landed there, with which the captain was obliged to comply. It seems, the gaol distemper prevailed amongst them, which the Spaniards took for the plague; and were therefore in some measure justified, though humanity recoils at the action.

*Constantinople, May 12.* The grand vizir has been just deposed, and 12 millions of piastres, which were found in his coffers, have been confiscated. Although deprived of all his possessions, he was not permitted to retire to the government to which he was exiled; for, whilst he



he was on the way, he was overtaken by the Capigi Bachi, who presented him with the fatal cord. His head was brought to this city, and, after being as usual presented to the grand signior, was publicly exposed upon the gate of the ferglio, with the following inscription under it :

" This is the head of Halil Hamed Pacha, late grand vizir, who deservedly incurred his punishment for betraying the interests of the state and religion, by managing affairs contrary to the sovereign will of the Great Master of the Universe : he acted like a tyrant, having from his sordid avarice been guilty of frequent and public oppressions of the people of God."

3. On the 27th of June, a farmer in Rothburg Forest, near Newcastle, casting peat incautiously, set fire to a part of the heath, to get more easily at the moss, which by the dryness of the season spread, and more than 150 acres were consumed. After this, the heaths on the adjoining hills, called Symond-side Beacon, took fire, and more than a thousand acres of sheep-ground were rendered totally useless. On the 29th, the writer of this account says, he walked to the top of a rock, whence the prospect was dreadful beyond conception. A large surface of fire appeared in the valley below, and the surrounding hills being in flames, exhibited a picture equally horrible and beautiful. See May 16.

4. Advices from the university of Alcala, in Spain, dated June 9, mention, that on the 3d of that month, donna Maria Isidore Quintinia, a lady only 17 years of age, had conferred on her the degrees of master and doctor in philosophy and the belles lettres. In the philosophical exercise she displayed no-

ble ideas, and great eloquence, in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages. After the doctor's cap was placed upon her head, amid the acclamations of the multitude, the chancellor proposed to her this fourth question of the council of Carthage : *Utrum femina, quamvis sancta & docta, sit capax docendi literas tum sacras tum profanas, in publicis academis?*—The new member maintained the affirmative in the most admirable manner.

4. On Saturday came on before lord Mansfield, in the court of King's Bench, in the case of Sutton and Michill, a question of great importance to commerce. It was an action brought to recover the value of a large quantity of dollars, shipped on board the Elbe, Joel Goddard, master, and which, in the night, were stolen by some fresh-water pirates (see Jan 17, and Feb. 5). Lord Mansfield said, that the law made no distinction between a carrier by land or water, for that he, at his peril, must see that all things be forthcoming that are delivered to him, let what accident soever happen (the act of God, or an enemy, and perils of the sea excepted); but for fire, thieves, and the like, he must answer. Hence it appears, that ship-owners are liable for the amount of any property laden on board their vessels, that may be destroyed by fire, or stolen by an armed force superior to that of the vessel; although, if it had been an embezzlement by the masters or mariners, by an act 7 Geo. II. cap. 15. A. D. 1734, they would not have been liable farther than the value of the ship, and her freight for the voyage.

— The reigning duke of Wirtemberg, whose change of life is as remarkable as his dissipations formerly

merly were reproachful, has had the following epitaph upon himself, engraved near the grave intended for him in his hermitage of Hohenheim.

F R I E N D,

I have enjoyed life, and have known all its enjoyments. Their charms had seduced me. I suffered myself to be carried away like a torrent. O God, what an opening when the bandage fell at length from my eyes! Days and years had gone by, and what was right and good had never once been thought of. Falsehood and hypocrisy defiled the basest actions, and the veil which hid truth from me was as a black mist, which the strongest rays of the blessing-dispersing sun cannot dispel. What remains of me now? Alas! FRIEND, this stone covers my grave. It also covers what is past. Great God! watch upon what is to come.

*Southampton, July 2.* On Sunday last, a party of servants living with Mrs. Jelfs and Charles Meckett, esq. being at Little Hampton, hired a boat to go up Arundel river; the man who lent it unfortunately delivered one belonging to a neighbour, who was much enraged thereat, and on their return threatened, that if they did not instantly quit the boat, he would drown them all, and on its approaching the shore he jumped on board, and endeavoured to loosen the plug at the bottom. Mrs. Jelf's maid (a very beautiful girl) was so frightened thereat, that she threw herself over, and the tide running very strong, was immediately carried out of her depth; Mr. Meckett's coachman instantly followed in hopes of saving her, but his humanity cost him his life, for they were both drowned. The savage who occasioned this tragedy saw it with the greatest unconcern,

and then eloped. The body of the coachman was found on Tuesday, much eaten by the crabs; but the young woman, it is supposed, is carried out to sea by the tide.

— The commissioners for the city of London, of the several duties charged on houses and windows or lights, met at Guildhall, in pursuance of an especial summons for putting in execution an act passed in the present sessions, for granting to his majesty certain duties on shops. Upon a motion being made, That the consideration of the act be adjourned to the last day of September next, a conversation took place, tending to shew the impropriety of any commissioner taking the oath, who in his conscience believed the tax to be partial, oppressive, or unjust; and as the act did not compel any of them to qualify, or take the oath prescribed, he that should be found hardy enough to come forward, would shew himself a volunteer in the service, and become a favourer of that tax, which was so particularly oppressive to the shopkeepers of London. Upon putting the question, there appeared upwards of 50 hands for the adjournment, and only 4 against it. Whereupon the chairman (Mr. Dixon) declared the question to be carried in the affirmative.

6. This day John Ivenay, John Honey, Peter Shaw, Robert Jackson, and Joseph Brown, were executed before Newgate. See page 42.

— At the sessions at the Old Bailey, which ended this day, twenty-five convicts received sentence of death, viz. George Oliver, a lad, for setting fire to his master's house in St. James's-street (See Apr. 9); John Morris, James Guthrie, Sam. Champness, John Reboul alias Prescott, John Cox, and William Staples, for highway-robberies; Martin

Martin Taylor, Elizabeth Taylor his sister, Francis Primrose, John Burn, George Morris alias Roberts, and Richard Davis alias Wilkinfon alias Jacobs, for burglaries; Patrick Burke, for forging a seaman's will; Benjamin Moore, Thomas Graves, John Williams, James Lockart, David Inglish, James Macintosh, William Crose, Mary Hughes, and Catharine Martin, for divers thefts. *See Aug. 11.*

*St. Austel, Cornwall, July 8.* Last Sunday Mr. Avar, five of his children, and two boarders, having with their dinner drunk some table-beer, which had been poured out of a bottle, were in a few minutes taken very sick, and began to vomit. Mr. Grant, surgeon, was immediately sent for, and after having observed the symptoms, declared that they were poisoned. He examined the bottle out of which the beer was poured, and found near two tea-spoonfuls of calx of mercury, which stuck to the bottom. Mr. Grant's endeavours for the recovery of the unhappy sufferers were, notwithstanding, attended with such success, that after their suffering great pains at intervals for three or four days, the poison was happily expelled, and they are all apparently in a fair way of recovery. The bottle was supposed to be bought several years ago, at the sale of the goods of Mr. Warrick, surgeon, deceased; and though it had been washed out before the small beer was put therein, yet the poison stuck to the bottle, unobserved by the person who washed it. It is hoped that this accident will be a caution to people how they use old bottles, particularly such as may have been bought at druggists or apothecaries.

*Constantinople, June 4.* We learn by letters from Mosul, that Father

Vincent Ruvo, a missionary, has suffered a cruel death through his own imprudence. Not content with the cure of souls, the good father, as the greatest part of the missionaries do, had the madness to undertake to cure also the diseases of the body. Mehemed, king of Elgesira, having been violently attacked with a continual hiccup, called in the new Esculapius, who promised him, on the forfeiture of his head, to cure him in an instant. In consequence the missionary prepared a potion; the bey swallowed it, with confidence, and died immediately. The domestics, afflicted at the sudden death of their master, seized the physician, and, after giving him several blows, cut off his head.

*Rome, June 18.* The tribunal of Rota, by the unanimous determination of the six judges, have set aside the will of the lately deceased don Amanzio Lepri, who had thereby bequeathed to his holiness the pope the whole of his possessions, amounting to the sum of 700,000 Roman crowns, in the prejudice of his niece.

19. On Wednesday the 13th, about eleven in the forenoon, a fire broke out at a village called King-Sutton, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, which consumed 65 houses, the greatest part of which were uninsured.

*Norwich, July 16.* It is not less extraordinary than true, that a macaw, in the possession of the earl of Oxford, at Eriswell, hatched two young ones this week, which she feeds with the utmost tenderness.

*Cadiz, June 28.* The 22d inst. an Algerine corsair of 18 guns was sunk off Mahon by two Spanish frigates, after a most desperate resistance, and all on board perished.

What

What is astonishing, those fierce and vindictive plunderers kept an incessant firing from their tops, into the king's ships, while their vessel was sinking, which killed and wounded 20 men. The same corsair two days before took a large ship from Amsterdam bound to Leghorn, which they manned and sent to Algiers. All the Dutch prisoners, except the captain, were on board the rover at the time of the engagement, and unfortunately perished.

*New London, April 15.* We have advice by capt. Joseph Phillips, who arrived here last week from St. Martin's, that the island of St. Bartholomew having been ceded to Sweden by the king of France, it was taken possession of about the first of last month by the subjects of the former, who had lotted out the land for the purpose of erecting buildings; that it was made a free port for all nations, and that it was probable it would soon become a place of considerable consequence to commerce.

21. At Maidstone assizes, which ended the 13th instant, a cause of great consequence was tried before lord Mansfield and a special jury. The case was as follows: by an act of the last session, for the better prevention of smuggling, it is enacted, "That all vessels belonging in the whole or in part to any of his majesty's subjects, called cutters, luggers, shallops, or wherries (of what built soever), whose bottoms are clench-work, unless they shall be square-rigged, or fitted as sloops with standing bolt-sprits, the length of which shall be greater than in proportion of three feet and a half, to one foot in breadth, armed for resistance otherwise than is therein excepted, that should, after the 1st of October last,

be found within the limits prescribed by the act, be forfeited."

In the port of Rochester were a number of fishing-smacks, which the officers of the customs seized, under an imagination that they were similar to cutters, luggers, &c. although their bodies were not clench-work; neither were they of the dimensions specified in the act, nor armed for resistance.

After detaining the vessels for upwards of a fortnight, they were returned to the owners; and the apology made was, that the officers thought they did not come within the meaning of the act. The injured fishermen applied for satisfaction in vain, and the present action was therefore commenced to compel restitution.

Lord Mansfield summed up the evidence; remarking, that he was surprised government supported a set of men who were incapable of discharging their duty without distressing the families of a set of honest and industrious individuals. The jury instantly gave a verdict for the plaintiff with 30l. damages.

Sixteen other actions of the same nature were determined by this verdict.

22. The crew of the *Friendly Adventure*, capt. Broderick, which was lost in the Greenland seas are brought home in the *Young Eagle*, arrived on Saturday in the river. The loss of this ship was in the following manner: they were in a clear sea surrounded with ice, with a moderate breeze at S. W. which on a sudden changed to the N. by S. and blew in hard squalls: the fields of ice began then to drive as is usual, and all hands were employed with their ice-poles, &c. A large piece of ice from which they could by no means escape, came at length, and stove in the larboard-bow;

bow; the ship immediately closed, so that it was with difficulty they got out any chest or supplies of provisions, and in less than an hour the funk. Luckily there was the Young Eagle and two other ships in sight; the Eagle being the nearest of them, sent a relief, and brought them off the ice, where they must otherwise have perished.

— The unfortunate affair, which occasioned much anxiety to the India company's supercargoes at Canton (*see page 40*), rose from a chop-boat (a country vessel) lying along side the Lady Hughes, in the way of one of her guns while saluting; in consequence of which, three Chinese on board were much hurt, and one of them died the next day. The gunner of the Lady Hughes, though perfectly innocent as to any criminal intention, absconded. The weyseeun and the hoppoo's principal secretary, waited upon the India company's supercargoes, and requested they would get the gunner delivered up; stating, that though *they* considered the matter as an unfortunate accident, yet it was necessary he should be sent to Canton to undergo a *formal* examination merely to satisfy the laws of the country. To this *apparent* reasonable request the supercargoes did not object, provided the man was examined in one of the factories; and this was particularly insisted on, as formerly a Frenchman had been conveyed out of the factory under a similar pretence, and executed the next morning without even the form of a trial. Finding their demand was not acceded to, they found means to decoy Mr. George Smith, supercargo of the Lady Hughes, by a pretended message; and he was conveyed into the city under a guard of soldiers with drawn swords. The circumstances

that ensued led the supercargoes to suspect their own persons were not entirely free from danger; for the avenues leading to the quay were barricaded, and filled with soldiers: the linguists and merchants fled; the Hongs totally disappeared; and the communication between Canton and Whampoa was suspended by the order of the hoppoo; they therefore ordered up the boats of the several ships, manned and armed by way of guard, and two English boats were dispatched to Whampoa, with orders for the company's ships, as well as the French, Dutch, Danes, and Americans, to send up immediately to Canton their pin-naces armed and manned. These orders were happily executed with such steadiness as to reflect great honour on those employed, especially as the opposition they met with was totally unexpected. The tide being unfavourable, it was dark before they approached the city, and on coming to the first hoppo-house, the headmost boats were hailed by an armed vessel, and ordered to return to Whampoa, which was succeeded by repeated volleys of musquetry from the fort and vessels, and continued from eight till past eleven; the boats, however, passed on to the factory without returning a single shot, or receiving any other injury than a quartermaster of the Sullivan, and a man in the Calcutta's boat being slightly wounded: this last boat was surrounded by Chinese vessels and boarded; but after a short scuffle they retired. The Chinese afterward pleaded as an excuse for this hostility the boats coming up at an improper hour. The fouyyen after this had a conference with one of the supercargoes of every nation: on their expressing great surprize at their having taken so active a part with



with the English, they told him it was considered as a *common cause*. He observed, it was well for the English they had such good friends, and concluded with persuading them to prevail on the supercargoes to deliver up the gunner, and then all would be well. About ten that night a linguist came to the factory with a small flag and arrow from the fouyyen as a passport for an English boat to be sent with a letter from Mr. Smith to the captain of the Lady Hughes, the purport of which was, that the gunner, or some one to *personate*, must be sent, and that he must not on any account leave the port till this unhappy affair was settled. The Lady Hughes's boat was ordered on this business; but the linguist, afraid to venture singly, returned to Canton without executing his commission. Fearful of the consequences of this neglect, the supercargoes accepted the offer of capt. McIntosh of the Contractor, who set off for Whampoa, in order to execute the commission the linguist had failed in. On the 30th of November he returned with the unfortunate gunner, who was conducted by the supercargoes to the Pagoda, where the Mandarines usually assemble on European business. They were received by the Mandarines of superior rank, who, taking charge of the poor man, assured the gentlemen his case should be represented in the most favourable point of view, and that they had little doubt of his being discharged in about sixty days. An hour after this interview, Mr. Smith was set at liberty, and gave a satisfactory account of the good treatment he had received whilst in confinement. Thus by the prudent management of the India company's supercar-

goes, and the very spirited assistance of their own, and the several foreign ships, this unhappy affair was concluded; but the innocent cause of it was *strangled*, by order of the emperor, on the 8th of January.

23. On the 13th Mr. Blanchard made an aerial ascension from the garden of the Old Court near the Hague, accompanied by M. de Bralpont, and M. de Honenbausen, two French officers. They descended in a field at Zövenhuis (a little village a few miles from Rotterdam) belonging to a Dutch boor, who brought round them a set of fellows, who with sticks began to demolish the boat, and with their forks to prick holes in the balloon; and were prevented from destroying the whole, only by a promise of money. Mr. Blanchard made them to understand that he had no money about him, but would give a bill, to be received at the Hague. The paper he gave was written in French, to this effect:

“ I certify that I descended at nine o'clock in a bye field belonging to a man, who, though not in the least hurt by it, has demanded ten ducats of me, after helping to plunder me, and partly to destroy my car and my globe.

Signed,

“ July 12. “ BLANCHARD.”

Thinking he had got a good bill, the men were then very officious, and gave them every assistance to forward them to Rotterdam, from whence, after taking some refreshment, they returned to the Hague.

— The court of sessions in Scotland determined an important question in literary property. The proprietors of the Encyclopedia Britannica, published at Edinburgh, had inserted in that publication a very

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considerable part of Dr. Gilbert Stuart's Histories of Scotland, and of the Reformation in Scotland. The court found, by a considerable majority, that the defenders had incurred the penalties of the statute, and remitted to the lord ordinary to modify the same. See p. 57.

— Some friends and protectors of the sciences having formed a design to erect a monument in honour of Leibnitz, Sulzer, and Lambert, his Prussian majesty has been pleased to assign a scite in Berlin for this testimony of the public approbation. The following is a copy of the answer given to professor Muchler on this occasion.

“ The monuments erected in honour of great men were in ancient times a stimulus to the emulation of posterity. A baron de Leibnitz, a Sulzer, a Lambert, deserve no less than the sages of antiquity that their memory should have the same honours, and their merits be transmitted to the most distant ages. Perhaps likewise those marks of distinction may rouse in some a spirit to rival them in their own way. In this hope, and in hope to gratify your request of yesterday, I grant you permission to raise a trophy to their honour, adorned with statues and medallions of them. The most proper place for this purpose appears to me to be in the middle of the square facing my great library. I therefore permit you to erect it there. In consequence you may apply to lieut. gen. Mollendorf, governor of Berlin, who will receive from your gracious sovereign the necessary orders for expediting that permission.

*Potsdam, Apr. 24, 1785.*

(Signed)

FREDERIC.”

1785.

— Yesterday a bill prohibiting the exportation of hay passed the commons house in one day. There is such a demand for hay abroad that it fetches any price: 12l. a load at Paris; and 20l. at Brussels!

*Charleston, South Carolina, May 23, 1785.* A few days ago the court of Common Pleas at Camden was shut up by the people of that district, who assembled in crowds about the court-house, and deputed some of their number to wait on the judge, and inform him, that they were determined to pay none of their old debts; but that the court might proceed, without impediment, to the trial of criminal causes; and the jury being ordered to retire, they immediately submitted.

24. At Nottingham assizes came on before judge Willes, and a special jury, a remarkable cause between miss Mellish, the natural daughter, and miss Rankin, the niece of the late Charles Mellish, esq. It seems, that long before the death of Mr. Mellish, he communicated to Mrs. Pitt (a lady to whom he had formerly made proposals, which she rejected) his intention of leaving her the bulk of his property; an intention which she, with much magnificence of temper, very sincerely opposed: her opposition, however, was not able to alter his purpose. When he died, Mrs. Pitt found herself heiress to an estate of 1500l. a year, to the exclusion of a niece of the deceased, and his natural daughter.

It was not long before the parties met; when Mrs. Pitt, with a noble disinterestedness, positively refused to advantage herself at all under the will, and assigned the whole bequest to miss Rankin, the niece.

(D)

Miss

Miss Mellish, the natural daughter, was at the same time not unconsidered: miss Rankin, after consulting her benefactress upon the subject, made her a present of four thousand pounds.

The will producing these consequences, was regular in all forms except that there was an omission in the date. It was, however, thought to be the only will; and therefore passed unimpugned; but since that, another will has been brought to light; by which the estate in question was devised to miss Mellish; and on this her claim arose.

What puzzles not the least in deciding on this case, is this — The will, on which miss Mellish claims to possess, being of a date (1774) anterior to the other, which, though not perfect in the day or the month, wanted not the date of the year 1784, and was witnessed by three persons.

The trial began at eight o'clock in the morning, and at eleven at night the judge began to sum up the evidence, which took up near two hours; and the jury, at three in the morning, waited on the judge in his bed, with a verdict for miss Mellish, the plaintiff.

A question of such import did not pass with indifference in the town of Nottingham. As might be expected, the people took sides, but with such strange inequality and unaccountable emotion, that immediately after the trial, Mrs. Pitt, whose behaviour has been so highly spoken of, and to whom no subsequent suspicion could be imputable, became an object of popular displeasure, and was literally hooted out of the town.

*Dublin, July 20.* Yesterday afternoon, at two o'clock, Mr. Crosbie ascended in his balloon, in order to proceed on his aerial expe-

dition across the Channel. The balloon, elevated to a prodigious height, took a direction nearly N. N. E. and, in about twenty-eight minutes, was carried out of sight, by a strong but steady breeze. Mr. Crosbie at his utmost height thought himself stationary; but liberating some of his gas, he descended to a current of air, blowing north, and extremely rough. He now entered a black cloud, and encountered a repulsion of wind, with lightning and thunder, which brought him rapidly towards the surface of the water. Here the balloon made a circuit, but falling lower, the water entered his car, and he lost his notes of observation; but recollecting that his watch was at the bottom of the car, he groped for it, and put it in his pocket. All his endeavours to throw out ballast were of no avail, the intemperance of the weather plunged him into the ocean. He now thought of his cork waistcoat, and with much difficulty having put it on, the propriety of his idea became manifestly useful in the construction of his boat, as by the admission of water into the lower part of it, and the suspension of his bladders, which were arranged at the top, the water, added to his own weight, became proper ballast, and the balloon maintaining its poise, it became a powerful sail, and by means of a snatch-block to his car, or boat, he went before the wind as regularly as a sailing vessel. In this situation, he found himself inclined to eat, and took a morsel of fowl; when at the distance of another league, he discovered some vessels crowding after him; but as his progress outstripped all their endeavours, he lengthened the space of the balloon from the car, which gave a consequent check to the rapidity

pidity of his falling, when the Dunleary barge came up, and fired a gun. One of the sailors jumped into his car, and made it fast to the barge, on which the aeronaut came out with the same composure which marked the whole complexion of his adventure. At this time another of the sailors, after the car was brought on board, laid hold of the halyard which suspended the balloon, and it being released from its under weight, a ludicrous scene ensued; for the balloon ascended above 100 feet into the air, to the utmost extent of the rope, the fellow hawling most vehemently under the apprehension of taking a flight to the clouds; but being dragged down, by the united efforts of the whole crew, the poor tar was, for once, eased of his fears of going to heaven. The barge now steered for Dunleary, and towed the balloon after it. About ten o'clock they landed; and this morning he had the honour of receiving the congratulations of, and breakfasting with, their graces the duke and duchess of Rutland, at Mr. Lee's elegant lodge, Dunleary.

*Norwich, July 25.* On Friday, at half past four, major Money ascended in a balloon, which, from some mismanagement, was not more than half full. It rose, at first, very heavily, took a north-west direction, but getting higher into the air, returned, and went directly south-east; the day was perfectly calm, scarce a leaf waved upon the trees; the ascension was very gradual; the direction of the balloon was directly towards the sea. Here it may be necessary to say, that during the falling of the balloon, it had been observed that the gas escaped too rapidly out of the valve at top, to remedy which a piece of silk was sewed over it, and it having

been forgot to remove this before the balloon ascended, was the occasion of the succeeding misfortunes.

When the major had been in the air about two hours, he endeavoured to open the valve and descend; but how great his surprize to find that it had not the desired effect. Passing over Pakefield, a village between Yarmouth and Southwold, he found himself suspended over the sea, perhaps without hopes of delivery from his perilous situation. Unable to stop, unwilling to proceed, he exerted every effort to return, but all in vain; he was carried near seven leagues from land, and alighted upon the sea about seven o'clock. The boats which followed him from Lowestoff and Southwold returned, giving him up for lost. In this extremity, after beating about for four hours, sometimes in the water, and at others lifted out of it, by the balloon, after having his hands terribly lacerated by his exertions to keep himself from drowning, by lifting himself out of the water by the cords of the balloon, and nearly exhausted, he very fortunately was taken up by the Argus revenue cutter at eleven o'clock, safely landed that night on his native coast, and yesterday returned to his house, Crown Point, within a mile of this city, about three o'clock.

— Yesterday died Mr. Moore, watchmaker, in Moorfields, whose death was occasioned by the following singular circumstance. His house had been recently robbed of property to a very considerable amount; and a few evenings after, sitting in his parlour, he heard a noise in the room over it; upon which he suddenly rose from his chair, and exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon me; the villains are coming."

coming to take my life." Mr. Moore was immediately taken ill, and survived but a very few days. A physician of eminence attended him, and gave it as his opinion that from the sudden fright his whole mass of blood had undergone a change. The noise which occasioned this fatal alarm proved to be nothing more than a cat in pursuit of a mouse or rat having thrown something off the table.

*Dover, July 26.* A few days since the *Wasp* fell in with a French lugger off Dungeness, the captain of which refused to pay the usual compliment to the British flag; on which captain Hills sent his lieutenant on board, to know the reason of his refusal. The French captain said he had particular orders from his court not to do it in future; and that in case it was insisted on he must defend himself, and immediately cleared for action. Captain Hills did not think proper to risk an engagement, but sent his lieutenant to London with the above relation, and to know how he should act in future. The lieutenant is returned. But in whatever light government takes this matter, it is kept very secret.

— A squadron of French frigates, under the command of a very young officer, was lately stationed in the chops of the Channel, from whom the *Hebe*, capt. Gower, the papers say, received a polite message not to break his line. The commander's answer was he had the king his master's orders to pursue his course, and he would not alter it for the line of any king in the world.

— To a voyage for discovery by sea, her imperial majesty of all the Russias has added a journey by land, which has for its object the geography of the unexplored parts

of her empire, as far as it extends to the north and west, and towards the eastern side of the American continent. The difficulties and dangers that must necessarily attend the traversing a desolate country more than four thousand miles in extent, has been no bar to the enterprising spirit of this illustrious sovereign: the corps, appointed for the expedition, are already set out, and consist of eight hundred men, at the head of whom are a hundred and seven officers of different ranks, with gentlemen well skilled in the useful arts, and missionaries, to endeavour to carry the precepts of Christianity to the remotest regions of the earth. *See p. 62.*

— On the 24th inst. Dr. Franklin embarked at Havre, and on the same day landed at Southampton; whence, after taking some refreshment, he embarked for the isle of Wight, where a vessel lay ready to convey him to America. It is said, his presence is there much wanted, to heal the dissensions that universally prevail throughout the dis-united states. The singularity of his course has, however, given rise to much speculation.

— The two French ships, *Astrolabe* and *la Boussole*, commissioned for discovery, took their departure from the road of Brest, on the 22d of July. By them the fate of *O-mai*, so interesting to curiosity, may probably be learnt. *See p. 38.*

— On the 14th inst. a valet, named Gaudron, broke open his master's escrutoire, at Paris, and took thence money and valuables to a considerable amount, which he deposited in a lodging provided for the purpose; and having previously placed a quantity of gunpowder underneath, he had formed the diabolical design, while his master was writing, of setting fire to the train.

to blow him and his family up together, but providentially was discovered in the very act, secured, brought to trial, and sentenced to be burnt. On the morning of the execution, he was conveyed to the door of the church at Notre Dame; his head and feet bare, his body covered with a sheet, a halter round his neck, and a torch in his hand. He then confessed his crime, begged forgiveness of God, the king, and the people, and thence, in a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, was removed to the Place de Greve, and as soon as the rain abated, was laid prostrate on a pile of faggots, and burnt alive.

### AUGUST.

1. At Leyden, on the 20th of July, the villain John Gryzoe, of that city, coachman to Mrs. Vander Meulin, whom he had formerly charged with an attempt to bribe him to assassinate the stadtholder, was, in pursuance of his sentence, fastened to the gallows with a rope about his neck, and a label over his head, signifying his crimes, *perjury* and *forgery*. He was there severely whipped and branded, and afterwards recommitted to gaol, where he is to remain thirty years close confined; and, if he survives, is to be banished. The sentence of the cook, his accomplice, is to be whipped, imprisoned nine years, and banished eighteen years.

— The end of last month, a poor woman of Mear's Ashby, in Northamptonshire, being suspected of witchcraft, voluntarily offered herself to trial. The vulgar notion is, that a witch, if thrown into the water, will swim; but this poor woman, being thrown into a pond, sunk instantly, and was with difficulty saved. On which the cry

was, "No witch! No witch!" and the woman met with pity! Not so, with a poor old man and woman at Tring, some years ago. The woman, by the brutality of the multitude, perished, and one Colly was hanged for the murder. The old man recovered. One might have hoped, that this would be the last instance of such superstitious folly.

2. William Hurt, who was lately executed for a highway robbery (see *March 3*), voluntarily confessed to Mr. Villette, the ordinary, on receiving the sacrament on the Sunday preceding the execution, that he committed the robbery in company with a person, who then remained in the New Jail to be tried. He afterwards, in his cell, recapitulated the particulars of the fact to two persons of credit, and corroborated the same by a most solemn declaration on the scaffold. Gibson, the person who was Hurt's companion in the robbery, is now a convict under sentence of death in the New Jail, in the Borough. He last week avowed his guilt, and declared before the reverend Mr. Worship, of Halley-court, Blackman-street, and other respectable witnesses, that he robbed sir Thomas Davenport, in company with Hurt; that he rode a bay crop mare; that Hurt rode a grey mare; that they both had light-coloured great coats on, with silk handkerchiefs over their faces; that the lining of his (Gibson's) hat hung down over his face, and that only one of his eyes was visible. That he observed the footman taking particular notice of him; he therefore rode up to him, and obliged him to dismount, while he rode round to the side of the carriage on which sir Thomas Davenport sat, and robbed him of his watch and an old cornelian seal, the engraving on which was a man's head,



head, with an halter about his neck; that he sold the watch and seals to Mr. Brew, who at that time kept a pawnbroker's shop in Shoreditch, but has since been sent on board the hulk at Woolwich, where he is now confined.

— The ship owners, and others concerned in the coal-trade, having lately entered into a combination to enhance the price of coals, a court of common council was held on Friday, when the lord mayor stated this alarming circumstance. It was, in consequence, recommended to put the laws against unlawful combinations into execution; and application being made to ministry, an advertisement appeared the next day in the Gazette, with his majesty's pardon, and a reward of 200*l.* to any person concerned in such combination, who should discover the abettors or promoters of the same. At the same time the following notice was served on the coal buyers, coal-factors, &c, by Mr. Saxby, the water-bailiff, viz.

“ The lord mayor being extremely anxious that the inhabitants of the city and parts adjacent may receive their ordinary supply of coals, and that the persons usually employed in the coal-trade may no longer be kept out of employment, has directed me to give immediate notice to the coal owners, factors, and all others concerned in the coal trade, that unless the ships now in the river begin to unload their cargoes without farther delay, his lordship is prepared and determined to carry into immediate effect the resolution of the court of common council of this day, and cause all persons to be brought to that punishment which the common and statute laws of the realm have prepared for those who enter into combinations to obstruct the sale of

that necessary commodity, and enhance the price thereof. By order of his lordship,

(Signed)

WILLIAM SAXBY, water-bailiff of the city of London.”

Mansion-House, July 29, 1785.

These prudent and spirited measures produced all the effect that could be wished.

— Another meeting of the commissioners for carrying the shop-tax into execution was held at Guildhall; when a motion being made, and the question put, that “ the shop-tax was partial, oppressive,” &c. &c. a division took place, on which the numbers were,

For the motion 47

Against it — 4

A second motion was next made, to confirm the resolution of July 4, for adjourning the consideration of the said tax till the last day of September next, when another division ensued :

For confirming the resolution 48

Against it — — 12

After which the meeting broke up.

3. On the 17th ult. an arret was published at Paris, laying divers restrictions and prohibitions on all foreign, and particularly English, manufactures. This arret naturally occasioned a general alarm in this country. The first knowledge which our manufacturers received of it was by a notice from the French houses countermanding all their orders; and more than a hundred looms in the gauze branch only were on Monday stopped in Spitalfields. The manufacturers had a conference with one of the secretaries of state, who told them, that every step which government could take would be pursued on the occasion. “ It was a policy, he said, which we had not provoked, and for which he could



could not account." See *Public Papers*.

4. On Monday last, Andrew Knox, one of the privates in a regiment of light dragoons which attended a late review at Woolwich, and who grossly misbehaved himself by cutting and ill-treating many of the spectators, was brought before Sir Sampson Wright, for wounding Mr. Brander, gunmaker, in the Minories, in the eye, with his drawn scymitar, and making a second cut at him with the same weapon, by which his life would have been endangered, as his eye-sight had been by the first, if the blow had not been warded off by a friend who was near him. The atrociousness of this assault was aggravated by the consideration, that it was not in the discharge of the man's duty to keep order in the field, as the review had been long over, but it was wantonly committed in an inn-yard, which Mr. Brander and many others had entered to avoid the troops, and any accident that might happen. Under these circumstances, though the man had already received some punishment by the sentence of a court-martial for his irregular conduct, he was committed to take his trial for the assault at the next quarter-sessions at Maidstone, as an example to all such offenders, that no martial discipline shall protect them from answering to the civil magistrate for a breach of the peace.

*Rotterdam, July 29.* This day, at five in the afternoon, Mr. Blanchard ascended in his balloon. After rising to an immense altitude, he continued in a direct line, and in less than an hour, as he reports it himself, having passed through several electrical clouds of a most beautiful appearance, he alighted at Ysselstein, nine leagues from this city. Mr. Blanchard adds, that the

kind reception he met with at Ysselstein, made him entirely forget the ill-treatment of the unmannerly boors of Zevenhuys. See p. 48.

— A letter from Dublin, dated July 30, has the following article: "A coal-factor on Aston's Quay, having last spring imported a cargo of early potatoes from England, sold but a small quantity, and the rest remained on hand, spoiled for human consumption, and consequently lost to a market. This man had sixteen horses constantly at work, and finding it difficult, during the late drought, to provide them in forage, he washed and boiled some of the potatoes, and having sprinkled them with salt, he, by degrees, introduced them, mixed with their common food, until the horses grew so uncommonly fond of the root in a few days, that they preferred it to hay, oats, or grains. They are now fed with nothing else, and thrive wonderfully."

5. Yesterday were executed at Kennington Common, Philip Gibson, John Mutton, and Henry Wiggs, for a burglary; Thomas Hudson, for a highway robbery; Charles Jenkins, for a footpad robbery; Owen McCarthy, for house-breaking; and William Shearman, for horse-stealing. Gibson, after receiving the sacrament yesterday morning, confessed to the rev. Mr. Dyer, and other gentlemen, that he, with Mutton, Wiggs, and two more not yet taken, robbed Morgan Rice, esq. high sheriff for Surrey; he likewise confessed, that he and Hunt were the real persons who robbed Sir Thomas Davenport and his lady on the 11th of October last, for which Thomas Wood and George Brown were tried, and honourably acquitted; and that he (Gibson) sold five watches, with Sir Thomas's,

mas's, and the seal with a man's head and a halter round his neck; to Brew, now on board the hulk. See p. 53.

7. By letters from Paris, of the 5th inst. we learn, that the chevalier d'Entrecasteaux, of a noble family in France, and once president of the parliament of Provence, who, in May, 1784, murdered his wife, and, after the commission of the horrid deed, escaped into Portugal, died at Lisbon on the 17th of July. On his arrival in that city, under a borrowed name, he was apprehended, in consequence of an advertisement. During his confinement, he presented a most extraordinary petition to the queen of Portugal; a petition, in which the violator of the marriage-bed, and the murderer of his wife, extenuates his crime, as proceeding from "a sentiment of *honour* carried to excess;" in which an atrocious criminal declares, that "ignominy is intolerable," and is distressed lest "a perpetual infamy should be affixed to his memory;" in which he talks of "happiness which his misdeeds had a right to expect" in a criminal connection, and supplicates for death as "the recovery of his virtue, the preservation of his honour, and the end of his misery." Nothing can enforce in a more striking manner, than does this petition, the fatal consequences of infidelity and desert, and of the principles of that imaginary honour, derived from caprice and folly, which permits an unbounded indulgence of the passions, and too often terminates in irretrievable destruction. (See *Public Papers*.) Her most faithful majesty had ordered him to be sent to the Brazils, for which, accordingly, he was on the point of embarking, when he fell dangerously ill from excess of

remorse; and, on the 18th of last month, felt his end approaching. He then requested the queen to send one of her secretaries, who took down his last declaration, in which he confessed to have been alone the murderer of his wife, at one in the morning, on the 11th of May, 1784, when he entered her room quite naked, and getting upon the bed, put her head between his knees, and with a razor cut her throat. She cried out, but he stopped her mouth, and he finished his bloody business without the victim making the least noise. When she was quite dead, he went into a yard, and washed his whole body with water. This abominable criminal totally exculpates any of his servants from having the smallest concern in the horrid deed. His body, by order of the queen, was exposed to public view, with his face uncovered, for twenty-four hours.

11 Vienna. July 24. This day being appointed by the emperor for the audience of the comte de Wassenhaer and baron Van Leiden, the two Dutch deputies: they were accordingly introduced to his majesty, when comte de Wassenhaer addressed him in the following words, viz.

"Sir, We have the honour to represent to your majesty the high regard, esteem, and respect, which their High Mightinesses have always entertained for the whole royal house of Austria, and particularly for the person of your imperial majesty, and of which we are charged to offer to your majesty these flesh assurances, and in acquitting ourselves of this duty, at the same time to assure your imperial majesty,

"That their H. M. could not but with the greatest regret perceive any coolness intervene to deaden that friendship which subsisted between your majesty and this repub-

lie. That their H. M. never had the smallest intentions either to injure your imperial majesty, or to insult your flag, as during the whole train of circumstances which have occurred, their H. M. have made it their rule so to regulate their conduct as undoubtedly to shew their regard and respect to your imperial majesty, as far as was consistent with their own independence, their honour, and undoubted rights. That their H. M. sincerely wish to see that concord which was so unfortunately disturbed, again renewed, and placed upon an immovable basis. That their H. M. never purposed to treat the subjects of your majesty on any other footing than the subjects of the republic.

“ That with these sentiments their H. M. flatter themselves all ideas injurious to the respect they entertain for your imperial majesty, which may have been unjustly laid to their charge, will be entirely done away.

“ And it is in conformity to these sentiments, Sir, that their H. M. earnestly desire to see a full return and re-establishment of good understanding with your imperial and royal majesty, which they hope soon to have accomplished through the good offices of a monarch connected with your majesty by the strongest ties of friendship and relationship. This will be a most happy moment, which can never arrive too soon for the wishes of their H. M. who never have nor ever can alter in the high value they place upon the friendship and good will of your imperial and royal majesty towards this republic.”

To this speech the emperor returned the following answer, viz, “ It is highly pleasing to me, gentlemen, that their H. M. have by your deputation complied with what

I desired, as something that might precede an accommodation.

“ I shall order my ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiations under the mediation of the king of France, my brother, and I do not doubt but a speedy conclusion will prevent the unhappy occurrences which would be the infallible consequence of a farther delay.”

*Edinburgh, August 6.* Yesterday the question of literary property, respecting the reprinting part of Dr. Stuart's Histories in the Encyclopædia Britannica (*see July 23.*) came again before the Court of Session, by reclaiming petition; and, after hearing counsel, their lordships delivered their opinions at length; and, by a considerable majority, were pleased to adhere to their former interdict; which finally determines the cause in favour of the pursuers. It was the opinion of one of the judges, that this was no infringement on literary property: of another, that as there was no intention to hurt the sale, there could be no injury done to the author, by taking large extracts from his work. Some others argued for the defenders, that if extracts were permitted to Reviews, Magazines, Annual Registers, &c, why not to a Dictionary of Arts? To this it was answered, that the question concerning Reviews, &c, was not before the court: their lordships were to judge from the case before them. Others, that every part of an author's work was protected by the statute; an instance was supposed in Dr. Henry's History of England, which, being divided into seven distinct parts, each part might be reprinted by itself; and if one printed one part, and another another part, in this way, an author might be completely stripped of his work,

11. Yesterday the report was made to his majesty of the twenty-five last convicts at the Old Bailey (*see July 6.*), when Richard Jacobs, George Olive, John Reboult alias Prescott, Thomas Bailey, John Morris, James Guthrie, James Lockhart, Martin Taylor, and Elizabeth Taylor, were ordered for execution.

*New York, July 6.* On Monday the 27th ult. arrived at his house in New London (from England, via Nova Scotia) the right rev. Dr. Seabury, bishop of the episcopal church in Connecticut, to which diocese he was consecrated by three bishops on the 15th of November last, after a most excellent sermon adapted to the occasion, was delivered by a bishop of the episcopal church at Aberdeen in Scotland, concerning the pure and apostolical establishment. *See Jan. 1.*

*New York, June 29.* On the 10th of February last, a bill was read a second time in the general assembly of Georgia, for granting to his excellency the count d'Estaing 20,000 acres of land, and to encourage the settlement thereof.

18. This day were executed at the Old Bailey, Richard Jacobs, John Reboult, John Morris, James Guthrie, James Lockhart, and Martin and Elizabeth Taylor (brother and sister). George Olive, ordered for execution at the same time, received a respite on Tuesday. *See Aug. 11.*

19. The French vessel which lately refused to pay the accustomed honour to one of his majesty's ships of war, though on our own coasts, was, it is now perfectly known, taking soundings of the coast of Hampshire; she had been seen in the Needles about the Isle of Wight, and if she had not been discovered, would probably have gone to St,

Helen's or Spithead. This affair has been hushed up, but it has given some alarm. *See July 30.*

*Montserrat, June 1.* A very remarkable event has happened in this island. The a—— g—— I lately proceeded against judge D—, on the behalf of a merchant of England, by which, and other circumstances, the judge was so incensed, that he sent him a challenge, which being refused, the judge posted him in every island for coward ce, &c.

*Plymouth, Aug. 16.* A melancholy affair happened on Monday, the 8th instant, on board the Sampson of 64 guns, lying in Hamoze, of which the following is an accurate statement, as given in evidence before the coroner. Lieut. Wells, of the 70th regiment, deposed, that on Monday the 8th of August, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Burrell, and himself, were invited to sup on board the Sampson by the third lieutenant Mr. Tupper. They went on board, with captain Douglas of the marines, supped there, and about two o'clock on Tuesday morning a quarrel arose between Mr. Walton, master of the ship, and Douglas. Walton told Douglas he was his commanding officer; Douglas denied it, said lieutenant Blow was his commanding officer, and his orders he would obey with pleasure. Walton called Douglas an impertinent puppy, and at the same time rose from his chair, which was on the opposite side of the table, went round to Douglas, and gave him a blow on the face, which made him reel. Douglas appeared very angry on receiving the blow, ran instantly into his cabin, which was separated from the ward-room by a canvas partition only, and not more than three yards distance. Mr. Wells ran up, shut the door of Douglas's

glas's cabin, and endeavoured about half a minute to prevent his return into the ward-room; but apprehensive of receiving a wound through the door, it being of canvas, he went on one side. Douglas immediately ran out with a drawn bayonet. Walton and Douglas ran to each other, and closed. A scuffle ensued between them; it lasted near a minute. They parted from each other. Walton leaned against the partition, and dropped almost instantly down; blood issued from his mouth. This witness, while Walton and Douglas were closed, saw Douglas push twice at Walton with the bayonet; he endeavoured to take the bayonet out of his hand, but it was either drawn through his hand, or wrenched out of it. Douglas was drunk, and Walton sober.

Lieutenant Burrell, and ensign Cooper, of the 70th regiment, confirmed this evidence, and added, that there appeared no inclination in Douglas to quarrel, till he received the blow, but that Walton appeared very passionate and insulting to him, and they were surprised Douglas could bear the language he received; that Douglas called loudly for the surgeon, and expressed the greatest agony on the occasion, declaring he would have as soon killed his father as Walton. The whole transaction to Walton's death took up but four minutes.

The coroner's inquest brought in their verdict wilful murder. Captain Douglas was sent to Launceston jail. Mr. Walton was universally esteemed as a good officer and worthy man, and was buried with naval honours on Thursday.

*Aix-la-Chapelle, Aug. 12.* The following is the manner by which was discovered a conspiracy formed against the duke of Brunswick.

Some time ago a letter was addressed to a foreigner, then residing at Brussels. This letter arrived just after the death of the foreigner. The landlord of the deceased, having opened it, found that it made mention of a plan for carrying off the papers of the duke of Brunswick, and not to be sparing of his person. The landlord upon this applied to government, and delivered the letter; the government of Brussels immediately gave intelligence of it to the duke, advising him to be on his guard. Two imperial officers residing here kept watch day and night, till at length the baron — his wife, his brother-in-law, and three other persons, were taken into custody. One of the prisoners, it is said, declared, that he had received 200 ducats at Liege for the execution of this design. The fact has been communicated to the emperor by an express, whose return is every moment expected.

23. On the 16th instant, during a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, a fire-ball fell on the house of Mrs. Singleton, in Crown-street, Bury St. Edmund's, which slightly hurt her, but killed her daughter. The following epitaph to her memory is extracted from the Bury Post.

HERE lies interred the body of  
M A R Y S I N G L E T O N,  
a young maiden of this parish,  
aged 9 years;  
born of Roman Catholic parents,  
and virtuously brought up,  
who being in the act of prayer,  
repeating her vespers,  
was instantaneously killed by a flash of  
lightning,  
August the 16th, 1785.

Not Siloam's ruinous tower the victims  
slew,  
Because above the many, sinn'd the few:  
Nor here the fated lightning wreak'd his  
rage,  
By vengeance sent for crimes matur'd by  
age:

For



For whilst the thunder's awful voice was  
heard,  
The little suppliant with its hands uprear'd  
Address'd her God in prayers the priest  
had taught,  
His mercy crav'd, and his protection  
sought.

Learn, reader, hence, that wisdom to  
adore,  
Thou canst not scan, and fear his bound-  
less power.  
Safe shalt thou be, if thou perform'st his  
will;  
Blest if he spares; and more blest should  
he kill.

*Smyrna, July 5.* Letters from  
Alexandria advise, that a dreadful  
desolation continues to prevail in  
Egypt, both from the extreme want  
of provisions and the contagious  
diseases which daily make great ra-  
vages there; and especially at Cairo,  
where near 13000 persons die daily.  
Even in one single day lately 3600  
Mahometans died, exclusive of peo-  
ple of other religions. This deso-  
lation is attributed to the pestilen-  
tial contagion of the waters of the  
Nile, in which, for some time past,  
the dead bodies have been thrown,  
through a misinterpretation of the  
orders of government.

28. We hear from Paris that on  
Monday the 15th instant, the king  
being objected with messrs. de Ver-  
gennes and Caltrics, after a short  
conference with them, sent for the  
cardinal prince of Rohan, grand al-  
moner of France, and bishop of  
Strasbourg. The prelate was then  
preparing to celebrate mass in pon-  
ticalibus. The king's message was  
peremptory; his eminence obeyed  
it. His majesty caused him to be  
arrested, and after having been kept  
close prisoner in his own palace till  
the Wednesday following, the pre-  
late was transferred to the Bastille.  
*See Sc. 1. 1.*

*Vienna, Aug. 8.* The baron de

Hupfch, of Colbga, a man cele-  
brated for having made several use-  
ful discoveries, and author of many  
ingenious publications, has, after  
twenty years studying of that dread-  
ful distemper among the horned cat-  
tle, which makes such ravages in  
many parts of Europe, but parti-  
cularly in Lower Germany, at last  
found a remedy, that not only cures  
those beasts already attacked by the  
distemper, but preserves those in  
health from catching the disorder;  
this remedy has been repeatedly  
tried with success, but particularly  
at Stolberg, in the duchy of Juliers,  
where fifty-six healthy beasts were  
entirely preserved from the conta-  
gion, and sixteen sick beasts cured;  
four beasts died, but these were too  
far gone before the remedy was ad-  
ministered to them. This is a most  
important discovery for all Europe,  
and it is to be hoped the baron, who  
has spared neither pains nor expence  
in the discovery, will make it known  
for the public good.

31. A prodigious concourse of  
people assembled in St. George's  
Fields, to see Mr. Arnold's experi-  
ment with a balloon and parachute.  
From some defect in the apparatus,  
the balloon was too much inflated,  
and the cords of the netting too slen-  
der. However, when every thing  
was adjusted, Mr. Arnold and his son  
seated themselves in the car with a-  
mazing calmness and courage. Mr.  
Appleby, likewise, an English tar,  
went into the basket suspended to the  
parachute, which was attached to  
the car, and from which he was to  
have been let down. His intrepidi-  
dity was strongly characteristic of  
his profession. Instead of feeling  
the least alarm in attempting an en-  
terprize, which has never been ha-  
zarded by man, he sat himself as  
calmly in the basket as if he had  
been



been sitting down to a customary meal.

The signal being given, they rose about two feet; but descending again, they threw out some ballast, when it rose, and would have then cleared the paling, had not the parachute and basket been attached to the car. They struck against the pales, and were thus broke from the car and balloon above them. Mr. Appleby was, consequently, with his parachute and basket, within side, while he saw Mr. Arnold and his son ascending in the car above him. But they had scarcely got beyond the paling a few yards, before the car struck against a cart, by which accident Mr. Arnold was thrown out, and the car itself materially damaged. However, in the broken state in which it was, young Arnold clung to the remaining part of the netting, and ascended in a manner that excited, in the minds of all who were spectators of this unfortunate spectacle, the most dreadful apprehensions for his safety. He was expected to fall, either with or without the car, every moment. But this fear was greatly increased by the balloon bursting when he had ascended about three quarters of a mile. The cries of the populace increased the horror of the scene. Happily, however, in about two minutes after the balloon had burst, it descended into the Thames, near Wapping Old Stairs. He was taken out by Mr. Jackson, of Leigh-street, Red Lion-square, who, in the very instant, was fortunately passing by in a boat.

— A beautiful monument, by Mr. Bacon, has been lately opened in the Abbey-church at Bath, to the memory of lady Miller, late of Bathaston villa. Upon a large

plate of beautiful statuary marble at the foot of the monument, is the following inscription:

Near this monument are deposited  
the remains of

LADY MILLER,

Wife to Sir John Miller, Bart. of  
Bathaston Villa:

She departed this life at the Hot  
Wells of Bristol, the 24th of  
June, 1781, in the 41st year of  
her age.

Devoted stone! amidst the wrecks of time  
Uninjured bear thy MILLER's spotless  
name;

The virtues of her youth, and ripen'd  
prime,

The tender thought, th' enduring re-  
cord claim.

When clos'd the numerous eyes that round  
this bier

Have wept the loss of wide-extended  
worth,

O gentle stranger, may one gen'rous tear  
Drop, as thou bendest o'er this hal-  
low'd earth!

Are truth and genius, love and pity, thine,  
With lib'ral charity, and faith sincere?  
Then rest thy wand'ring step beneath this  
shrine,

And greet a kindred spirit hovering  
near.

— The empress of Russia has published a proclamation, inviting foreigners of all nations and religions to settle in her newly-acquired dominions, situate in the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus, promising them protection in their civil and religious rights, and an exemption from taxes for six years, with other encouragements.

— The company, which her Imperial majesty sent to make discoveries by land, in the Eastern part of her empire, have already found, at  
the

the foot of Mount Caucasus, a colony of strangers called Tschetches, supposed to be descendants of some Christian society, who, having been persecuted on account of their religious opinions, had quitted their country about the end of the 15th century, and settled in that remote desert. The colony is not numerous, but of exemplary piety and simplicity of manners. They are supposed to be from Bohemia, from the affinity of language. See p. 52.

— Prince William Henry, his majesty's third son, having duly served as a midshipman in North America, the West Indies, &c. was commissioned in June last to be third lieutenant of the *Hebe*, commanded by commodore Gower. Though it was asserted, from Portsmouth, that they were bound to the Mediterranean, and even said, from Torbay, that they passed by that place, June 23, the *Hebe* really sailed on a cruise on the coast of this island, where she was first heard of, anchoring in Burlington-bay, during which time the royal lieutenant made an excursion, with some of his messmates, to Hull, on horseback, but not being so expert as on board, he suffered a slight but harmless land-wreck. Having arrived on the coast of Scotland, the following account was given from "*Edinburgh, July 13*. The squadron, under the command of commodore Gower, arrived this day in Leith Roads, and will sail in a day or two. They are going to survey the coast all the way to the Orkneys." — In the several ports where the prince touched, due honours were paid to his birth. In particular, the three following letters occurred.

*Kirkwall, July 21.* "On the 18th inst. came into Kirkwall Road the *Hebe*, of 40 guns, commodore

Gower, having on board prince William Henry, attended by a cutter of 16 guns, where they rode at anchor till the 22d, and then went on a cruise round the North isles of Orkney. During their stay here, numbers of gentlemen and ladies went a-board; and some other gentlemen were honoured, not only with his royal highness's presence, but they also dined with him and the commodore; and on Wednesday afternoon his R. H. in compliment to the city of Kirkwall, came on shore, attended by the captain and other officers, and paraded the streets from one end to the other. Nothing was to be heard but ringing of bells, and shouting of people, as demonstrations of their joy on seeing a prince of the blood in the *ultima Thule* of his royal father's dominions. The incorporations of Kirkwall met, and drew up an address to the prince, inclosing the freedom of their societies, which were delivered to his R. H. on board the *Hebe* by Mess. Walter and Cobban, two of their number, which his R. H. graciously accepted."

*Stornway, Isle of Lewis, July 30.*  
"On the 29th inst. arrived in this bay the *Hebe* frigate, with prince William Henry, commodore Gower, &c. attended by the *Mutine* cutter. Mr. M'Kenzie, of Seaforth, factor, and some others of the principal inhabitants, had the honour of paying their respects on board. The prince and the commodore came ashore, and expressed much satisfaction at the neatness of the village, and the capaciousness and security of its harbour, the stir occasioned by the number of busses hourly arriving, being the central ground, in wait for the herring fishing, about which the prince and the commodore were particularly in-  
inqui-

inquisitive: The prince angled very successfully on our rivers, saw abundance of game, and regretted the shooting season had not come on. His R. H. and his mews dined ashore with the factor on Friday, and sailed in the evening for the coast of Ireland, of which, however, he had only a glimpse.

*Belfast, Aug. 5.* The Hebe frigate entered this harbour on the 3d. The expectations of the inhabitants were considerably excited, to behold the first of the blood royal of the present family that has seen Irish land; but hitherto they have been disappointed. From the Perseus frigate, he received a salute, which was answered by the Hebe. Being also saluted by capt. Bristow of the Langrishe cutter, the salute was returned with 11 guns. It is understood he does not intend to receive any of the compliments due to his birth, but to appear merely in his rank as lieutenant."

Sailing down St. George's Channel; the prince honoured, with his presence, the principality and duchy of his eldest brother. Landing in Milford-Haven, he visited, not only lord Milford at his adjoining seat, but the brilliant assembly at Haverford West; and, in like manner, disembarking at Falmouth, he visited the viscount of that title, at Tregothan, the assembly at Truro, and the tinneries; and, some days after, arrived in perfect health, at Spithead.

#### S E P T E M B E R.

1. By a letter from Versailles, of the 21st ult. the following account is given of the circumstances that led to the imprisonment of the cardinal de Rohan. (*See Aug. 28.*)

"Mr. Bohmer, jeweller, had shewn

to the queen, some time ago a diamond necklace, which he valued at 1,600,000 livres (70,000l.); but upon her majesty's refusal, Bohmer tried to dispose of it elsewhere. He was hardly returned home, when the comtesse de la Motte came to acquaint him, that the queen had thought better of it, and would take the necklace at something less than he had valued it, provided he would be satisfied to be paid by instalments, and keep the matter secret. She, at the same time, produced a letter, written, as she pretended, by her majesty. The jeweller, not thinking it safe to part with so considerable a property upon the slender security offered him, the comtesse added, that she would send him one of the most considerable lords about the court. This was done accordingly; the cardinal sent for Bohmer; the bargain was struck for 1,400,000 livres (61,250l.) and the necklace put into the hands of madame de la Motte, on delivering her majesty's notes, payable at different times. The first for 400,000 livres (17,500l.) becoming due on the first inst. and not being paid, Bohmer complained of it to a friend of his belonging to the queen's household. Her majesty could hardly believe what she heard, and employed above ten days in enquiries, till, at last, being convinced, by means of a letter written by the cardinal, declaring that the necklace had been delivered, she acquainted the king with the whole transaction; and the consequences you have heard. The cardinal insisted upon going on foot to the Bastile, and was accompanied by comte d'Agoult, who had him in custody. There he arrived on Tuesday, at eleven at night, being permitted to be attended by a valet-de-

de-chambre and two footmen. On Wednesday, the king having appointed Messrs. de Vergennes, Castries, and Breteuil, to search the cardinal's papers, with express directions not to seize any but those that were immediately relative to the business; they, in the presence of his eminence, broke the seals, and the whole search being completed, the cardinal returned to the Bastille, at nine in the evening.—The husband of madame de la Motte has fled to England, taking with him the diamonds in question; but the countess herself has been sent to the Bastille, with a Madame Oliva, said also to be concerned in this transaction. The cardinal has been permitted to see his relations the prince de Soubise and the princess de Marfan; and he declares, that he is the unfortunate victim of an intriguing woman, having had no other idea himself than that of obliging the queen.

Another letter from Versailles, of the 28th of August, says, the celebrated madame de la Motte was, about eight years ago, apprentice to a woman, who had charitably taken her out of the street into her own house. It happened, one day, that the marchioness de Boullainvilliers having occasion for some linen, entered the shop, and hearing the woman call her apprentice, mademoiselle *de Valois*, was struck at the name, and enquired of the young lady, whether she had a right to it? The whole was explained, and the title produced, to the satisfaction of the marchioness. It clearly appeared that the former was the descendant of Henry de St. Remy, natural son of king Henry II. the last of the royal house of Valois. A pension of 2000 livres was immediately procured for her; and her brother, then a cabin-boy,

was appointed midshipman, and is now lieutenant of a man of war, Mademoiselle de Valois some time after married mons. de la Motte, a gentleman of Barr-sur-Aube, one of comte d'Artois's body guards. This gave her an opportunity of going to court; not into the presence indeed, but into the antichamber; where, being reduced by her extravagance, she often solicited and obtained relief from the queen and princesses; but being at last considered as a mere woman of intrigue, no farther attention was paid to her.—Comte Cagliastro, his lady, and several more, have also taken up their apartments in the Bastille, on account, it is said, of their connexions with the cardinal.

The following is the preamble of the letters patent sent by his majesty to his parliament.

“ Louis, by the grace of God, &c. greeting.

“ The sieur Bohmer, jeweller, having presented himself before the queen, our beloved consort, to demand payment for a diamond necklace, by him sold to cardinal de Rohan, on terms made and subscribed in the queen's name, full of indignation at the abuse made of a name so dear to us, we ordered the said cardinal into our presence, when he declared unto us, that the said terms or proposals had been tendered to him by the lady de la Motte, alias de Valois; wherefore thinking it is our duty to clear up the fact, and not suffer such an attempt to go unpunished, we have caused the body of the cardinal to be apprehended, and the said lady de la Motte, and we judge it convenient to send them before you according to the laws of the realm, referring to all right and jurisdiction therein.”

In consequence of the attribution,  
the

the attorney-general has filed his information, and Bohmer and the treasurer, St. James, were subpoenaed to appear.

7. This day the Irish parliament was prorogued, after a speech from the throne, addresses voted, &c. See *Public Papers*.

— Charles Clutterbuck, who was capitally convicted in France, for a fraud and forgery on the Bank of England, and whose sentence of death was, through the clemency of his Most Christian Majesty, changed for that of being sent to the galleys for life, sat out from Arras, the 31st of last month, chained together with several other felons for the place of his destination.

— We hear from Munich, that the elector of Bavaria has published the following edict :

“ Being thoroughly convinced, that, notwithstanding our repeated prohibition, the Free Masons continue to hold their clandestine meetings, and to carry on their *mischievous callings*; that they make collections, and admit fresh members, insomuch that in our colleges of justice a majority of the members are masons.

“ His serene highness persists unalterably in his resolution on that head; and as he expects his orders to be more exactly executed in his colleges of justice than elsewhere, he therefore enjoins all the presidents and members of such colleges, who are of that sect, to declare it in eight days, and at the same time to declare their resolution to renounce it, and no longer frequent any of its meetings.

“ Such as shall comply with the above orders of their sovereign, in the above time, and repent of their crime, shall be pardoned; those, on the contrary, who shall not, shall.

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on the discovery, be immediately not only dismissed from their employment, but be severely fined and otherwise punished.” Informers are to be handsomely rewarded, and their names concealed.

*Kelfo, Sept. 2.* On Friday evening last a boy of this town, walking in the country, eat of lycoperdon, or fungus rotundus orbicularis, in English puff-ball, or dusty mushroom. The same night he was seized with a violent convulsions, attended with a paralytic affection of his tongue and throat, which prevented his being able to swallow any thing. To this was added a palsy of his right side. For thirty-six hours he had every appearance of death, but is now in a fair way of recovery, except that he has not yet got the power of his right leg and arm.

12. This morning, about ten o'clock, a gentleman in a hackney-coach, came to the shop of Mr. Richards, gun-maker, in the Strand, and having purchased a pair of pistols, he loaded one of them, and went into the parlour with it. This alarming the family, Mr. Richards followed him, remonstrated on the impropriety of trying the pistols there, and begged he would go below stairs, where there was a place for that purpose. The gentleman, with some agitation, said there was no ball in it; but Mr. Richards insisted on his not firing it, and took hold of his arm to prevent him. Upon this they both returned into the shop, and while Mr. Richards turned round to shut the parlour-door, the unfortunate man applied the pistol to his mouth, fired it, and instantly fell. Mr. Thompson, a surgeon, was immediately sent for, who found him quite dead, the ball having penetrated his brain. His pockets were then searched, but

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there

there was nothing found that could lead to a discovery of his name. A servant, however, passing, and seeing a crowd, enquired what was the matter; being informed that a gentleman had shot himself, he exclaimed, "Good God, it is my master!" and, upon seeing the body, his fears were confirmed. He proved to be Felton Lionel Hervey, esq. first cousin to the earl of Bristol. He was formerly a captain in the horse-grenadier guards, but had retired some time. He had been melancholy several days, and, on his going out in the morning, his servant followed him, and saw him take a coach in Bond-street. On his offering to get up behind, his master in a peremptory tone bade him go home, saying he was going to his attorney, and ordered the coachman to drive as fast as he could to Mr. Richards's shop in the Strand. — Mr. Hervey was appointed, with his late father, joint-remembrancer of the Exchequer, a very lucrative office. On the same evening the coroner's jury sat on the body, and brought in their verdict "Lunacy."

— An extraordinary robbery was committed on Saturday morning, at Mr. Benner's, the Three Rabbits, on the Rumford road:—Mr. Wrigglesworth, of Gosfield, in Essex, came to that house the preceding evening, with upwards of 1100*l.* in draughts and Bank notes, and 100 guineas and a half in his pocket. He went to bed early, and placed the above property in his breeches beneath his head. A youth, genteely dressed, lay in the same room; and finding means to convey the whole from under the pillow, departed by break of day. At 7 o'clock, Mr. W. discovered the theft, and immediately sent to the different public offices. A woman was at last taken into custody,

who proved to be the identical youth that had slept in Mr. W.'s chamber. Eight hundred pounds in notes and cash were found upon her, which Mr. W. has recovered. The name of this offender is Mary Davis. She is extremely handsome, and not more than eighteen. She was, in the sequel, sent to Chelmsford gaol, to take her trial at the Lent assizes.

— Last week copies of the late resolution of his majesty in council, held at St. James's the 2d instant, respecting deserters, were sent to the commanding officers of all the regiments on the British and Irish establishment, now stationed in any part of the globe, by which it is declared, that in reviewing the punishment of deserters (whipping and death) so diametrically opposite to the feelings and opinions of the first military characters in the kingdom, which practice it was also found had by no means the desired effect, it had been found expedient in some cases to alter and amend it: it is therefore ordered to be declared as his majesty's will, by and with the advice of his majesty's most honourable privy council, that all deserters from any of his majesty's forces, either military or marine, shall in future be sent to the coast of Africa, or to the East Indies, for life, without any alleviation of the sentence whatsoever, and there to be branded and badged as criminals, and to be under perpetual stoppages; clothing, &c. being only provided them as at present.

14. A Spaniard, who announced his intention of walking across the Seine, made his experiment Monday se'nnight, in the inclosure of la Rapée. He placed himself on the water on his clogs, of which the form is unknown, and he advanced



vanced into the current, and moved both with and against the stream. He stopped at times, and at times stooped and filled a glass, which he held in his hand, with water: in neither of these situations did he sink below the ankle in the flood. His motion was slow, and apparently painful, in particular by the difficulty of preserving his equilibrium. He remained on the water between 15 and 20 minutes. Before he reached the shore, he left his wooden shoes or clogs (*sabots*) in a kind of box, which was afloat for the purpose, and by which he concealed their construction. He was accompanied by a boat, which administration had provided for his safety, and the most distinguished persons in the state witnessed his experiment.

15. *Oxford, Sept. 13.* On Monday, their majesties, and six of the royal children, honoured lord and lady Harcourt with a visit at their beautiful villa of Newnham, near Oxford, where they passed a very agreeable day, and intended returning in the evening to Windsor, but being captivated by the beautiful appearance of the university of Oxford, from the terrace of his lordship's gardens, their majesties determined to pay this seat of learning a visit the next morning, and passed the night at lord Harcourt's. Early in the morning, general Harcourt came to this place, and communicated to the vice-chancellor their majesty's intentions, who desired to be received in the most private manner.—About ten o'clock, the cavalcade passed over Magdalen-bridge in four carriages, and alighted at Christ-church college, where they immediately went to chapel, it being the time of divine service; after which they saw the library, hall, and every thing wor-

thy of notice in that college. They then proceeded to visit the other colleges and public buildings. On their arrival at the Sheldonian Theatre, they were received by the vice-chancellor, proctors, &c. in academical habits; on their entrance, the organ played, and continued the time of their staying in the theatre. Here the vice-chancellor, heads of houses, nobility, &c. were announced to their majesties, and had the honour of kissing their hands.—This ceremony being over, they visited the observatory and all other public places. The mayor and other members of this ancient corporation sent to know where their majesties would please to be waited on; the king appointed the Town-hall, and came there about three o'clock, when the mayor and all the members of the corporation kissed their majesties hands; and the honour of knighthood was conferred on John Treacher, esquire, mayor. Their majesties expressed the greatest pleasure at the reception they met with, and were highly delighted with the grandeur of the buildings, &c.

*Kingston, Jamaica, July 30.*

Monday a court of admiralty was held in this town, at which William alias Benjamin Johnson, was indicted for piracy and murder, on board the schooner *Friendship*, last July, near the latitude of Bermudas; and pleaded Not guilty.—Charles Kelly, the seaman that escaped, gave a full evidence against him. The prisoner's confession was afterwards read, when Mr. Jackson, his counsel, strongly urged that Johnson being born in America, and a citizen of the Independent States, was consequently a foreigner, and not under the jurisdiction of the court; but this being over-ruled, the jury returned their

verdict Guilty, and he was sentenced to be hanged at the usual place, and afterward in chains. *See April 7.*

21. *Dublin, Sept. 15.* Last night was perpetrated the following atrocious murder. About eight o'clock James Ennis, a lad 19 years of age, son to a barber who lives in Angel-alley, High-street, returning home somewhat intoxicated, and having some trifling dispute with his father, who was in his shirt, pulled out a razor, and gave him four deep wounds in the arms, thighs, and body. On his mother's endeavouring to protect her aged husband from the attacks of her unnatural son, the inhuman villain, drawing a second razor, cut the arteries and sinews of her arm across, and, still unsated, wounded her in two other places. Fortunately she had sufficient strength left to alarm the neighbours, who arrived in time to prevent the completion of his bloody purpose; but the hapless woman, from the extraordinary effusion of blood, soon became motionless, having first made signs for a clergyman, who opportunely arrived some little time before she expired; and the poor maimed survivor was sent to the infirmary, with small hopes of recovery. On the alarm being given, the young monster attempted to escape, but without effect.

22. Thursday was committed to Gloucester gaol, Solomon Phipps, for robbing and attempting to murder John Miller, a journeyman mason, on the highway between Lawrence-hill, on Saturday se'n-night. Miller had received his week's wages for work done at a house in Kingwood, and in coming to Bristol was robbed by Phipps and two others, who kept him down whilst Phipps cut out his pocket; and just

as they were about leaving him, one of them said, cut his throat; on which Phipps put the knife under his chin, gave him a dreadful gash, and left him with these words, "Now go, tell who robbed thee." It happened that Miller, having a thick double chin, the knife went only into the flesh, and did not reach his throat.

— Thursday lord George Gordon waited upon Mr. Frazer, under-secretary of state, and requested Mr. Frazer to acquaint him what had been done with the letter on Irish affairs, inclosing a note from comte d'Adhemar, which he intrusted to his care, to be delivered to the king on the 27th of August last, at night. Mr. Frazer, with the greatest politeness, acquainted his lordship, that the letter had been immediately forwarded to lord Sydney; but whether lord Sydney had delivered it to the king, or not, he could not inform his lordship. The following is a copy of that letter:

To the King.

"Sir,

"The French ambassador communicated something to me (in pursuance of the inclosed appointment\*) that is of the greatest consequence to your majesty to be informed of. It respects Ireland; and if your majesty will condescend to direct me where you would be pleased to receive the information, I shall think it my duty to attend your sovereign pleasure.

"I am, Sir, with all due submission, may it please your majesty,

"Your unimpeachable,

"Humble servant,

"G. GORDON."

*Welbeck-street, Saturday  
Night, Aug. 27, 1785.*

\* A note from the French ambassador to lord George Gordon.

Not thinking, from what fell from Mr. Frazer, that lord Sydney had delivered the letter to the king, lord George Gordon went immediately to Buckingham-house, to intimate to their majesties, that he intended to have the honour to come to the drawing-room (Thursday) if it were agreeable to their majesties. His lordship was immediately conducted across the house to a room in the king's apartments, where one of the king's pages took his lordship's message, and said he would carry it to the king. After sitting there about twenty minutes, the page came to his lordship, and acquainted him that he was told to say, "The name of lord George Gordon was forbidden to be mentioned at Buckingham-house." Lord George asked the page, if the king had returned that answer? The page said, he had not seen the king.

Lord George Gordon then went home, dressed himself, went to the court at St. James's, and stood the whole time by Mr. Pitt, lord Camden, lord Caermarthen, and lord Sydney; but the king, queen, and prince of Wales, all passed by without speaking to his lordship.

— At a court of common council, on Tuesday, it was moved by Mr. Merry, that a case be prepared for the opinion of counsel, Whether the commissioners, now pretending to be qualified to act under the shop-tax, have any legal power, distinct from the commissioners at large, to direct an assessment to be made and levied upon the shopkeepers of this city, previous to the 30th instant, the day to which the commissioners at large adjourned. This, after some debate, was carried. He then moved, that the hall-keeper might be directed not to permit the persons now presuming to act as commissioners to meet in

Guildhall till the opinion of counsel is known; which was likewise carried. *See page 44.*

26. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began the 15th instant, ended this day, when 25 prisoners received sentence of death, viz. Joseph Banning, for forging a draught, in the name of George Prescott, esq. on Messrs. Prescott and Co. bankers; John Lloyd alias Jones, for horse-stealing; James Rowe, for sheep-stealing; William Lawes, Thomas Browning, Thomas Winderbank, John Clayton alias Paddy Oysters, James Mofdel, Patrick Coffield, George Nugent, William Burke, William Barnes, and Richard Silvester alias Jack the Gardener, for highway and street robberies; Amos Rowfell, William Moore, and Benjamin Howell, for burglaries; James Connel, John Ashbourn, and Joseph Wood, for house-breaking; John Hayes, George Reynolds, James Duncan, James Lewis, William Hayward, and William Beer, for privately stealing, &c. *See p. 80.*

At this sessions John Fray was convicted of manslaughter, he having thrown Thomas Walking (a lad detected in Tottenham Court Road of picking pockets) into a pond of water, in order to be ducked, whereby he was suffocated and drowned.

28. *Dublin, Sept. 21.* Captain Cauzier, in one of his majesty's revenue cutters, having been lately ordered round to the western coasts of Ireland, to put a stop to the smuggling tobacco and India goods, which is now practised by the Americans, to a degree considerably injurious to the revenue of this country, a few days since fell in with an American brig, well manned and armed, which he attacked for near an hour, but had the misfortune to lose the cutter by an unlucky shot

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which

which took place between wind and water, which sunk her in a few minutes. The crew happily were saved in the boat, after having suffered some hardship on one of the Shellig islands.

— *Boston, August 15.* On the arrival of the bishop of Connecticut at his residence in New London, the gentlemen of the Presbyterian congregation were so obliging as to offer him the use of their meeting-house, in which he preached to very numerous audiences; the episcopal church had been burnt to the ground in the late war, but the parsonage house escaped, and it is now the residence of the bishop. *See p. 58.*

— Yesterday the minority of the commissioners of the shop-tax, who, at a previous meeting, had determined to enforce it, attempted to go into the council chamber at Guildhall, but were refused admittance, agreeable to the resolution of the last court of common council. They then went upon the hustings, seated themselves, and opened their books. Soon after, Mr. Merry came into the hall, to meet the committee appointed to wait on Mr. Pitt; and on going up to the hustings, he desired to know what business was doing? Being told by Mr. Everett, that they were met to assess the shop-tax, Mr. Merry replied, that the corporation having determined that the self-created commissioners should not have the use of the hall, he wondered much at their impudence, in acting contrary to the said resolution. On this many words ensued, and Mr. Merry, in the end, threw the books over the rail into the hall, and immediately walked down the steps. Mr. Andrews gave him a push, which nearly threw him down, on which Mr. Merry

returned up the steps, and, after some altercation, tore their papers, and threw their pens and ink about.

Mr. Everett called the city marshal, and charged Mr. Merry with an assault; on which he was taken into custody, and carried before the lord mayor, who was sitting with the recorder, and several of the aldermen.

The lord mayor desired to know what offence Mr. Merry had been guilty of; and was answered, of an assault, and of riotously obstructing the commissioners of the shop-tax in the discharge of their duty.

The recorder said, before Mr. Merry could be committed, or held to bail, it was necessary to establish two facts. The first was, whether the commissioners were met legally in discharge of their duty? Secondly, whether they had any right to meet in the Guildhall of the city? He referred to a variety of acts, none of which appeared to give right to any set of citizens whatever, to use the hall contrary to the general sense of the corporation; but he declined giving his opinion fully until he had deliberately considered the matter.

Mr. Everett went out of court, and applied to Mr. Garrow to act as counsel for him and his brother commissioners, but Mr. Garrow declined it: Mr. Everett then engaged Mr. Fielding.

Mr. Merry engaged Mr. Garrow, and the business of the sessions was postponed, and the lord mayor desired to hear what both parties had to say.

Mr. Fielding contended, that Mr. Merry had assaulted his clients, by throwing away their books, pens, &c.

Mr. Garrow denied there was any assault, as not any person had sworn to being assaulted; and as to rioting,

rioting, it was impossible, his client being by himself. He was extremely severe on Mr. Everett, whom, he observed, had, throughout the whole business of the shop-tax, taken an unwarrantable part; he was clear in opinion that the commissioners had no business on the hustings, and ought to be treated as vagrants; he commended the spirited behaviour of Mr. Merry, who, he said, had acted as became a good citizen: as to holding his client to bail, he declared that he could not see any right or power there was for committing him; and as he was a respectable citizen, and a member of the corporation, there was no fear of his running away. On the other hand, his client most assuredly had a good action against those self-created gentlemen, for the assault he met with in doing what he hall-keeper ought to have done; but as Mr. Everett was too great a friend to the shop-tax to run from it, he should not advise Mr. Merry to charge him then, but leave the business to the decision of a court of law.

The lord mayor expressed a wish to postpone giving any opinion on the business, and advised both parties either to make up the matter, or refer it to a jury; which ended this curious transaction for the present. See p. 69, & *infra*.

29. A common hall was held for the election of a lord mayor, when, contrary to the late custom of choosing the two senior aldermen by rotation, the livery thought proper to nominate, for the choice of the court of aldermen, Thomas Wright, esq. the senior, and Thomas Skinner, esq. the *junior* member of that court.—The court of aldermen, in course, elected Mr. Wright.

30. About eighty gentlemen, commissioners of land and shop-tax,

met in the new council-chamber, Guildhall, pursuant to their adjournment.

Mr. Merry opened the business by reprobating the shop-tax, and the conduct of the persons who had qualified.

Mr. alderman Skinner was no less severe. He brought, however, the recorder's opinion on some late proceedings, viz. Whether the few who had qualified had acted legally? And whether they had a right to meet in Guildhall? To the first, he was clearly of opinion, that those who had qualified had acted legally; as to those who had adjourned from the 5th to the 30th, they had put it out of their own power to qualify, unless under those who had already qualified. As to the place of meeting, he was equally clear, that the corporation of London were masters of Guildhall, and most undoubtedly had a right, whenever they thought proper, to prevent any persons assembling therein. Mr. alderman Skinner observed, that perhaps some gentlemen might be induced to qualify, from a persuasion that they might render their fellow-citizens some service, by checking the proceedings of those who had been so forward in qualifying clandestinely.

Mr. Robinson was for every man present qualifying himself immediately, attending at the next meeting, and out-voting them; but this did not seem to meet the sense of the majority. The meeting was adjourned *sine die*. See p. 70.

— *Nassau, July 14.* On the 9th ult. the schooner Keats, Christopher Miller, master, was piratically run away with from Halifax, by four men, whose names are Richard Powel, William Buckley, George Taylor, and William Durihan. The master having gone on board about



eleven at night, went to sleep in his cabin, and was awaked by an uncommon motion of the vessel. On going on deck to enquire the reason, he was astonished to find himself at sea. He was made to understand that he was a prisoner, and the pirates immediately proceeded to the westward, and at last landed him on an island called Bald Tusket, where he was necessitated to stay four days, during which time he employed himself in making a raft, which he bound together with a cod line, given him by the pirates, upon which he fastened himself, and then put to sea; the wind setting on the shore, brought him to land, after being 24 hours in the above situation; and after experiencing many hardships, he arrived at Shelburne on the 29th ult.

*Nassau, Aug. 13.* On the 21st of June were committed to jail in Boston, the four pirates concerned in running away with the schooner *Keats*, from Halifax.

## O C T O B E R.

4. *Hague, Sept. 30.* On Saturday last a courier arrived here from Paris, with the news that a preliminary convention was signed there on the 20th instant between the imperial ambassador and the ambassadors of the republic. *See Public Papers.*

5. Last Thursday, a wheelwright, at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, completed his 100th year, on which occasion the earl of Salisbury, by whose family the old man has been employed from his infancy, invited the neighbouring inhabitants into his park, where they were regaled with roast beef and two butts of porter. The family of this venerable man consists of himself, a daughter 79, another 76, and a son

75 years of age. The common earnings of the father, by working at his trade, are 3s. 6d. a day, being 13. a day more than his son can earn by the same employment.

6. Came on the trial, before the recorder, at Guildhall, of one Hervey, a constable, for perjury, at the Old Bailey, in the case of Peter Newbury and William Iverson, for a highway robbery, of which they were capitally convicted, but afterwards pardoned. *See page (18, 34, 35.)* Hervey shared with the prosecutor 80l. the reward for their conviction. Hervey was convicted, and sentenced to three years imprisonment in Newgate, and to stand twice in the pillory in the Old Bailey yard.

7. Yesterday came on, at the College of Physicians, the annual election of officers for the year ensuing, when sir George Baker was elected president; doctors Donald Munro, Burges, Watson, and Fitzmaurice, censors; Dr. Tomlinson, treasurer; Dr. Hervey, register; and sir George Baker, doctors Cadogan, Hervey, Caullet, and Watson, commissioners for licensing houses for the reception of lunatics. Doctors Fraser, W. Robertson, Potter, and Ferris, were admitted licentiates.

9. Chiswick church was broke open, and robbed of the communion plate, the gold fringe from the communion-table, and from the pulpit-cloth; the value of the whole between two and three hundred pounds.

11. On the 5th instant, a little before three in the afternoon, Mr. Lunardi ascended in his balloon at Edinburgh. A gentleman, who dates his letter from the *Manse of Ceres, Oct. 6*, gives the following account of its appearance, so beautiful in itself, as well as so novel in



in Scotland: "Yesterday afternoon, the sky being clear, and a gentle breeze from the S. S. W. as I was standing in my yard, my servant took notice of what he thought to be a hawk, at a prodigious height. This object, which appeared evidently higher than some thin clouds floating near it, I was soon convinced was no bird. At this time (about four minutes before four) it had the appearance of a ball six inches diameter, and seemed suspended without motion, which was owing to its astonishing elevation, and to its moving directly towards me. As I knew Mr. Lunardi was to ascend at Edinburgh on Wednesday the 1st instant, and as the wind blew directly from Edinburgh towards Ceres, I was persuaded that this object was his balloon. I then called my neighbours to come and see the aerial traveller: they thought me in joke; but, on my assuring them I was serious, they came out and saw the object which I pointed out to them, but could not believe it was Mr. Lunardi. Whilst we gazed, the intervening clouds two or three times intercepted our view; and, as the balloon came out from behind the clouds, the rays of the sun reflected from the well side of it gave it the appearance of the moon seen by day light, five or six days after the change. About ten minutes after four the balloon got below the clouds; it now assumed an oblong figure, and appeared much larger. The basket and flag also became visible. Multitudes now got sight of it, and the whole country was alarmed. As it drew near the earth, and sailed along with a kind of awful grandeur, the sight gave much pleasure to such as knew what it was, but terribly alarmed such as were unacquainted with the na-

ture of this celestial vehicle, if I may use the phrase. About 20 minutes after four, Mr. Lunardi cast out his anchor, and the balloon rested near the coal town of Callinge, on the estate of the hon. John Hope, esq. a mile east from Ceres, and between two and three miles south-east of Cupar, in Fife."

Mr. Lunardi related, that the balloon, after rising, took a N. E. direction, and near the island of Inchkeith came down almost to the sea; that he then threw out some ballast, and the balloon rose higher than before; that a current of wind from the west carried him east near North Berwick; that different currents then changed his course, and brought him over between Leven and Lago; and that after this a S. S. W. breeze brought him to the place where he descended. When the balloon was at its highest elevation, the barometer, he says, stood at 18 inches, 3-10ths. At this time he found no difficulty in respiration. He passed through several clouds of snow, and lost sight at times both of sea and land. The thermometer was below the freezing point, and he found himself very cold from the chilly air which surrounded him. His excursion took up about an hour and an half; and from his account, he must have passed over upwards of 40 miles of sea and 10 of land.

12. Advices were received on Monday of the loss of the Hinchinbrook East Indiaman, capt. Maxwell, off the Long Sand in the Bengal river. She had proceeded as far as the mouth of the river, when she encountered a violent storm, and afterwards, in returning to Kedjeree, to refit, she met with this unhappy accident. Three of the crew were drowned. She had goods on board to the amount of

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fix or seven lacks, no part of which were saved. This ship was taken by, and retaken from, the French, in the action between commodore Johnstone and M. Suffrein, at Port Pitya, on the 16th of April, 1781.

— A young lady of rank had lately one of her fore-teeth become black and carious, and was advised by a celebrated dentist to have a tooth taken from the mouth of an apparently healthy person, and transplanted into the place of the decayed one. This was accordingly done, and the tooth fastened perfectly well.

At the end of five weeks her mouth became very painful, her gums ulcerated, and were soon corroded away; a number of ulcers, large, deep, and fetid, extended over her cheeks and throat; several of her teeth dropped out, and her death was soon expected from the daily decay of her strength.

In this calamitous condition, an eminent physician was consulted, who, suspecting mercury to be the proper corrector of this frightful disease, directed a gentle course of it to be tried, which, for a time, relieved most of the symptoms. She was then ordered to try the effects of country air. She accordingly proceeded, by short stages, to her summer residence, about 80 miles from London. Here, without any new complaints, her strength gradually lessened, till death closed the melancholy scene. The above account may be depended upon for fact, and was laid before the Royal College of Physicians a short time since (with several other particulars) by the present learned vice-president of the Royal Society, who attended the unfortunate young lady upon this deplorable occasion.

13. Miss Anne Frankland, daugh-

ter of the rev. Mr. William Frankland, some time rector of Oswaldkirk, near Malton, in the North Riding of the county of York, fondling a little dog in her lap; was bitten in the lip by the animal, which was not perceived to be mad. Upon her crying out, a maid servant, who was then employed in washing the linen of the family, ran immediately to her assistance; but in taking away the dog, was herself severely bitten in the arm. The consequence was, that miss Frankland, not apprehending her danger, and therefore applying no remedy, was seized with the hydrophobia, and died with all the usual symptoms of that dreadful disorder. The maid-servant, continuing her business of washing, with her arm for several hours in the soap-suds, escaped all the calamitous consequences of the accident. Whence it was concluded, that the searching quality of the soap had perfectly secured her from the fatal effect of such an accident. *This is mentioned in the Morning Chronicle, as an instance that soap suds, as well as oil, may be beneficial in such cases; but whether it happened formerly, or was a recent fact, is not said.*

— On Monday evening the Rambler cutter, of 14 guns, lieut. Lowry, a fine new vessel, and one of the fastest sailers in the service, was lost in Leigh Roads. Her station was from the Sea Reach to Yarmouth Roads; they had sailed from Sheerness at noon; but afterward her commander had resolved (the weather proving squally with rain) to come to anchor in Leigh Roads: they accordingly turned up against the wind from the Nore, and were preparing for anchoring, when, in jibbing, a sudden squall came on, and the main sheet fast, the vessel overset in an instant, and soon sunk

to the bottom. A Yarmouth herring-boat seeing the cutter overset, made sail towards her, and arrived time enough to pick up thirty-two men and a lad, son to lieut. Lowry, about 13 years of age, which last was caught hold of by a woman in the boat just as he was on the point of going down. Lieutenant Lowry and sixteen men are lost. The lieutenant's loss is attributed to his being entangled in the rigging, as he was a good swimmer, and was heard to bid the people and his son save themselves with all expedition.

14. Yesterday, at a court of common council, the opinions of the recorder and common serjeant were read, respecting the legality of those persons who have acted as commissioners in the shop-tax business, together with their opinion of the right of the other gentlemen (who adjourned that business) levying another tax on the inhabitants, agreeable to a motion of Mr. Merry's to that effect. The opinions of those gentlemen appeared wholly in favour of the minority commissioners, who had acted therein; and that it was not in the power of the other gentlemen to impose or levy the tax again. Mr. Dornford then rose, and said, he supposed it would be quite in order, if the motion which forbade those gentlemen the use of Guildhall to meet, was to be rescinded, or the hall-keeper called in and acquainted with the decision of the recorder and common serjeant. This being opposed, the recorder rose, and said, it would not be needful, as that motion would of course fall *sclo de se*. See p. 71.

15. *Dublin, QA. 11.* This day came on the trial of James Ennis, for the murder of his own mother. The court, on his appearance, seem-

ed struck with horror. He was convicted on the clearest evidence. He received his sentence without emotion; and the only thing he had to say in his defence was, that he was drunk and out of his senses when the murder was committed; which the judge, on passing sentence, said was an aggravation of his crimes. See p. 68.

18. By an edict of the emperor, lately issued, vassalage is totally abolished in Hungary, and the very name of it ordered to be no longer used. Every man has liberty to marry, to learn any art, to work for himself, to sell, mortgage, exchange, and alienate his property, only sending to his lord the accustomed fees; in short, every vassal in Hungary is restored to the full and perfect enjoyment of personal freedom, without the least restriction whatever. In the edict issued on this occasion, his imperial majesty has this liberal sentiment: "I not only, says he, would unshackle the mind from a base superstition which enervates it; but I wish to direct its active powers to national services. Let the gloomy priest be driven from his cloister, to benefit society with his talents; and let the most unenlightened religious, who were fettered by bigotry, look abroad upon the face of day. Artists, manufacturers, and farmers, benefit a state, while a multitude of religious drones encumber and oppress it."

By another edict his imperial majesty abolishes the separate jurisdiction formerly granted to the Jews in Galicia, who are, for the future, to be amenable to the ordinary courts of justice.

In his Austrian dominions the Jews are subjected to rather rigorous laws. If they marry, they are to pay a certain sum on the birth of every child, which is to be increas-

ed in proportion to the number of births ; and if they grow rich, they are to pay to the support of government in proportion to their wealth.

By an ordinance of the 22d of August, his majesty abolished the right heretofore claimed by the lords, of compelling their vassals to maintain their dogs.

An arret has lately been issued by the French king, expressly forbidding persons, not regularly bred to the profession of physic or surgery, from vending any sort of medicines for the cure of diseases.

*Dublin, Oct. 17.* Last Saturday, at the King's bench, sentence was passed on captains Cooke and Arsdale, for assaulting and wounding Mr. Crawley, a citizen, when one was fined fifty pounds, the other twenty-five. The prosecutor is still to bring on his action of damages.

21. At a court of common council, Mr. alderman Newnham moved, that the salary of the recorder be augmented from 600*l.* to 1000*l.* a year, which was unanimously agreed to.

23. Last week, Mr. Poole, of Bury St. Edmund's, ascended in a balloon from that place. He gives the following account of his ascension :

“ Immediately after my balloon was liberated, I found myself ascending with an east-by-north course, a serene day, a beautiful sky, and the sensation of ascent exceedingly pleasing. On entering the first cloud I found the mercury in the barometer had fallen four inches and a half, which stated my elevation at three quarters of a mile and about 146 yards.

“ Although my ascension was rapid, the clouds were of so unequal a height, that I did not pass them in less than four minutes : I then found myself parallel with

their tops, which wore a snowy whiteness. I now began to feel cold, although the sun shone with uninterrupted splendour ; my balloon was now considerably expanded ; and having ascended beyond the reach of sound from below, I was struck with the silence, which prevailed to such a degree, that I heard the watch beating in my pocket. Notwithstanding the cold, which was considerable, I continued to mount, until my barometer had fallen 14 inches and a quarter, which I since find, by comparing with my table of altitudes, is three miles and 133 yards. My balloon was expanded to a degree of tension, and on drawing the appendice to me, I found the gas was issuing very copiously ; I had now a confined and unpleasant sensation in my ears. On considering my elevation, I was astonished to find, that looking to the earth was not attended with the smallest disagreeable sensation, although I have always experienced it on looking down a precipice.

“ Having been up 50 minutes, and knowing that I had made a considerable progress to the eastward, I was surprised at not being able to discover the sea through the interval of the clouds : I was about to descend below them for information, when I discovered a beautiful meandering river, bearing by my compass south-east by-east, and by tracing its course, discovered the termination of the land in that quarter. I could now also perceive the ocean in an eastern direction, the point to which I was advancing ; it had rather an opaque than a luminous appearance ; and judging it not to be very distant, I thought proper to descend. I opened my valve, which acted very well, and by keeping it open some little time, found

found the surface of the mercury become convex and light; downy feathers which had hitherto descended, began to take a contrary direction. My descent was gradual. I soon after alighted on a small piece of ground at Earl Soham, in this county, without injury to myself or balloon.

"I was very hospitably received by major Dade, who lives in that neighbourhood, and found my distance from Bury to be 28 miles, having been in the air one hour and eleven minutes."

24. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 19th, ended this day, when 12 persons received sentence of death, viz. William Vandeput, James Beaman, Francis Storer, and Daniel East, for breaking into the dwelling-house and warehouse of Lewis Tessier, esq. of Old Broad-street, and stealing a bale of silk, value upwards of 200l; William Smith, and James Nesbitt, for other burglaries; George Manning alias Francis Hill, for house-breaking; William Powley, and John Davis, for horse-stealing; John Isaac, for a highway robbery; William Shergold, and Edward Preston, for street-robberies.

*Jamaica, Sept. 10.* This island has been again visited by a hurricane equally violent, of much longer duration, and, it is feared, much more general than that of last year. It commenced about six in the evening of Saturday the 27th ult. and continued, with very little intermission, during the greatest part of the night. The damage sustained by the inhabitants has been immense, and must be the more severely felt by them, as they had not recovered the heavy losses occasioned by the last. The island

was fortunately full of provisions, which were selling at a low price; and, to prevent the exportation of them, an embargo has been laid upon the shipping for six weeks. *Lond. Gazette.*

25. By the last advices from the East Indies, which arrived on the 19th instant over-land, there is an account of a battle fought in the Mysore country, between Tippoo Saib and the Marattas, in which the latter obtained a complete victory; and Tippoo was near being taken prisoner, having lost his camp equipage, and most of his artillery. It does not appear that any European auxiliaries fought on either side.

By the above packet, advice was received of a duel fought between sir William Murray and lieut. Gilbert Waugh of the 73d regiment, on the 21st of October, 1784, in which the latter was mortally wounded, and died three days after, greatly regretted.

26. Recent advices from Philadelphia mention, that Dr. Franklin arrived in that city on the 15th of September (*See page 52.*) He was received with tears of joy, and accompanied to his house by all the members of Congress, amid the acclamations of the citizens of all ranks, who poured forth their prayers for his preservation. Mr. Hendon, who wrote the account of his arrival, says, he never saw so affecting a scene. All the people shouted, "Liberty!" He was addressed by the General Assembly, that was then sitting; and afterwards by all orders of men in Philadelphia. *See Public Papers.*

By the United States in Congress assembled, Sept. 13, Resolved, that for the services of the present year, it will be necessary that three millions of dollars, in addition to

649,880 already voted, be paid into the common treasury, on or before the first of May next.

As a motive for the chearful payment of the sum now called for, as well as of the arrearages on that of April 27, 1784, the committee are of opinion, that the states be reminded that congress have passed an ordinance for the survey and sale of the western territory of the united states, and that the proceeds thereof will be applied as a sinking fund to extinguish the domestic debt. Future requisitions for interest on the domestic debt will therefore be reduced in proportion as this fund may be rendered productive.

Resolved, That congress agree to the said report.

27. The Medical Theatre of the London Hospital was opened in form by four introductory orations.

1. By Dr. Harwood, on the utility of physic in general.

2. By Dr. Healde, on the first principles of the science, and on the liberal practice of it, in opposition to quackeries, of which he opposed the danger.

3. By Dr. Maddock on the particular excellence of the institution of the London Hospital. And,

4. By Mr. Blizard, surgeon of the hospital, who enlarged on the numerous benefits which could not fail to result from the maturity of the present plan; a plan conceived in benevolence, executed on the most eligible plan, and settled, he trusted, on the most solid basis; an illustrious monument to the sensibility and munificence of Englishmen.

29. A man passed under a long examination before the aldermen Plomer and Le Mesurier, charged with defrauding an elderly gentleman of 55l. in cash, and a bank-

note of 20l. It appeared that the prosecutor went into a public-house where the prisoner was, who appeared to be in liquor; that a man said to the prosecutor privately, that the prisoner was a man of fortune, but loved play; that he lost 25 guineas at one game, and that he might as well have some of his money as another; accordingly they sat down to play, and the prisoner won the above sum. Mr. Garrow was counsel for the prisoner, and said, he had done nothing but what the law would justify; that the prosecutor, supposing the prisoner in liquor, thought to take an advantage, thinking him not in a condition to play; and it did not appear but that the prisoner played fair; therefore he was not only entitled to be dismissed, but also to the 75l. Accordingly he was dismissed, and the cash and bank-note were delivered to him.

30. In the course of this month came on a question in the court of King's bench, whether a certificate taken out on the last Game Act went any way towards indemnifying the possessor from the penalties of former acts? The court were clearly of opinion, that it did not; the last act being intended merely to raise a tax upon qualified persons in their exercise of the sportsman's right.

## N O V E M B E R.

*Copenhagen, Oct. 22.* The hereditary prince of Denmark received this day the English yacht, which the king of Great Britain, his uncle, presented to him. The beauty of it is much admired. The captain who conducted the yacht, and delivered it to the prince, has been received at court with great distinction.



tion. He has received a present of a gold snuff-box, enriched with brilliants, ornamented with the portrait of the prince-royal, filled with a thousand ducats.

1. William Murrow, formerly a clerk of Messrs. Drummond, and who was convicted, last October, of stealing a bag of money, containing 1000*l.* their property, has received a pardon on condition of being transported to the Bay of Honduras for life. *See vol. v. p. 73, 74, and 106.*

2. Capt. Mackenzie, who, in December last, was convicted of shooting off one of his men from the mouth of a cannon (*See vol. v. p. 99.*) has received his majesty's pardon; but he is still detained in Newgate, and it is expected will be tried at the next Admiralty sessions, for piracy, in cutting out, from under the guns of a Dutch fort, on the coast of Africa, a Portuguese ship, with Dutch colours, in consequence of which a complaint has been laid against him by the Portuguese ambassador. Government detains 11,000*l.* worth of his gold dust till he gives an account of the King's stores, which were intrusted to his care. His father has died since his confinement, and left him an estate of near 500*l.* a year; but it is thought he will not be able to make any thing of it, it being mortgaged for a considerable sum.

— Last Friday a very extraordinary robbery was committed on the person of Mr. Mackay, an upholsterer, in Piccadilly. It seems that a gentleman had left an annuity of 31*l.* 10*s.* per ann. (for a term of years) to a woman named Mary Barbara Mackay, the wife of Lewis de Chameron, said to be formerly an officer in the French service. Mr. Mackay, who was a trustee under the will, had frequent ap-

plications from this woman to assist her with money in advance on account of her annuity. He had actually advanced her 50*l.* and repeatedly pressed her for the repayment of it. On Friday morning she called on him, with the information that it was then in her power to repay the money, if he would accompany her to her house at Walworth. Mr. Mackay set out with her at nine o'clock, and, on coming to the house, they were both let in by De Chameron. Mr. Mackay was desired to walk up stairs into the dining-room, when De Chameron, after a few minutes conversation, produced a large knife and a pair of pistols, with which he menaced him with instant death, if he offered to cry out or alarm the neighbours, or did not lower his voice. He then demanded his immediately writing an order on his bankers (Mess. Drummond) for 300 guineas, and was very pressing that it should be written in his customary manner of drawing drafts, for if the money was not produced, instant death should be the consequence. The draft was written by Mr. Mackay, and Mrs. De Chameron was dispatched with it. On her return the villain produced 45*l.* in cash, and 270*l.* in bank-notes, to Mr. Mackay, and told him there was the money. He then insisted on his drawing another draft on Mr. Walpole, the banker, where the money was kept for the payment of the annuity. This Mr. Mackay refused, stating that he would submit to death rather than do it. Finding he was fixed in his determination, the villain ceased importuning him. He then bored holes in the wainscot of the room, and, passing ropes through them, compelled Mr. Mackay to sit down on the floor, to which he bound him,

him, having first tied his hands behind him. Previous to his leaving Mr. Mackay, he informed him, that in the corner cupboard was placed a barrel of gun-powder, and that, in order to prevent his endeavouring to pursue him in his flight, he had placed ropes to each of the windows, which had a communication with a loaded and cocked pistol pointing into the powder, and that the instant either of the windows was touched or opened, the powder would go off and blow the house up. Mr. Mackay continued in the house, bound in this manner, till five in the afternoon, before he could make any person hear, the house being empty, and only taken for that purpose. By the help of a ladder some people got into the window, and released him. *See Nov. 27.*

— Lieutenant-general sir Robert Boyd has obtained his majesty's permission to wear the victorious word GIBRALTAR on the colours of his regiment, as an honourable distinction for the important services of that gallant officer and his corps, during the memorable siege of that important fortress.

— On Tuesday the lord mayor gave an elegant entertainment at the Mansion-house to the members of the Royal Academy; at which were present the marquis of Carmarthen, sir Joshua Reynolds, sir William Chambers, alderman Boydell, rev. Mr. Peters, Messrs. Bacon, Barry, Burch, Carlini, Catton, Chamberlin, Cosway, Dance, De Louthembourg, Meyer, Newton, Nollekins, Richards, Rigaud, Sanby, Serres, Tyler, West, Wilton, and Millar, Mr. Dalton, the king's librarian, and several gentlemen belonging to the choir of St. Paul's, who in the course of the evening added much to the convi-

viality of the meeting, by singing some of the most favourite catches and glees. The company were highly pleased with the respect his lordship had thus shewn to the sister arts, painting and music. This was the first time that the artists, as such, were honoured with an entertainment at the Mansion-house, though we hope, for the credit of the city of London, it will not be the last. The example of the present lord-mayor is a pattern for his successors. It is this respect and encouragement to genius from the first city in the world which will enable that city, in arts as well as commerce, to boast the preeminence.

— The recorder made his report of 22 convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, (*See page 69.*) when the following were ordered for execution, viz. James Rowe, John Hayes, George Reynolds, William Barnes, Richard Silvester alias Jack the Gardener, Amos Rowfell, James Mosdell, James Lewis, Joseph Banning, William Moore, Thomas Browning, Thomas Winderbank, John Ashbourn, Joseph Wood, Benjamin Howell, and William Beer.

*Philadelphia, Aug. 26.* Captain Alexander Stewart, of the brig Delight, which was said to have foundered at sea on the 22d of June last, on her passage to St. Pierre's, Martinique, to Providence, in Rhode Island, is safe arrived at Baltimore. He gives an account, that the brig sprung a leak on the day above mentioned, which increased so fast, that he and the crew (consisting of 13 men and one woman) took to the boat, and in three quarters of an hour after they left the vessel, she went down, in lat. 31. 30. N. lon. 72. 2 W. They were eleven days in the boat without water; on the

11th day they were taken up by the humane captain James Smith, of the brig Friendship, from Salta Tuda to Richmond, where they arrived in this weak condition.

On the 9th of July the ship *Palas*, commanded by captain O'Donnell, arrived at Baltimore from China; she left Macao, in Canton, the 20th of January last. Her cargo is exceedingly valuable, and consists of every species of tea in the highest preservation; china, silks, satins, gauzes, velvets, umbrellas, paper-hangings, and a profusion of Oriental productions, well adapted to the American markets, and for which no other price was paid than American produce.

*New-York, Aug. 13.* We are informed from Poughkeepsie, that a few days ago two lads at a school in that place, differing in respect to their exercise, determined on a reference to their master, who decided in favour of the junior; which so much irritated the senior, that when the scholars were dismissed, he seized his competitor, threw him on the ground, and trampled him to death.

4. A common-hall assembled, for the purpose of coming to some resolutions with respect to the shop-tax.

The lord mayor came forward, and explained to the livery the purpose for which they were called together, and hoped they would behave with firmness; but, at the same time, with temper.

Alderman Skinner brought forward some resolutions, which, he said, were drawn up with spirit, and in terms strictly legal. The burthens imposed on the citizens of London were grievous. He had examined the books of two wards, Alder • • • and Queenhithe; in the former, the taxes of 100 houses, from 70l. a year to 200l. amount

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to 15s. in the pound; in the latter, to 16s. in the pound. He then gave the resolutions to be read, all of which were unanimously agreed to. The aldermen present expressed their abhorrence of the tax; and thanks being voted to the lord mayor, and to those members present who had opposed it in parliament, the hall broke up in perfect good humour. *See Public Papers.*

7. A motion was made in the court of king's bench to set aside a verdict, on an affidavit of two of the jurors, stating, that the jury, not being able to agree upon their verdict, and there being six for the plaintiff, and six for the defendant, tossed up, when the plaintiff's friends won. It was owned, that the verdict coincided with the opinion of the court. Lord Mansfield asked, If there was any ground of objection against the verdict? The counsel answered, None; but that a verdict had been formerly set aside, on a like plea, as reported by sir J. Hawkins. Lord Mansfield observed, that the cases were different: in the former case, the affidavit was made by the bailiff, who had locked the jury in, and saw them through the window; and not upon the affidavit of the jurors.

A law correspondent observes, that had the affidavit of the jurors been admitted, the jury would have been liable to a trial of attaintr.

*Florence, Oct. 22.* Letters from Rome mention, that several shocks of earthquakes have been felt in that city and its environs, though no damage happened to the buildings there; but that many houses and churches have been considerably injured at Narni, Spoleto, Rieti, and Terni. *Lond. Gaz.*

*Leghorn, Oct. 11.* From the little town of Azeylaon we are informed of a rare instance of the old

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ago

age of a married couple; the husband is still living, aged 120 years; his name is Joseph Rodriguez: his wife Josepha Theresa died on the 22d of last August, aged 110 years and 13 days.

10. The sixteen malefactors last ordered for execution (*see p. 80.*) and also John Lloyd alias Jones, for horse-stealing, and James Connell, for housebreaking, who were both convicted at the same sessions (*see p. 69.*) were executed before Newgate.

— Mr. Arkwright applied to the court of king's bench to obtain a new trial. The court were unanimously of opinion, that there was not a colour of ground for a new trial, and refused to grant a rule to shew cause. *See p. 40.*

11. At a late hunt at Fontainebleau, the duke de Bourbon, son of the prince of Condé, was in the most imminent danger of his life. A furious boar having attacked his horse, his R. H. the comte d'Artois, seeing the perilous situation of his friend, nimbly alighted, and courageously attacked and killed the boar, whose fangs must have proved fatal to the duke, had it not been for this timely rescue.

*Glasgow, Nov. 3.* Monday morning, about three o'clock, the people inhabiting the houses on the bank of the Molendinar Bourn, which runs through Glasgow, were greatly alarmed by the sudden and great rise of the water in that brook. The north bank of the Monkland canal at Blochairn, about a mile east from the basin, burst, and poured forth a torrent of water into the bourn, that carried every thing before it; the mill-dam at the High Church was levelled with the bottom of the brook; the water was from two to three feet deep in the people's houses at the foot of the

Havannah street, and the New Vennal, and approaching their beds, which wakened them; the cries of those in danger roused the people who were in safety, but how to give them relief, they knew not; a dark morning, the water continuing to rise, and coming from a place that did not occur to them, they were stupefied, and expected nothing else but the destruction of many of their neighbours. Happily at that time, part of the college garden-wall, at the foot of the New Vennal, burst down, and gave relief to the people; but what gave relief to them, proved almost death to the people in the Spoutmouth: the arches of the various bridges there were too narrow for such a body of water, and the channel of the bourn being confined by the houses on each side, in passing through the Gallowgate, the bridges rather became dams than passages for it, and in many houses it was six feet deep. The confusion attending so alarming a situation, was beyond description. Floors were cut to lift the people from the ground stories, to prevent their being drowned. Mothers, with their helpless infants, wading out of their houses in the dark, uncertain where they were going. Others, willing to give assistance, knew not how to approach with safety to themselves; while some, more intrepid, dashed into the flood, and brought the old and infirm to places of safety. The water rushed out of the closes on the north side of the Gallowgate, and ran over the top of the side walls of the bridge in that street, when it was at the highest; so that many houses were under water, that used not to be subjected to that inconvenience before, in the highest floods. By seven o'clock, the water from the canal was mostly run out; but the river

river Clyde began to swell from the heavy rain that fell on Sunday night, and dammed back the bourn as on former occasions. By eleven in the forenoon, most part of the bridge gate was under water by the river rising so rapidly; but it fell in the afternoon. Notwithstanding the imminent danger in which many people were of being drowned, we are happy we can say, that no lives were lost.

*Naples, Oct. 11.* A band of robbers, of a singular character, lately discovered, are the subject of general conversation. They are fifty in number, of whom several are in custody, and search is making after the rest. They formed themselves into an association, according to which they were to have a common property in all their stolen effects. It was their practice to dispose of the jewels and gold and silver they had plundered, to foreigners, in exchange for silks and other merchandise, which they sold to the shopkeepers. Seven of these villains dispersed themselves in the city as domestics in rich families; and after finding where the valuables were deposited, caused them to be stolen by their accomplices, to whom they gave admittance to the houses. Others attended gaming-tables, and, following into the streets such adventurers as had been successful, despoiled them of their gains. One of the gang being taken in the act of committing a robbery, obtained the promise of pardon, upon giving information against his accomplices.

*East-Grinstead, Nov. 14.* That stately building, the tower of our parish church, was rebuilt in 1684 (the old one having been burnt down by lightning in 1683); but had for some years past been in a state of decay, owing to the want

of judgment in the architect, bad workmanship, and worse materials. Within this twelvemonth it hastened very rapidly to its dissolution, by shewing a large crack at the foundation of the north-east angle, which passed through the stone stair-case contained in that angle, and which led to the top of the tower by winding steps. A large part of the outside of the foundation of that angle had at several times fallen down, which discovered the badness of the materials, being nothing but a case of stone filled up with rubbish, and that stone very indifferent. The bells, which were six, and very heavy, and hung in the third loft, had not been rung for some time past, as it was observed they shook the tower very much.

On Saturday the 12th instant, a very considerable quantity of stone fell from the north-west angle, some distance up the tower; this brought near an hundred persons into the church-yard. The stones kept continually falling, and many of them, from the violent pressure, flew from the foundation to a considerable distance, as if thrown from an engine; when another large parcel of stone fell from the same angle, and raised a great dust, which served as a warning to the spectators to keep at a greater distance. The grand crack was then observed to run very fast up the tower, and about a quarter of an hour before two o'clock, it gave some dreadful cracks, and stones were heard to fall within; when the tower immediately divided north and south at the top, and the north-west minoret tottered for some seconds, which, together with the south-west and south-east minorets, fell down almost perpendicularly. The north-east minoret immediately followed; but unfortunately fell on the roof of the



church, and driving one pair of rafters against another, beat down three pillars out of the four, and with some large stones which fell from the south-east angle, unroofed almost all the north and middle aisles beyond the pulpit, and beat down one of the pillars in the south aisle, in such a manner that the roof there also must be taken off; so that it may fairly be said two-thirds of the roof are destroyed by the fall of the north-east minoret, and the stone from the south-east angle. The west part of the tower sinking almost perpendicularly, the stones did not reach so far into the church-yard on the west and south sides as might have been expected; so that none of the houses, though very near, were damaged, and providentially no lives lost, though some persons had been both in the church and belfry but a few minutes before, and the master and scholars had just left the school-room, which was adjoining to the steeple, and was also destroyed.

The tower, being very large and of great height, fell with the most dreadful noise, and shook the earth to a very considerable distance round the town, and the cloud of dust raised by it was beyond description, insomuch that the spectators could not distinguish any object a foot distance from them. Five of the bells lay on the top of the rubbish, only covered by the lead of the roof, but the fourth bell was buried some distance, and has since been dug out. They are all whole to appearance; but whether any of them are cracked, cannot be determined till they are hung up to give their sound. This beautiful tower was the pride and ornament of the whole country round!

16. The Ariel sloop of war, lately arrived at Spithead from Ja-

maica, from whence she took her departure on the 12th of September, on entering the Windward Passage, met with so violent a gale, accompanied with thick rain, thunder, and lightning, which continued with unremitting violence from the 20th till the 22d, that the crew not only lost all command of the ship, but all possibility of knowing where she was, till about one in the morning of the 23d, by a flash of lightning, they caught a glimpse of Magagnana one mile under her lee, and by that circumstance were providentially saved.

*Dublin, Nov. 10.* Monday an extraordinary occurrence was brought before one of the Courts, which excited some degree of curiosity. The gaoler of Maryborough, in Queen's County, having escorted four debtors to this city, in order to be lodged in the Four Courts Marshalsea, he was arrested in Castle-street, on his way to the Courts. He informed the bailiffs of his situation, in respect to his four prisoners, but all expostulation was in vain. He was hurried away to a sponging-house, while the nimble gentlemen, over whom he reckoned himself chargé d'affaires, made their escape, perhaps never to be caught again. It since appears that they cunningly planned this arrest, in order to effect their freedom. The man is kept in custody until he can be discharged by law.

17. On Saturday evening last about dusk, as captain Gore, of the Nassau East-Indiaman, with his wife and daughter, were returning to town from Dartmouth, they were stopped by two men and robbed at breast of Greenwich Park wall. Captain Gore had previously paid the chaise, on an apprehension of being robbed, and had only three teen or fourteen shillings left in his pockets



pocket ; but after this they had not proceeded much farther, when they were stopped a second time by eight armed men. In vain did captain Gore declare, he had been already robbed ; the villains telling him that was impossible, as their friends only were on the road, who, if he had spoke truth, would have furnished him with the watch word ; another search therefore was obliged to be submitted to, when the savage miscreants, with pistols at the ladies heads, rifled them even of their handkerchiefs. All this happened within half a mile of the Green Man, where captain Gore and his family prudently lay all night, and proceeded next morning for London.

18. The court of king's bench gave judgment in the long litigated case of *Parker versus Wells*, which was an action brought by Mr. John Dewy Parker, of Cashilton, in Surry, against a messenger of bankrupts, to determine the validity of a commission of bankrupts sued out against Mr. Parker, who having a lease of a farm of 800 acres from the archbishop of Canterbury, had made bricks for sale of the soil of one of the fields. The commission was against him as a brickmaker. The cause, which was originally in the common pleas, was tried at Guildhall, when the jury found a special verdict, stating, that Mr. Parker had so made bricks for sale, and subject to the opinion of the court of common pleas, upon a point of law, whether such brick-making made Mr. Parker liable to the bankrupt laws as a trader.

After the case had been solemnly argued in the court of common pleas, the court were unanimously of opinion, that the commission would not lie, he not being a trader, within the meaning of the bankrupt laws.

“ The creditors brought a writ of error to the king's bench, where the case again underwent a solemn argument of counsel, and lord Mansfield delivered the unanimous opinion of that court, that Mr. Parker was to all intents and purposes within the bankrupt laws, and the judgment of the court of common pleas was reversed.

— A cause came on before the court of king's bench, wherein William Henley was plaintiff, and Michael Jacob, of Goodman's Fields, defendant. It was an action brought to recover the sum of 78,000*l.* on the stock-jobbing act. The plaintiff's declaration was 2506 sheets. It came on by motion made by the plaintiff for time to enter his issue, when on many learned arguments by counsel on both sides, the plaintiff's bill was discharged, to the satisfaction of the whole court, by which decision the defendant gained his cause, and the plaintiff was nonsuited.

*Madrid, Nov. 1.* Letters from Carthage in South America give an account of an earthquake, which was felt in the city of Santa-Fé on the 12th of July last, at eight in the morning. Two churches were entirely destroyed, and many public and private buildings greatly damaged. The shock was felt in the neighbouring towns and villages of Yugativa, Caxica, and others, where the churches have also been left in ruins. Fortunately the number of lives lost appears to have been small. In Santa-Fé the persons killed amounted only to fourteen.

The archbishop, who is likewise viceroy of Santa-Fé, has made over the whole revenues of his diocese for the relief of the sufferers, and has received on this occasion the thanks of his catholic majesty, with liberty to draw from the royal

treasury what farther assistance he may judge necessary. *Lond. Gaz.*

*Dublin, Nov. 19.* Yesterday a remarkable cause was tried in the court of Exchequer, before Mr. Baron Metge. An attorney had taken, from motives of friendship, a young gentleman as an apprentice, but by the indentures the lad was to find himself in diet and lodging. However the master supplied him with these for five years, at the expiration of which a quarrel happening between them, the master marked a writ against the apprentice for 150l. for the five years diet and lodging, and had him arrested and imprisoned for that sum; but by an irregularity in the proceeding, the apprentice was discharged by the court upon a common appearance, after which the master discontinued his action, and now he sued the master for false imprisonment. The judge told the jury, the question for their consideration was, merely whether the master had dieted and lodged his apprentice as a matter of favour, or through an expectation of being paid for it; if they considered it as a favour, no subsequent quarrel could make it a debt; but if it was with an intent to be paid, no resentment could make the imprisonment appear malicious. After some consideration the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with twenty pounds damages and six pence cost.

22. Captain Griffith, master of the schooner Dart, sailed from Africa the 1st of April, with 150 slaves, bound to Barbadoes. But on the 19th of April, being then in lat. 188. long. 35 N. about four P. M. having all sail set, they were overtaken with a sudden squall, which overset the vessel in an instant. Fortunately all the white

people were on deck, except a passenger. The boat was washed overboard, which they got; and the captain, mate, and ten hands, with one slave, got into her, saved four monkeys, and about fourteen gallons of palm-oil, but neither bread nor water. At eight A. M. they left the wreck, with seven slaves on her side or bottom.

The boat was but fourteen feet long, so that they had but just room to sit in her, being thirteen in number. They had four oars and a tarpaulin, and went before the wind constantly, sometimes half full of water. In nineteen days after they had left the wreck they had some rain, but before that they had not a drop of drink. In eleven days more they made the land, about Cape North, lat. 1. 40 N. but had lost the mate and five hands with the slave, who were unable to support themselves under their complicated sufferings. They went up a river, expecting to find some inhabitants, but did not meet with any. Here they remained seven days, subsisting upon snakes, some of which were six feet long, fish, &c. They coasted along, and in 28 days more arrived in the river Wyapoake, which made 65 days from their leaving the wreck, and the first place they met with inhabited. Here two of these unhappy men died; so that the captain and three hands only survived. These were well taken care of; being clothed, and every other necessary provided for them, they were sent to Cayenne, and put in the hospital, where every attention was paid to them. The Dart was commanded by James Haslen when she sailed from Liverpool, but who died on the coast. She belonged to Tarleton and Blackhouse, merchants in Liverpool.

23. Ex-

23. *Extract of a letter from a passenger on board the Faithful Steward, of Londonderry, Connolly McCausland, master, dated Philadelphia, Sept. 17.*

“ On the 9th day of July last we sailed from Londonderry, having on board 249 passengers, who had with them property to a considerable amount. We had a favourable passage until the night of Thursday the first instant, when at the hour of ten o'clock it was thought adviseable to try for soundings, and to our surprise we found ourselves in four fathom water, though at dark there was not the smallest appearance of land. The consternation which then prevailed, is easier conceived than described; every exertion was used to run the vessel off shore, but in a few minutes she struck the ground, when it was found necessary to cut away her masts, &c. all of which went overboard. On the morning of the second, we found ourselves on Mohoba Bank, near Indian river, about four leagues to the southward of Cape Henlopen. Every effort was made to save the unhappy sufferers, who remained on the wreck during the night, although distant from the shore only about 100 yards. The same evening she went to pieces.

“ The sea running extremely high, the boats were with difficulty disengaged from the wreck; but before they could be manned they drifted ashore; therefore all relief was cut off except by swimming, or getting ashore on pieces of the wreck, and I am sorry to add, that of the above, only 68 persons were saved, among which were the master, his mates, and ten seamen. During the course of the day the inhabitants came down to the beach in numbers, and used every means

in their power to relieve the unfortunate people on board, among whom were about 100 women and children, of which only seven women were saved. Several persons who escaped from the wreck are since dead from the wounds they received, and others are miserably bruised.”

24. On Sunday the housekeeper to the princess Amelia was unfortunately burned to death at Gunnersbury. She was sitting near the fire in one of the rooms, when it is supposed that a spark flew out of the fire upon some part of her linen, and communicated to the rest of her clothes, as they were all burned. When the accident was discovered, a physician, &c. were sent for, but she died before they came. She had lived with the princess many years, and was greatly esteemed by her royal mistress.

— About nine o'clock this evening, an extraordinary act of depredation was committed in the chambers of Allen Chambré, esq. of Gray's Inn. Two desperate fellows, armed with pistols, walked into the apartments, and enquired for Mr. Chambré; but finding nobody but the servant, one of them presented a pistol to his breast, and after dreadful threats robbed him of his watch and money. They then asked if there was any other person at home; and being informed that a pupil of Mr. Chambré was in the next room, they went thither, and in a similar manner robbed him of his watch and money. They were afterwards about to depart, when meeting at the outer door with Mr. Farrer, who was entering with a brief, they ordered him into the young gentleman's apartment, and took from him likewise his watch and money. Having made themselves masters of the property, they

very politely demanded their handkerchiefs, which request being readily complied with, the villains pinioned their arms, tied their legs, and left them lying on their faces. See Dec. 2.

— By a gentleman arrived from an Oriental tour, we are informed that Arabia has again produced a prophet and a warrior, who is beginning with success the career of the impostor Mahomet. He has already collected a large body of disciples and followers from the various tribes of Arabs. See Dec. 19.

25. On Tuesday came on to be argued in the court of king's bench a special case, on a wager relative to the late election for Southwark. A friend of Mr. Le Mesurier laid 100l. with a friend of sir Richard Hotham on the event of the election. The court were unanimously of opinion, that the action for the wager ought not to be sustained, as it undoubtedly in its consequences affected the purity of election, and of course dismissed the plaintiff's suit.

— This day, at twelve o'clock, Christopher Atkinson, esq. was put in the pillory, erected close to the Corn-exchange, in Mark-lane, and stood for one hour. according to his sentence, for perjury. He was dressed in a light-coloured coat, his hair dressed and powdered, and he bowed to the populace three times before he went in. He was exposed more than has been known by any person, as his arms were in quite to the shoulders, which made his face more conspicuous. A great concourse of people were assembled, and the sheriffs attended on horseback, with their officers, the two city marshals, and upwards of 600 constables. Labels were stuck upon the pillars of the corn-market, "Christopher Atkinson, esq. for

perjury." See p. 42, also Vol. IV. p. 31. *British and Foreign History*, Vol. V. p. 12. *Public Occurrences*, Vol. V. p. 28. 31. 39. 48. 87, and 95.

— The recorder made his report of twelve persons capitally convicted in October sessions (see p. 77.) when Michael Smith, John Isaacs, William Powley, James Nesbitt, George Manning alias Francis Hill, Daniel East, William Vandeput, Francis Storer, and James Beaman, were ordered for execution.

27. By an authentic letter from Paris, it appears, that De Chameron and his girl had been in that city, and had presented the bills they had extorted from Mr. Mackay, at two houses, that refused; they had at length got cash at sir John Lambert's. Soon after an order came to secure them. The woman was apprehended, and only 225 livres found upon her, out of 5,400 which they had received. They had not been together for eight days. The officer, however, soon discovered De Chameron, in a walk near the Thuilleries, where, by an intercepted letter, he came to meet with the woman. He wounded the officer, got to the water-side, obliged two watermen to ferry him over, and, it being almost dark, got clear off. See Nov. 2. and Dec. .

28. On Saturday, Mr. Edward Ayllette, attorney at law, was brought from Newgate to the court of king's bench, in consequence of a conviction for perjury, he having made a false affidavit before the lord chancellor, that on returning from Westminster-hall, while under the protection of a subpoena, he was arrested before he entered his own doors. His counsel spoke a considerable time, on certain circumstances, in arrest of judgment, but without effect. Judge Willes then passed

passed the following sentence upon him: "Edward Aylette, you stand before the court, convicted on full and ample testimony of the crime of perjury. You have moved an arrest of judgment, and have been heard by your counsel, who have exerted themselves much on the occasion; but the court have considered your plea not sufficient to set aside the indictment. You have not denied the fact of perjury; you have not moved for a new trial; you have not brought your clerks to disprove a single circumstance alledged against you; and there is not, therefore, a single doubt remaining in our breasts of your having committed the crime. The fact is notorious to every body; and as the indictment was preferred against you, to the end that justice might be done, so it is necessary to pass the sentence of the law upon you. You have been long an attorney of this court, and in your extensive practice, you must have discovered, that of all crimes, perjury is the most dangerous to society. It perverts justice, it unhinges the law, it destroys liberty and property, and in the practice of the court, is a most dangerous evil. You have seen by a late determination, that neither rank nor fortune can save a man from the ignominious punishment attendant on this crime; and therefore I must inform you, the sentence of this court is,

"That you Edward Aylette do pay unto the king the sum of five hundred pounds, and that you be held in execution until the same is paid. That you be imprisoned in the gaol of Newgate for twelve months, and that once within that time, between the hours of twelve at noon and two in the afternoon,

you stand in and upon the pillory, in Palace-yard, Westminster."

30. At the anniversary meeting of the Royal Society, sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was presented to major-general Roy, for his measurement of a base on Hounslow Heath. After the customary address on those occasions, the following noblemen and gentlemen were elected of the council for the year ensuing:

Sir Joseph Banks, bart. president.

Charles Blagden, M. D. sec.

Henry Cavendish, esq.

John Hunter, esq.

Constantine lord Mulgrave, V. P.

Sir William Mulgrave, bt. V. P.

Rev. Richard Price, LL.D.

Joseph Planta, esq. secretary.

Mr. John Smeaton.

William Watson, M. D. V. P.

Samuel Wegg, esq. treas. V. P.

\*Lieut. Col. William Calderwood.

\*Rev. Samuel Glassey, D. D.

\*Mr. William Hudson.

\*Rev. Andrew Kippis, D. D.

\*George, earl of Leicester.

\*Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, D. D.

\*William Pitcairn, M. D.

\*Jacob Preston, esq.

\*Sir George Shuckburgh, bart.

Those with \* are the new members.

— A cause, very interesting to humanity, and which, as such, ought never to have been defended, was determined in the common pleas. It was an action in which several Lascars were plaintiffs, and William Moffatt, esq. of Queen-square, owner of the Kent East India man, was defendant. These poor men were taken in at a time of great extremity to navigate the ship, and as soon as they arrived here, and their services were no longer necessary, they were discharged, and thrown upon the town!—Mr. Moffatt had pleaded



pleaded in abatement, that James Hunt and Timothy Curtis, esqrs. were joint owners of the ship, and that they ought to be sued with him for the Lascars demand. A verdict, however, was given in favour of the Lascars, entitling each of them to recover the sum of £21. 10s.—The Recorder, Mr. serjeant Bolton, and Mr. Nares, humanely pleaded the cause of the Lascars without fee or reward.

*Brussels, Nov. 23.* On the 19th Mr. Blanchard ascended in his balloon from the citadel of Ghent. When he had soared perpendicularly almost out of sight, he let down a dog by means of a parachute, which came down perfectly safe. The next morning people were uncommonly anxious to learn the fate of Mr. Blanchard, who, it seems, dropped a letter, which was taken up in a little town at the mouth of the Scheldt, purporting that he had twice attempted landing, but was prevented by the impetuosity of the wind impelling to the northward. The general solicitude was afterwards very much increased by Mr. Blanchard's throwing down a second letter, in which he said he had very little hopes of being saved. They were, however, relieved from their anxiety on the Monday following, by the arrival of Mr. Blanchard, about three o'clock, amidst the acclamations of the people. He reckons his altitude from the earth 2000 feet; his balloon, which was not quite filled at the time of his ascension, became so much expanded, that he was in momentary expectation it would burst. Though he opened the valve, the inflation appeared not to diminish, and therefore he had recourse to forcing holes in the bottom of his balloon with his flag staff. But now another danger

equally terrible with the former, presented itself; for he descended with such rapidity as to be in sight of the earth in an instant. In this extremity his last resource was to cut the cords of his car, and to tie himself with them fast to it, the balloon then serving him in the nature of a parachute; and fortunately he descended in the neighbourhood of Delf, without receiving any injury.

*Glasgow, Nov. 24.* Yesterday Mr. Lunardi ascended here, about two in the afternoon, the wind S. W. and advanced north-east for about 25 miles. Having then changed his direction, he proceeded to the south-east, and attempted to anchor; but the wind blowing with great violence, the cable gave way, by which accident the anchor, weighing about 10lb. was left on the ground, and the balloon reascended with wonderful velocity to a considerable altitude. After floating for some time in the air, Mr. Lunardi descended in Selkirkshire, about 12 miles farther, on the Water of Ale, being two miles to the eastward of Ale-moor, having performed an expedition of 125 miles in the space of 120 hours. When he alighted, Mr. and Mrs. Chisholm, of Stirches, kindly afforded him every assistance in their power; and Mrs. Chisholm afterward boldly took possession of the car, and sailed for about three miles, when it was found expedient to desist from a farther progress, the wind blowing with fury. During Mr. Lunardi's expedition a very remarkable circumstance occurred, which never happened to any other aeronaut. When at a considerable distance from the earth, he felt himself much inclined to sleep, and at last yielded to his strong propensity, and slept for about 20 minutes on the bosom of the air.

DECEM-



## D E C E M B E R.

1. On the 14th of November the princess royal of Denmark was betrothed to Frederick Christian, hereditary prince of Holstein Augustenbourg. This princess, it is said, had long been destined for the duke of York; but the queen dowager found means to traverse the match.

— A commercial order has lately been issued at Riga, in Livonia; but whether by government, or only by the corporation, is not said; enjoining all merchants to balance their books at the close of every year. Those who neglect to comply with this order, in case of failure, are to be considered as fraudulent bankrupts. It is a maxim in Holland, that if a man fails, it is for want of keeping a good account.

— In the court of common pleas, Guildhall, an action was brought by Robert Muirhead, late a sailor on board the *Foulis East Indiaman*, against George Blachford, captain of the said ship, for an assault committed on the 9th of February, 1784, when the ship was at sea, in a very hot climate. The plaintiff's counsel stated, that, in the evening of the above day, the plaintiff, having been drinking pretty freely, made use of an oath, which the captain hearing, ordered the plaintiff to be instantly tied up by his hands to the foreshrouds; of which treatment the plaintiff complaining, the captain himself took a rope, of the size of about two inches circumference, and beat him in a most violent manner wherever he could strike him, who, having no other clothes on than his shirt, was presently in a gore of blood; and as he could not bear such treatment without complain-

ing, the captain threw aside the rope, and with a small supple cane, throwing off his coat at the same time, laid on him with that also, till his cries were such as to alarm the whole crew, to silence which he ordered him to be gagged, that is, to have an iron bolt put across his mouth, and tied tight about his head, and in that situation ordered him to be hung up by the hands, with his face towards the sun, for three hours. The man had a scar in his face of three inches square, which he shewed to the court and jury, who, without going out, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 200*l.* damages, and full costs of suit.

— Nine malefactors (*see p. 88.*) were executed before Newgate.

*Dublin, Nov. 25.* Yesterday the lord lieutenant and the duchess of Rutland arrived at the lodge in the Phoenix Park, from a tour to a variety of places in the country, where they had met with the most cordial reception. Their entertainment at Waterford is said to have exceeded, in magnificence, the most splendid that had been any where prepared for their reception.

2. Early in the evening the chambers of Mr. Dickens, No. 8, Gray's Inn, were entered by three villains in the following manner: they knocked at the door; an old woman, the bed-maker, being in the room, cried out loud enough to be heard by Mr. Dickens, who was in the adjoining apartment, "Lord bless me, here are three men with pistols!" He had the presence of mind to push the bolt in the door immediately, and ran out of the room by another door that opened on the landing-place, and locked them all in until he gave the alarm. They were all three immediately secured, and upon searching them were

were found two watches, which prove to be the identical watches of which Mr. Chambré and his pupil were robbed in their chambers, a few evenings before, in the same inn. They were carried before a magistrate, who committed them for trial. *See Nov. 24.*

*Oxford, Dec. 3.* Came on the election of Camden's Professor of History, when the numbers were for the rev. Mr. Warton, of Trinity college, poet laureat, 186, and the rev. Mr. Winstanley, of Hertford college, 107; majority for Mr. Warton, 79.

*Boston, New England, Oct. 10.* By the Zephyr, capt. Lee, arrived here from L'Orient, we have received the following important intelligence:

*Copy of a letter from the Consul at Nantz to the Consuls of L'Orient.*

Gentlemen,

We inclose in this a copy of a letter we have just received from Mr. Defontange, by which he informs us, that the Algerines have declared war against the United States of America, and that they are fitting out eight ships to take the American vessels. We request of you, gentlemen, to impart this intelligence to the captains of that nation who may now be in your harbour, in order for them to take such measures as to avoid falling into the hands of those pirates.

3. Letters from Quebec and Montreal give a very particular description of an uncommon phenomenon, which obscured the atmosphere in that part of North America almost to total darkness. On Sunday the 16th of October, at intervals, the sun, at Montreal, appeared of a dusky red, approaching to a copper colour; about a quarter after two P. M. the atmosphere became very black, and five mi-

nutes after totally dark, so that people ran against one another in the open streets. In the darkness nothing could be more dreadful; the horror that it occasioned exceeds all description. The rain that fell was of a strong sulphureous smell, and when the weather cleared up appeared as black as ink. At 42 minutes after two, it seemed to clear up, and continued so for five minutes, when the darkness returned as before, and the dread that then occupied the minds of all ranks of people was, if possible, much increased; but in less than 20 minutes, it gradually dissipated without any fatal effect. It thundered, but not remarkably. It did not blow hard, nor did it rain much.

On Sunday previous to this at Montreal, the atmosphere over Quebec appeared of a fiery, luminous, yellow colour: this was followed by squalls of wind and rain, with severe thunder and lightning, which continued most part of the night; a thing uncommon there at this season, it having frozen the night before. On Saturday the 15th, about 15 minutes after three, P. M. it became darker than the Sunday before, with the sky much of the same colour. On Sunday the 16th, about half after ten, A. M. it became so dark that ordinary print could not be read out of doors; this was followed by a squall of wind and rain, which for a moment dispelled the darkness; but from that time till about 10 minutes after twelve the darkness was so great, that the ministers in the churches were obliged to suspend the service. From two till about 10 minutes after, it was dark as at midnight. From 43 till about 50 minutes after three, it was total darkness, and from 35 to 45 minutes after four, it was very dark.

Each

Each period of darkness was followed by gusts of wind and rain, with some severe claps of thunder, and the atmosphere appeared as above described. It was remarked, that on the days before mentioned, there appeared to be two adverse currents of air, the uppermost impelling a luminous lamina of clouds towards the N. E. and the lowermost driving, with great rapidity, broken murky clouds towards the S. W. The rain that fell, as was remarked before, was black.

— In digging lately the new sewer, to carry off the water, which on a sudden fall of rain and snow used to stagnate before the mansion-house, the workmen found at the end of Lombard-street, at the depth of ten or fifteen feet, several considerable masses of coarse tessellated pavement, made of large pieces of red brick, of an irregular figure, from one to two inches square, bedded in coarse mortar, nearly opposite to the church of St. Edmund the King. They also found there a small brass seal, with a heater shield, so corroded that no arms could be distinguished on it, and round it SYGILLVM.....ICI. Proceeding farther, almost opposite the post-office, they came to two flues, as of chimnies, one semicircular, the other half square, each about a foot diameter, and about that distance asunder, in the north wall of a building, and reaching from the ground nearly to the surface of the street: also a circular brick, of about nine or ten inches in diameter, broken in half, and having a hole in the centre, terminated in a kind of boss on the under side, which, as well as the upper, had been bedded in mortar. They also took up a Nuremberg token or two. Continuing their researches, they found more of the tessellated pavement.

8. By accounts from Paris, De Chameron was, after his first escape (*see Nov.* 27.) taken at the house of a person with whom he had formed an accidental acquaintance in his way to Paris. It should seem by this account, that his girl and he did not travel together, for that would have led to an immediate discovery. She travelled like a gentlewoman; he, on foot, like a common sailor; and they had agreed to meet at the Thuilleries. On his making his escape, he took refuge at the house of his new acquaintance, who soon understanding what sort of guest he had got, gave notice to the proper officer of the police, who took him into custody without any farther resistance.

By order of the French minister he has since been removed to the Bastile, where he has already suffered the punishment of the rack once, and has, by this time, or very shortly will, suffer death. When Mr. Mackay applied to the duke of Dorset upon the subject, his grace not only shewed the most polite attention to his complaint, but assured him he would, if possible, get the woman sent over to be punished here; but as to the man, he thought, that, as he had wounded the officer of the police, the French government would not give him up; and with respect to the money which was found on the woman, and which the inspector of the police had lodged in the hands of Mr. Perigould the banker, his grace would take especial care to see it remitted. When the woman was taken, she denied having any of the money; but upon the officer telling her if she did not confess he would give her the rack, she instantly owned that she had two hundred and twenty-five pounds in notes, concealed in the heel of her shoe, where

where they were found. The marquis of Carmarthen shewed the same attention to Mr. Mackay's case as the duke; nor can any thing exceed the vigilance, activity, and zeal, shewn by the French government throughout this affair.

9. A foreign nobleman having advertised for specimens of elegant penmanship in the English style, for the purpose of having a monumental inscription written to the memory of an illustrious personage, and offering (as an inducement for the most eminent masters to exert their talents) the honourable premium of a gold pen for the most approved specimens, upwards of twenty candidates appeared, and on Tuesday last the pen was adjudged to Mr. Perks, of Battersea.

— A horrid murder was last month perpetrated at Nantz, in Brittany, by a young man of the name of Princlos, who having lived a profligate life, to avoid the remonstrances of his parents and friends, formed the diabolical resolution of getting rid of the whole family at once, consisting of father, mother, a brother, two sisters, and a clergyman who boarded in the house, which he found means to accomplish by means of poison. His crime, however, did not long remain concealed. He was apprehended, tried, and found guilty; and, as his crimes were of the deepest dye, so was his punishment uncommonly severe. He was sentenced to have his hands cut off, and his tongue plucked out; then to have his arms, legs, and thighs broken, and to remain upon the wheel, exposed, with his face turned towards heaven, till he should be released by death. This sentence was executed upon him, on the 10th of last month, at Nantz, where, for the honour of

the police, they had not seen an execution for forty years.

10. From Malta, we are informed, that a small squadron, consisting of four Tunisian galleys, had attempted to make a descent on the Red Island, near that of Sardinia. Their manœuvres being descried from Cagliari, three Maltese galleys then in the harbour weighed anchor, and sailed in search of the pirates. They soon came up with them, and offered them battle, which was readily accepted by the rovers, who felt bold from their superiority in numbers, and weight of metal. The Tunisian commodore furiously attacked the smallest of the three galleys, whilst the two other Maltese found business enough to maintain the action against the three Tunisians. Their chief had entirely disabled the small galley, when its commander, capt. Pietro resolved to board the enemy, or perish in the attempt. Five times did the grapple miss its aim; the sixth proved more fortunate, and the Tunisian was boarded, when a dreadful slaughter ensued. At last, after a desperate action, which lasted near three hours, victory declared in favour of the Maltese. One of the enemy's galleys found means to escape, the other three were brought in triumph into Cagliari, where Te Deum was sung with great solemnity. The number of men on board the captured galleys amounted to 220, of whom 52 were killed, and 32 wounded. The Maltese lost only six men, and five were sent to the hospital, to get cured of their wounds.

*Ostend, Dec. 2.* The emperor is about finishing what he began some time ago, by the total suppression of all the religious houses in Austrian Flanders, and secularizing the majority

jority of their inhabitants. All the convents at Ghent and Bruges are suppressed, and their revenues are appropriated to the public service.

*Edinburgh, Dec. 3.* Yesterday an experiment was made at Leith on a vessel of a new construction, the invention of a gentleman of this city. She consists of a vessel of about 60 feet long and seven broad, cut in two lengthways, the sections placed at about seven feet distance, and joined together at top by strong beams planked over, so as to represent upon deck a vessel of the ordinary proportions, 60 feet by 15. The experiment fully answered expectation, notwithstanding one of the principal sails was by an accident prevented from being properly set. She was attended by the king's boat at Leith, which is reckoned a fast sailing boat of her size; but the new vessel outailed her, and when the breeze increased left her about one mile in four. It was found that the above vessel is capable of carrying almost double the quantity of sail of one of the ordinary construction, and of the same length and breadth, and has this peculiar advantage, that she only draws two feet and a half water.

*Paris, Dec. 2.* By an ordinance of the king's council of state of the 13th ult. a duty is imposed upon all foreign carriages brought into this country. Four-wheeled carriages are to pay 800 livres each. Travellers are to pay the duty only by way of form, as the sum paid is to be reimbursed if they quit the kingdom with the same vehicles. The same allowance is made in favour of natives and others taking carriages out of the kingdom for the purpose of travelling into foreign countries.

11. The ferry-boat which goes between the county of Caernarvon

and the Isle of Anglesea, was unfortunately lost on Monday the 5th instant. The following particulars of this melancholy catastrophe are taken from a letter written by Mr. Hugh Williams (the only survivor), dated Tynllwden, Dec. 10.

"On Monday, Dec. 5, being at Caernarvon fair with several of my friends and neighbours, to the number of sixty, I went into the ferry-boat at Abermenai, between three and four in the afternoon, wind S. W. a hard gale, inasmuch that the boat was driven, about five in the evening, on a sand-bank called Traethall Gwyllhm, where she almost instantaneously filled with water. We immediately got upon the bank, being low water, tolerably extensive, and walked to and fro, making the most piercing lamentations in hopes of procuring relief, of which however we could have no hope, the waves and the tide rising so fast upon us, as to render all assistance impracticable. In this most affecting situation, reflecting a little, I thought I could but perish if I committed my fate to the mercy of the waves. I fastened an oar to the mast, and taking off my great coat and boots, and after the heart-rending task of taking leave of my most intimate friends, I plunged myself into the tempestuous ocean, lashed to the mast, which under Providence proved the means of enabling me once more to tread the shore of my native country. On my quitting the water in a transport of joy, I attempted to run; but, alas! my limbs were so benumbed with cold and fatigue, that it was with difficulty I could crawl up the beach. At last I reached the ferry-house, where I was treated with every possible degree of attention. The next morning I found I was the only person who escaped this  
most

most calamitous disaster, in which there is scarce a family in this neighbourhood, but feels the loss of a parent, relation, or friend."

The earl of Uxbridge, with his wonted munificence, ordered one hundred pounds to be distributed among the poor widows and orphans of the unfortunate persons who perished in the above melancholy event; at the same time his lordship intimated that his assistance should not terminate there.

13. Saturday being the anniversary of the institution of the Royal Academy, a general assembly was held at Somerset Place, when the following premiums were given; viz. a silver medal for the best drawing of an academy figure to Mr. William Palmer; a silver medal for the best model of the Torso restored, to Mr. P. F. Chenu; a silver medal for the best drawing of architecture, being the front of the king's house at Greenwich, done from actual measurements, to Mr. George Stoddart. The assembly then proceeded to elect officers for the year ensuing, when sir Joshua Reynolds was re-elected president.

#### Council.

Sir William Chambers,  
John Bacon,  
Richard Cosway,  
Paul Sandby,  
Edmund Gavey,  
J. F. Rigaud,  
William Tyler,  
Jos. Wilton, esqrs.

#### Visitors.

James Barry,  
J. B. Cipriani,  
P. J. De Louthembourg,  
Jer. Meyer,  
F. Bartolozzi,  
Mason Chamberlin,  
Jos. Nollekens,  
J. F. Rigaud,  
Jos. Wilton, esqrs.

— Yesterday was tried in the court of king's bench, a cause of importance to the shippers of goods, between Messrs. Price and Cooke, Milk-street, glovers, plaintiffs, and Jonathan Peacock, of Scarborough, shopkeeper, defendant. The defendant ordered verbally of one of the plaintiffs a parcel of goods to be sent him by the first Scarborough vessel; the goods were accordingly sent to the Red-lion wharf to be forwarded by the Swift packet, capt. Clark, being the first ship which sailed for that place. The truss with many more were taken in a lighter to the vessel, and there delivered into the charge of the captain and crew, the lighter being made fast to her, and there left to be unloaded. It seems the truss in question never was on board the ship, and is supposed to have been stolen out of the lighter whilst she lay along side her. The defendant refused to pay for the goods, alleging, that he did not order them by that particular vessel, and that the delivery was not a sufficient one. The plaintiffs proved the delivery of the goods into the care of the captain and crew of the Swift packet, and that they had frequently shipped goods for the defendant in the same manner, and that the defendant had always paid the freight of such goods; the jury therefore found a verdict for the plaintiffs.

*Escurial, Nov. 24.* On the 14th instant the king of Spain published an edict, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the use of more than two horses or mules in gentlemen's carriages, within the different towns in this country. A circular letter has been sent to the foreign ministers residing at this court, with a copy of the edict, expressing his Catholic majesty's hopes that they will set the example to the public,  
by



by complying with the new regulation.

The same edict also abolishes the celebrated Bull Feasts (so long the favourite diversion of the Spaniards) except in particular cases, where the profits arising from that exhibition have been appropriated to pious or patriotic uses, and where no fund has yet been set aside to supply the deficiency that would be the consequence of the suppression.

The motive assigned for these prohibitions, in the preamble of the edict, is the great destruction of cattle, which might be better employed in agriculture and other useful occupations. *Lond. Gaz.*

— Yesterday came on before the barons of the exchequer at Serjeants-inn-hall, the long depending cause between Mr. Charles Rennett, attorney, in the Temple, and Messrs. Longman and Broderip, of Cheapside, London, music-sellers, charging Messrs. Longman and Broderip with having printed and published a great number of musical works, his property, and claiming a right in the music of the Padlock, Jubilee, and sundry other publications, which were Messrs. Longman and Broderip's property, and purchased by them originally of Mr. Dibdin, but to which Mr. Rennett claimed a reversionary right as assignee to Mr. Dibdin, under a deed which took place at the expiration of the first fourteen years after the publication. Mr. Rennett having gone through the whole of his case and proofs, the barons, without hearing one word of evidence on the part of Messrs. Longman and Broderip, dismissed Mr. Rennett's suit with costs.

*Salisbury, Dec. 12.* Monday last col. Joseph Brandt, the celebrated king of the Mohawks, arrived in 1785.

this city from America, and after dining with col. De Peister at the head quarters here, proceeded immediately on his journey to London. This extraordinary personage is said to have presided at a late grand congress of confederate chiefs of the Indian nations in America. He took his departure for England immediately as that assembly broke up; and it is conjectured that his embassy to the British court is of great importance. This country owes much to the services of col. Brandt during the late war in America. He was educated at Philadelphia, is a very shrewd, intelligent person, possesses great courage and abilities as a warrior, and is inviolably attached to the English nation.

15. At a respectable meeting of the retail shop-keepers of London, at the London-tavern, pursuant to advertisement, to receive the report of their committee, Mr. Alderman Skinner took the chair, and in a speech of some length gave a very circumstantial account of what had passed at an audience which he, and three others of their committee, had obtained of Mr. Pitt; the result of which was, that having acquainted the chancellor with what the committee, from general report, had been led to believe, "That it was his intention, early in the ensuing session, to move for the repeal of the shop-tax;" he denied ever having, in public or private conversation, given the most distant intimation, that he would either move for the repeal of the shop-tax himself, or support any motion for that purpose, if made by any other member. And after hearing all the arguments which he (the alderman), and those who accompanied him, had urged, on breaking up the conference, he declared himself not at all

separated two and two on each side of the road to make way for his horse, but he not choosing to ride between them, turned his horse to go on the outside of them; his horse made a trip, and at that instant one of them, without speaking a word, struck him on the head, and knocked him off his horse, and was making up to him with a cutlass, when Mr. Chapman, being an active, strong man, jumped up, guarded off the blow of the cutlass, knocked the footpad down, and ran to take up the cutlass, in order to defend himself against the four. As he was stooping for it, he was knocked down by one of the other men, and three of them fell upon him, and beat him in an unmerciful manner with the cutlasses over the head, and robbed him of about six pounds, and one of the footpads cried, "Damn him, make an end of him at once." But providentially two gentlemen were seen coming on the road, upon which the four footpads ran up Peckham Gap, and got clear off. The two gentlemen very humanely took care of Mr. Chapman, and conducted him home to his wife and family in Church-street, Stoke Newington, where he lies dangerously ill of the wounds he received.

*Constantinople, Nov. 4.* The advices which the Porte receives from time to time respecting the progress of the fanatic Scheich Mansour, in Upper Asia, become daily more alarming, which has occasioned fresh instructions to be sent to the bashaw of Erzerum, that he might take the most effectual measures to repress that evil in its beginning. Scheich Mansour, shaping his conduct on the founder of the Mussulman worship, is at the same time both prophet and soldier. The principal cruelties attributed to him are, 1.

That God, according to his eternal decrees, has sent him, Scheich Mansour, to put a stop to corruption amongst men. 2. That his mission has put an end to the power of Mahomet, and that himself alone ought to be looked upon now as the true prophet. 3. That in consequence his sectaries must abstain from the journey to Mecca, and from all other pilgrimages in honour of the old prophet. The number of Scheich Mansour's adherents was inconsiderable at first, but now they form a little army, with which he has made himself master of several strong posts, where he seems determined to defend himself in case of an attack on the part of the government. *See Dec. 12.*

20. Some gentlemen courting in the neighbourhood of Castleton, in the High Peak, Derbyshire, started a hare at the foot of the celebrated Mam-tor, a mountain elevated near 800 feet above the valley, in which the town of Castleton is situated. She ran directly up the steep ascent, and was followed by a leash of greyhounds; when they came to the top, the hare found herself so closely pursued, that she had no other alternative but death by the dogs, or leaping directly down the precipice at least 150 feet deep. She made choice of the latter, and the dogs after her; the fate of all was what might be expected—they were found dead at the bottom.

—Statement of a special law case, Forward against Pithood: the defendant was a common carrier, to whom the plaintiff had delivered a parcel of hops, at Weyhill fair, to be carried by the defendant's wagon. The defendant put them into his warehouse, and during the night a fire broke out at an adjoining booth (*see p. 15.*) and consumed the defendant's warehouse, and the plain-

plaintiff's goods therein. The question for the court to determine was, whether the plaintiff was entitled to recover. Lord Mansfield stated, that a common carrier is in the nature of an insurer; and that he is liable for every thing, except the act of God and the king's enemies; that is, even for inevitable accidents with those exceptions. Judgment was therefore given for the plaintiff.

— About seven in the morning of the 17th, a large ship was seen two leagues west of the Land's End in apparent distress, the wind then very hard at east. Thirty people, from a small village called Sunning, went out, in two boats, to her assistance. Between the ship and the shore they were met by two boats from the vessel, who told them they were from Port-au-Prince, bound to Dunkirk; that they had been out 56 days, and had met with very hard weather; that the ship was leaky, and, when they quitted her, had six feet water in her hold, and they supposed she would go down in less than a quarter of an hour. This did not stop the Cornish men: they boarded her, and found very foul play had been used, and great pains taken to sink the ship. Three augers were found, with which they had bored two holes under the cabin-floor; also the rigging cut away, and the principal pump-geer tied. They stopped the holes as fast as possible, and, in a few hours, got her safe into St. Mary's in Scilly: her cargo is coffee, sugar, and indigo. The person who calls himself captain, says, his name is Francis Cardon; the ship called the Sarah; and that they left the real captain sick in the West Indies. They brought fifty chests of dollars with them.

21. The sessions at the Old Bai-

ley, which began on the 14th, ended this day, when fourteen persons received sentence of death; viz. Michael Druite, for forging the order of George Holmes, on Messrs. Hankey and Co. for 12l. 10s. payable to William Thenson, or bearer, and publishing the same as true, with intent to defraud Mr. Isaac Brown, haberdasher in the Strand; Thomas Scrivener, for stealing in the dwelling-house of William Young a draft for 6l. 13s. 1d. on Messrs. Prescott and Co.; John alias James Murray, for forging a seaman's will; John Harris, for sheep-stealing; John Bateman, Abraham Boize, Benj. Rogers, Joseph Leonard, George Wilson alias Jackson, Charles King, and Thomas Thompson, for burglaries; George Dunstan, for house-breaking; Thomas Shipley, for stealing sundry things out of the house of Dr. Warren; and Charles Seymour alias Moore, for stealing in the chambers of Edward Poore, esq. in Lincoln's-inn, some wearing apparel, a 20l. bank note, and a bank post bill for 42l.

*Plymouth, Dec. 20.* Yesterday at 12 o'clock, A. M. the execution flag was hoisted on board the Standard of 64, in the Hamoze, when — Moffatt, boatswain of the Fortune sloop of war, who was sentenced by a court martial to be hanged for striking his lieutenant, was executed pursuant to his sentence.

*Hague, Dec. 16.* The states general having on Monday last ratified the definitive treaty concluded the 8th instant with the emperor, baron Hop set out yesterday for Brussels to resume his post of minister from the republic. See *Public Papers*.

*Marseilles, Dec. 10.* The whole conversation of this city is on the

heroic madame du Frenoy. This lady embarked with her husband, a few days ago, in a tartane for Genoa. They had scarce lost sight of the port, when they discovered a corsair making towards them, and finding it impossible to escape by flight, prepared to receive him. In vain did M. du Frenoy endeavour to prevail on his lady to go below; she resolutely refused, and, seizing a sabre, placed herself by his side, declaring she was determined to abide her fate. M. du Frenoy, finding all arguments vain, was obliged to consent. The Algerine after a broadside, grappled the tartane. Our people received them gallantly, but none can describe the behaviour of madame du Frenoy. She flew among them with her sabre, and with her voice animated the crew. M. du Frenoy fell with a pistol bullet in his thigh; his lady stood over him, and levelled with one stroke a Turk, who advanced to attack her. The pirates were obliged to retreat to their own ship, when they cut their grapplings, and fell off. A smart action now commenced with the great guns. Madame du Frenoy, after assisting her husband down to the surgeon, returned upon deck, where she continued encouraging the men, until the corsair, tired of his reception, sheered off. We had fourteen men killed, and thirty wounded. The loss of the pirates must have been great; they left eighty upon our decks. This tartane being much shattered, returned to this port. The magistrates being informed of the action, waited on madame du Frenoy, and invited her in their name to the theatre, where she was received with the loudest acclamations, and a crown of laurel placed on her head by the marquis de St. Christophe.

*New York, Nov. 2.* In the report of the grand committee of congress, dated September 27, 1785, it is recommended to congress to make a requisition on the united states for three millions of dollars, for the service of the present year, in order to pay one year's interest on the foreign and domestic debts, &c. The quotas of the several states to be as follow, viz. New Hampshire, 105,416 dollars. Massachusetts, 448,854. Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 64,636. Connecticut, 264,182. New York, 256,486. New Jersey, 166,117. Pennsylvania, 410,378. Delaware, 44,886. Maryland, 283,034. Virginia, 512,974. North Carolina, 218,012. South Carolina, 192,366. Georgia, 32,060.

24. We learn from Stranraer, in Scotland, that about ten days ago the mail from thence to Ballantrae, in Ayrshire, was robbed, and a considerable sum of money taken out of a letter. The sheriff of Whigton took a precognition respecting the robbery, when it turned out that the postboy was the robber, who has since been committed to Stranraer jail, and a considerable part of the money is recovered.

25. Mr. Lunardi's voyage from Harriot's Gardens, near Edinburgh, on the 20th of December, was rather an act of obstinacy and desperation, than of prudence and true courage. He had promised the people, that on that day he would ascend; and he did ascend, though, by the course of the wind, he was almost certain of being dropt in the sea. As he expected, so it happened. He fell in the water about a mile and a half from the rocks of Findra and Lamb; and was scudging through the ocean like a nautilus, when he was taken up by a fishing-boat, and brought safe to shore,

shore, with the loss however of his balloon, which was afterwards taken up by the Royal Charlotte cutter, and returned to him. In a letter to some of his friends, dated in the evening, he writes :

“ Gentlemen, I have the honour to acquaint you, that I have had an hour of the most agreeable aerial voyage, and an hour and a quarter of the most disagreeable and breast-water sea-voyage. I was picked up by a fishing-boat while I was going full sail towards the island of May, and am now very well at Mr. Nesbet's,” &c.

This was the last aerial excursion in the year 1785. Of the variety of them that have been undertaken, we have mentioned such only as were attended with some very striking circumstances. By way of recapitulation, however, it may be proper to mention some others, in order to complete the history of aërostation for this year. See *Philosophical Papers*, Vol. V. p. 154.

On the 4th of January, Mr. Harper, of Birmingham, ascended from that place, at a quarter after twelve, and in one hour and twenty-three minutes, sailed about fifty miles, landing at Whetstone Green, four miles beyond Newcastle-under-line.

On the 19th of April, about four in the afternoon, the inhabitants of Chippenham were surprised by the appearance of a balloon hovering over that town, which had been launched at Bristol about two the same day, with Mr. Dicker, jun. The wind was boisterous, and tossed the balloon like a football; sometimes close to the ground, and then in an instant high in the air; so that the young navigator had a rough voyage, and was not in a humour to make many aerial observations. However, he fortunately landed safe near the town.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Blanchard ascended from Langhorn's Repository in Barbican, accompanied by miss Simonet. On ascending into the air, the aeronaut saluted the lady in sight of a vast concourse of people. They proceeded no farther than Hill-house ferry, beyond Lee Bridge.

On the 5th of the same month, Mr. Sadleir, of Oxford, and the hon. Mr. Wyndham, ascended at Moulsey-Hurst, near Hampton Court. The machine took a S. E. course, strongly impelled by the current of air towards the sea. They, however, had the good fortune to land near the conflux of the Medway and the Thames, not a mile from the water's edge. The country people, to whom they committed the care of the balloon, while they secured their instruments of observation, suddenly quitted their hold, when it took its flight to the eastward, and, as it afterwards appeared, fell in the sea, a few leagues to the eastward of the Nore, where it was taken up by capt. John Sherwin, of Sunderland, and restored to Mr. Sadleir.

On the 16th, Mr. Lunardi ascended in a magnificent balloon from the Artillery-ground. Evolutions had been promised to be performed, and a prodigious multitude in course collected. But no evolutions were attempted; and the aeronaut, after rising a considerable height into the air, descended, with the most alarming rapidity, into the garden of the Adam and Eve, in Tottenham-court road, and fortunately unhurt.

The same day, Mr. Sadleir ascended from Manchester, and was carried by a current of air to the neighbourhood of Warrington, where he plainly saw on one side Manchester, to the northward the



distant mountains in Westmoreland, and to the west, Liverpool, and the sea. A different current of air then conveyed him in another direction, and he alighted about a mile from Bury, in Lancashire, having been in the air about an hour, and three quarters.

On the 19th, Mr. Sadleir made another aerial voyage in his balloon from Manchester. When at the highest, which he thought was more than two miles, and far above the clouds, he felt himself much affected by short respiration, a severe pain in his ears, and extreme cold. The balloon strained much; he feared it would burst, and was much terrified when he found he could not open the valve, as it was frozen stiff. He saw nothing of the earth for three quarters of an hour, and the clouds appeared to him as if rolling on the surface of it. While he was in this situation, a kind of transparent fleet hung round him, which, from the reflection of the sun, made a most beautiful appearance. The shadow of the balloon also appeared upon the clouds, and seemed passing on a different direction: and, after sailing upwards of fifty miles in an hour and a half, he landed near Pontefract, at a place where no person being near to assist, except a man on horseback, who, being terrified at his appearance, rode off full gallop; he was dragged over hedge and ditch, till being no longer able to keep his hold, he dropped down, much lacerated, and his balloon took a second flight, and was not recovered till after he had reached Manchester again in a chaise. It was found by Mr. Morton, of Gainsborough, who, as he was walking out, observed in a field something of an immense size rolling on the ground, and, pursuing it, found it to be a balloon, and at-

tached thereto a large basket, with nothing in it but a knife and a hat; he therefore concluded that the owner had been dashed to pieces.

On the 3d of June, major Mooney, Mr. Blake, and Mr. Lockwood, took their departure in a balloon from Tottenham-court road, about one o'clock, and about four were set down near Higham Farm, in Essex, where Mr. Blake jumped out. The balloon was no sooner lightened than it was again lost in the clouds; and, after having sailed about thirty-six miles farther, the voyagers opened the valve, and came down on a heath near Colchester.

The same day col. Thornton ascended at South Lambeth in a balloon, that was prevented, by a rope, from going beyond a certain height. By way of experiment, he took up a dog with him, which he let drop suspended to a parachute, or large silken umbrella; but the colonel wanting skill to manage it properly, the poor animal descended to the earth with great velocity, and was killed on the spot. Mr. Blanchard then ascended in the same balloon, liberated from the rope, and, about a mile from the earth, let down a cat, suspended to a parachute. The descent of it was beautiful beyond description. It hovered more gently than a feather, and was wafted by the wind as far as Peckham, where it was found safe and unhurt in the net, between two branches of the tree on which it alighted. The umbrella was so well spread, that it covered the whole tree. Mr. Blanchard himself alighted at Woolwich.—This idea of descending by means of a parachute, was suggested by the celebrated M. Montgolfier, who, as appears from the foreign prints, prevailed upon the magistrates of Lyons,



ons, in August last, to suffer a criminal, condemned to the gallies for life, to descend, by a similar machine, from a tower near that city, about 260 feet high: the man came safe to the ground, and was pardoned for his intrepidity.

On the 24th of June, colonel Fitzpatrick ascended in Mr. Sadleir's balloon from Oxford, and alighted near Kingston Lisle, opposite the White Horse hills, Berks.

On the 29th, Mr. Biggin and Mrs. Sage ascended in Mr. Lunardi's balloon from St. George's Fields, and alighted at Harrow on the Hill.

On the 20th of July, Mr. Lunardi ascended from Liverpool, and alighted in an hour and twenty minutes (after the balloon had pursued various directions) at Simonwood, twelve miles from Liverpool. The balloon being deficient in levity, to keep himself suspended, he threw away his hat, coat, and waistcoat, which occasioned him to suffer much from the cold.

On the 25th of August, Mr. Sadleir ascended from Worcester, and in two hours alighted at Sutton Grandsome, about twenty-five miles distant, in a corn field, where forty people were at harvest, who all fled, except an old woman, who being with some difficulty persuaded to take hold of the cord, the others returned to his assistance.

On the 26th, Mr. Blanchard and the chevalier d'Epinaud ascended at Lisle. At the height of a mile, they let down a dog by a parachute, which descended to the earth gradually, and the animal alighted unhurt at the distance of two miles. Mr. Blanchard and his companion, say the foreign prints, were carried near three hundred English miles from the place of their departure,

and alighted at a village in the province of Champagne. They immediately set off for Lisle, where they arrived on the fourth day after their ascent.

On the 28th, the marquis de Cubiaries, and three others, set out in a balloon from the neighbourhood of Paris, with a resolution to make their excursion as long as possible; but, on account of the violence of the wind, they were obliged to descend at the foot of the mountain Belle Vice Cabot, twelve miles distant. They assert, that, by their address in managing the balloon, they kept it within 70 degrees (nearly  $5\frac{1}{2}$  points) of the wind, which is as near as large Dutch vessels commonly lie to it.

On the 1st of September, lieutenant French, of the Royal Cheshire militia, ascended alone at Chester in Mr. Lunardi's balloon. In about two hours he descended at Macclesfield, distant forty miles.

On the 5th, Thomas Baldwin, esq. likewise ascended from Chester, in the same balloon. He descended at Pixton Moss, alighting as the falling snow, and having gone 25 miles in two hours and a quarter.

On the 10th, Mr. Sadleir ascended again from Worcester. He descended about nine miles beyond Litchfield; but for want of his grappling iron (which, in some confusion at his first ascent, had been thrown out) he was dragged near five miles over a rough heath, and at length thrown out of his car, by which accident his balloon escaped from him, and in five minutes was out of sight. He was not materially hurt by his fall. The balloon was afterward found at Middleton, near Durham, 250 miles from Worcester.

On the 5th of October, Mr. Lunardi ascended from Edinburgh, in

a N. N. W. direction. He went over the city at a very great height, directly across the Frith. When about half over, he descended pretty low, and then discharging some of his ballast, he rose rapidly, and disappeared. He alighted at Calinch, three miles S. E. of Cupar.

Besides these, and some other experiments at home, the aerial voyage of an army surgeon in the Spanish service deserves notice. About the middle of July, he took his departure from Aranjues, and when he had ascended to the height of 700 fathom, the balloon, to which he was attached, took fire, which obliged him to cut the canvas. He came down with astonishing velocity, and by falling on the bough of a tree, broke both his legs, and was otherwise much bruised, scorched, and wounded. The prince of Asturias, in compassion to his sufferings, settled a pension of 8000 rials on him for life.

The foreign prints of August mention the aerial voyage of two Frenchmen, Messrs. Alban and Vallet, who, they say, ascended in a balloon constructed by order of the *compte d'Artois*, from Javel, and passing over the river near the wood of Boulogne, navigated their vehicle to Bagatelle, to gratify the curiosity of the *duc d'Angouleme*, and the *duc de Berry*. After being in the air three hours, the wind became boisterous; but a calm ensuing, they renewed their manœuvres, successively transported themselves to and from Bagatelle to Longchamp, and at length descended, without having lost any of the inflammable air, though the balloon had been filled for more than six weeks.—But this discovery of the art of descending without the evaporation of gas, does not appear to have met since with that

confirmation which was certainly necessary.

The foreign prints likewise mention, that in the course of this year, a Persian physician, at Constantinople, without any subscription, constructed a balloon, and in the presence of the Grand Seignior, accompanied with all his sultanas, richly dressed, ascended with two gentlemen belonging to the court, from the grand terrace, which was elegantly decorated on the occasion. Previous to their ascension they approached the sultan, who presented each with a magnificent pellice, with which they immediately entered their car, and ascended to the astonishment of the spectators, but much more so to the inhabitants at thirty leagues distance, who were witnesses to their descent; all of whom were struck with inexpressible horror, under the apprehensions of the coming of their prophet to chastise them for the enormity of their crimes, and fell every where prostrate before them, so that they could scarce prevail upon any of them to rise to give them assistance. At length two of the most courageous were sent to the pacha of the place, who enabled them to secure the balloon, and furnished them with the means of returning to court, where they were received with uncommon marks of honour by the Grand Seignior. His sublime highness ordered the balloon to be hung up in the mosque of St. Sophia, to perpetuate the memory of so wonderful an event.

But the conduct of the empress of Russia was the reverse of that of his sublime highness. An air balloon having been carried over to Russia, the construction of which cost 800*l.* her imperial majesty would not allow it to be produced to the public; and the proprietors

were

were ordered immediately to replace it on board the ship. And certainly it must be allowed, that voyages of this kind, with no one useful purpose in view, and calculated solely to gratify idle curiosity, and promote dissipation, deserve no encouragement. The principle is now sufficiently known, but the use is yet to be discovered; and voyages of experiment, were any such set on foot, by men of science, would be laudable; while these, which call the multitude together, ought to be suppressed.

26. Clutterbuck, though condemned to the galleys, (*see p 65.*) has obtained the liberty of residing on shore; but, according to the custom of convicts, is obliged to wear the slave's habit, and a large iron ring round his right leg.

*Petersburg, Nov. 10.* The ordinance of the empress for settling the police of all the cities of the empire, has for its principal object their interior administration, their prosperity, and their increase. Each city keeps a register of its citizens, which is divided into six parts: the first contains the names of the inhabitants of property; secondly, the corporation of merchants; thirdly, those of tradesmen; fourthly, foreigners; fifthly, respectable citizens, who have filled some post in the administration; and sixthly, those of the lower class. The new towns raised under the present reign, amount to 216.

*Paris, Dec. 22.* The edict of a new loan was yesterday registered in parliament, not in consequence of an express order from his majesty, but with certain inuendoes, and after three successive remonstrances. This loan, though looked upon as a fatal blow to trade, is indispensable, on account of the large sums

unavoidably expended in the course of the current year. The affair with Holland cost France forty-five millions, and it was more honourable to make that sacrifice than to suffer the continent of Europe to be involved in the horrors of a long and bloody war.

The Bastile is to be made a civil prison, when the cardinal's affair is brought to a conclusion. The prisoners will have the satisfaction of seeing their friends, and procuring themselves every means of justification. This is the first beam of liberty that has shone on France for many years; it is hoped its beneficence will not stop here.

*Gloucester, Dec. 26.* On Tuesday about noon, two men and a woman, well dressed people, went into the kitchen of Mr. John Fowler, in the Bolt-lane, in this city, and seeing only his housekeeper, Anne Favel, they told her, that they wanted to speak with her. She desired to know their business; the woman said, "We are sent by a lady for two or three of your teeth; the lady will not regard giving two or three guineas for them." "My teeth," said Mrs. Favell, "I will as soon part with my life as my teeth." "We must and will have them," said the woman, "and I am come to hold you whilst these men take them out." "But I will bleed you before you draw my teeth," said Mrs. Favell, "for this sword shall be through your body this moment;" and running to the chimney-piece, where hung a naked sword, she took it down. The strangers seeing her thus resolute, made a precipitate retreat. The neighbours were immediately alarmed, but the people made off so expeditiously, that they could not be traced. It is supposed they intended

tended to have clapped a gag into her mouth, and then to have plundered the house.

29. *A General Bill of all the Christenings and Burials, from Dec. 14, 1784, to Dec. 13, 1785.*

|                   |   |      |
|-------------------|---|------|
| Christened, Males | — | 9085 |
| Females           |   | 8834 |

|        |   |   |       |
|--------|---|---|-------|
| In all | — | — | 17919 |
|--------|---|---|-------|

|               |   |      |
|---------------|---|------|
| Buried, Males | — | 9447 |
| Females       | — | 9472 |

|        |   |   |       |
|--------|---|---|-------|
| In all | — | — | 18919 |
|--------|---|---|-------|

Whereof have died,

|                                       |      |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| Under two years of age                | 6177 |
| Between two and five                  | 1626 |
| Five and ten                          | 716  |
| Ten and twenty                        | 653  |
| Twenty and thirty                     | 1481 |
| Thirty and forty                      | 1772 |
| Forty and fifty                       | 1966 |
| Fifty and sixty                       | 1586 |
| Sixty and seventy                     | 1399 |
| Seventy and eighty                    | 1019 |
| Eighty and ninety                     | 454  |
| Ninety and a hundred                  | 67   |
| A hundred                             | 1    |
| A hundred and one                     | 1    |
| A hundred and three                   | 1    |
| Increased in the burials<br>this year | 1000 |

30. To the accounts of calamitous events this year in various parts of the globe, may be added the inundation of the Danube on the 22d of June. That river overflowed its banks in so violent a manner as to carry away bridges, houses, people, and even whole villages. This unexpected inundation did incredible damage, as no measures could be taken to prevent the effects of it; vast numbers of cattle were drowned; but the greatest misfortune is, that of several hundred persons, some lost their lives,

and others their means of subsistence. The cause of this terrible inundation is attributed to the vast quantities of snow upon the Tyrol, Saltzburg, and upper Austrian mountains.

Among other remarkable circumstances that were observed in this fatal inundation, were the following. The guard-house of the Red Tower at Vienna was filled with water so rapidly, that the soldiers were obliged to make their escape with the utmost precipitation. The suburb of Rossan, though laid under water, took fire twice by the heating of unslacked lime. These fires were however soon extinguished. A village consisting of twenty houses, near Marienzel, was entirely swept away by it, and the vines torn up by the roots. Among the soil which the inundation left behind it, there was a prodigious number of serpents and dead fish, so that the stench was almost insupportable. The great quantities of mud heated and fermented raised swarms of insects equally troublesome and mischievous, and caused a kind of epidemic disorder among those of the inhabitants whose houses suffered most by the inundation.

To the account of this inundation may be added, that great part of the town of Writzen, on the Oder, together with 100 villages and farms, were inundated; that the Sleine, near New Gliezen, and the dykes above Custrim, were both broken down, and the torrent that issued was irresistible; many of the strongest edifices were carried before it, with whole families therein, who had no possible means of escaping; and both sheep and cattle without number perished.

These inundations were followed by so general a drought as scarce ever had a precedent. Part of Germany

many, France, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, and Holland, and as far as the 46th degree of latitude, have felt its effects.

In the internal provinces of France, not only the ponds and lakes, but the living springs, were in a great measure dried up, insomuch that the farmers, seeing the calamity that was likely to ensue, killed most of their spare cattle while they were yet fit for meat, so that beef was selling in Normandy about the latter end of June for a halfpenny a pound. In Brittany and Piedmont the effects were similar. In England and Ireland they were but slightly felt; and, what was remarkable, in the Little Palatinate of Hambourg, and the New March of Brandenburg, they never had more favourable seasons, nor more plentiful crops.

Though the more northern climates have not felt the calamitous effects of those vicissitudes, they have been visited by distresses still more fatal. Iceland has almost been depopulated by famine and disease; the internal provinces of Denmark have shared in the adversity; and in Sweden, to sufferings in common with her neighbours, may be added a fire, which broke out on the 29th of June at Christianburgh, their principal arsenal for stores, which communicated from one magazine to another, till 140 of them, built of wood, and filled with combustibles, such as flax, hemp, oil, sulphur, &c. were all in a blaze together. The royal custom-house, newly built, was reduced to ashes with all its contents; and the adjoining magazines shared similar fate, so that of all those next the sea not a trace remained.

31. This year has been distinguished by the great increase of Sunday schools; an institution ori-

ginally set on foot by Mr. Raikes, printer, of Gloucester, in the year preceding. Its object is to prevent poor children, especially in great manufacturing towns, from spending the sabbath in idleness and profligacy, and to employ that sacred day in impressing on their minds the principles of piety and virtue, and the love of industry and good order. The effects of this institution have been in the highest degree beneficial; insomuch that they are very generally patronized by the affluent and humane. Many have been established in the metropolis and its vicinity, as well as in various parts of the country; and they all bid fair to make a conspicuous figure in the annals of virtue and virtuous institutions. See *Public Papers*.

#### BIRTHS in the Year 1785.

*January* 8. Duchess of Portland, a still-born son.

18. Lady of sir John Reade, bart. a son and heir.

30. Countess of Aylesford, a daughter.

31. Countess of Lincoln, a son and heir.

*February* 17. Lady of sir Henry Dashwood, bart. a daughter.

— Countess of Galloway, a daughter.

28. Countess dowager of Westmoreland, lady of John Woodford, esq. a son.

*March* 27. Her most Christian majesty, a son, created duke of Normandy.

25. Lady of sir Harry Gough, bart. a son.

*April* 5. Lady of Robert Auric Drummond, esq. nephew to the earl of Kinnoul, a son and heir.

10. Lady of sir Peers Mostyn, bart. a son.

20. Countess Percy, twins, a son and daughter.

22. Lady Saltoun, a son.

*May* 24. Countess of Tankerville, a daughter.

— Lady Louisa Macdonald, a son.

*June* 4. Lady Mahon, a son.

6. Lady Hereford, a daughter.

10. Lady Maitland, a son.

22. Lady Balgonie, a son.

*July* 1. Lady of John Robinson, esq. a son.

*August* 29. Duchess of Devonshire, a daughter.

26. Lady of lord Brownlow, a son.

30. Lady of the hon. William Wyndham (late miss Harford), a son and heir.

*September* 8. Duchess of Marlborough, a daughter.

— Lady of lord Monson, a son and heir.

13. Viscountess Townshend, a son.

16. Countess of Leicester, a son.

19. Duchess of Grafton, a son.

26. Lady of the right hon. Charles Townshend, a son.

*October* 1. Lady of sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. a son and heir.

8. Lady of lord St. Asaph, a son and heir.

18. Countess dowager of Granard, a son.

31. Lady St. John, a son.

*Nov.* 13. Viscountess Duncannon, a son.

16. Countess of Radnor, a son.

*December* 31. Countess of Harrington, a son.

the hon. miss Roper, daughter of lord Teynham.

*February* 3. James Everard Arundel, esq. count of the sacred Roman empire, eldest son of the hon. James Everard, of Ashcombe, Dorsetshire, to the hon. miss Arundel, countess of the sacred Roman empire, daughter of lord Arundel, of Wardour.

15. Anthony Burlton Bennet, esq. to the hon. miss Monckton, sister of viscount Galway.

18. Luke Dillon, esq. to lady Margaret Augusta Deburgh, sister of the earl of Clanrickarde.

*March* 3. Marquis of Graham to lady Jemima Elizabeth, second daughter of the earl of Ashburnham.

17. Earl of Clanrickarde to miss Powlett, only daughter of George Powlett, esq.

19. Hon. Joseph Somers Cocks, son and heir of lord Somers, to miss Margaret Nash, daughter of the rev. Dr. Nash, author of the History of Worcestershire.

24. Capt. Rowley, son of admiral Rowley, to miss Harley, daughter of alderman Harley.

27. The infant don Juan of Portugal to the infanta donna Charlotte, eldest daughter of the prince of Asturias, heir-apparent to the crown of Spain.

*April* 12. Rev. Geo. Wm. Auriel Drummond, nephew to the earl of Kinnoul, to the daughter of capt. Marshall, of the navy.

— The infant don Gabriel of Spain, to the infanta donna Marianna Victoria of Portugal.

18. George Hay, esq. to lady Hannah Charlotte Maitland, sister of the earl of Lauderdale.

*May* 19. Hon. Mr. Carpenter, brother to lord Tyrconnel, to miss Mackenzie.

10. At Lisbon, the hon. Robert Walpole,

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### MARRIAGES in the Year 1785.

*January* 2. Sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. to miss Howell.

6. Francis Henry Tyler, esq. to



Walpolé, envoy extraordinary to the court of Portugal, to miss Sophia Stert, daughter of Richard Stert, esq. of that city.

*June 9.* Sir James Graham, bart. to lady Catharine Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

28. Sir. Wm. A. Cunyngham, bart. M. P. to miss Udney.

*July 4.* Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, bart. to miss Hoare, only daughter of Richard Hoare, esq. of Barn Elms.

9. John Hay, esq. to the hon. miss Mary Forbes.

16. William Clayton, esq. M. P. to miss East, only daughter of sir W. East, bart.

26. Sir James Tylney Long, bart. to lady Catharine Windsor, sister to the earl of Plymouth.

*August 8.* John Grossett Muirhead, esq. to lady Jane Murray, third daughter of the late duke of Athol.

18. Lord viscount Dysart to lady Anne Brown, daughter to the earl of Altamont.

19. Edward Loveden, esq. M. P. to Mrs. Nash, sole daughter and heiress of the late John Darker, esq.

*September 5.* James Dawkins, esq. M. P. to Mrs. Long, relict of the late Charles Long, esq.

8. Sir Thomas Geo. Skipwith, bart. to miss Shirley, daughter of general Shirley.

12. Sir James Duff, M. P. to miss Dawes.

16. Sir Robert Burnet, bart. to miss Margaret Dalrymple, daughter of general Elphinston.

24. The hon. Edward James Eliott, son of lord Eliott, to lady Harriet Pitt, sister of the earl of Chatham.

30. Hon. Geo. Aug. North to miss Hobart.

Lastly, the hon. Geo. Petre, se-

cond son of lord Petre, to miss Howard, daughter of Philip Howard, esq. of Corny Castle, Cumberland.

*October 9.* George Hatton, esq. of Wexford, to lady Isabella Seymour Conway, youngest daughter of the earl of Hertford.

26. Sir John Chetwode, bart. to lady Henrietta Grey, daughter of the earl of Stamford.

*November 25.* Hon. Lewis Thomas Watson, eldest son of lord Sondes, to miss Milles, daughter of Richard Milles, esq. late M. P. for Canterbury.

*December 15.* George Finch Hatton, esq. first cousin and presumptive heir to the earl of Winchelsea, to the hon. miss Murray, only daughter, by his first wife, of viscount Stormont.

20. Hon. Edward Bouverie, brother to the earl of Radnor, to miss A. Ogle, daughter of admiral sir Chaloner Ogle.

31. Hon. Mr. Pratt, only son of lord Camden, to miss Moleworth, sole daughter and heiress of the late W. Moleworth, esq. and sister to lady Lucan.

#### DEATHS in the Year 1785.

*December 29, 1784.* The right hon. sir Thomas Parker, knt. late lord chief baron of the Exchequer, which office he resigned in 1772.

*January 2.* Peregrine Cust, esq. brother to sir John Cust, the late speaker, uncle to lord Brownlow, and M. P. for Ilchester.

8. Lady Maria Coventry, daughter of the earl of Coventry.

11. The hon. miss Frances Cust, eldest daughter of lord Brownlow, by his second wife.

18. Thomas Wiggins, esq. M. P. for Okehampton.

20. The

20. The hon. Mrs. Catharine Talbot, mother to the present earl Talbot.

29. Lady Vincent, relict of sir Francis Vincent, bart. and sister to the countess dowager of Tankerville.

30. Lady dowager Stourton. At the age of fourteen she was married to Robert Edward lord Petre, by whom she had one son, father to the present lord; afterwards she married Charles lord Stourton, by whom she had no issue.

*February 4.* Dr. John Andrec, senior licentiate of the college of physicians, and one of the two projectors and institutors of that noble charity, the London Hospital, in the year 1740.

7. Anne countess of Strafford. A little before Christmas, her ladyship had the misfortune to be terribly burnt by her clothes taking fire as she was sitting too near the fire-side. The fright which this accident occasioned threw her into fits, and at length brought on her death. She was second daughter of the celebrated John duke of Argyll, and sister to lady Greenwich and lady Mary Coke. Lady Strafford is one of the constellation of beauties described by Mr. H. Walpole, in his Epistle to Mr. Eckardt, the painter.

• The crescent on her brow display'd,  
In curls of loveliest brown inlaid,  
With every charm to rule the night,  
Like Dian, Strafford woos the sight;  
The easy shape, the piercing eye,  
The snowy bosom's purity,  
The unaffected gentle phrase  
Of native wit in all she says;  
Eckardt, for these thy art's too faint,  
You may admire, but cannot paint."

— Lady Camilla Wake, wife of Mr. Wake of Bath, and aunt to the earl of Tankerville.

9. Sir William Chapman, bart. The title is extinct. His grandfather, sir John Chapman, knight, was

lord mayor at the time of the Revolution, and during his mayoralty committed to Newgate sir Robert Wright (chief justice of the king's bench) for having "endeavoured the subversion of the established government by allowing a power to dispense with the laws," and for being "one of the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs."

— Mrs. Cordon, wife of Mr. John Cordon, of Eastwood. She was undressing herself, in order to go to bed, whither her husband had retired about half an hour before, when she unfortunately set fire to one of her ruffles; in endeavouring to extinguish the flames, she set the other in a blaze, and that communicated to her clothes, head-dress, &c. Her cries awakened Mr. Cordon, who instantly got out of bed, and with great presence of mind wrapped a blanket quite round her, which had the desired effect, but not before she was much scorched. A surgeon and physician were sent for from Nottingham, who brought with them the necessary aids on such occasions; and there is no doubt but her life would have been saved, had not the flames much injured her bosom, from whence, a few months ago, one of her breasts had been cut off for a cancerous complaint. This brought on a speedy mortification, that put a final period to her miseries.

19. Lord viscount Kilcoursie, only son of the earl of Cavan.

— The countess dowager Gower, aged 84, of a mortification occasioned by her clothes taking fire as she was standing by the fire, three weeks ago, when her cries brought her butler to her assistance just time enough to extinguish the flames by rolling her up in the carpet.

20. Philip Honeywood, esq. of Markes-Hall, Essex, a general in the

the army, colonel of the 4th regiment of horse, and governor of Kingston upon Hull. He was nephew to the late sir Philip Honeywood, K. B. and represented Appleby in several parliaments. At the battle of Dettingen, in 1743, he was desperately wounded, as he was also at the skirmish of Clifton, in 1745.

20. Sir Rowland Winn, bart. of Nostail, in Yorkshire.

22. Suddenly, at Mr. Cowden's, in the King's Mews, where he was upon a morning visit, capt. James Battersby, a native of Ireland. He commanded the flank companies of the 29th regiment on the unfortunate expedition under general Burgoyne. Tremblingly alive to a sense of honour, he could not endure the least surmise of indignity. The soldier and his weapon rust alike with inactivity. His martial spirit frequently involved him in disputes. Under prosecution for several breaches of the peace, he, who could smile at captivity in a military prison in America, could not brook confinement in a civil gaol in London. That he had a serious sense of the enormity of the crime he committed on himself, a paper, superscribed with his own hand, found stuck upon the point of the penknife (which he had taken up unobserved in the house he was in, and with which he perpetrated the act of desperation) will shew. It contained the following words and marks :

“ An apology (if any there can be) for suicide. Death before dishonour !!! ”

Captain Battersby was an officer on half-pay, and had lately fought a duel with young Mr. Drummond. (See Vol. V. p. 103.) The coroner's inquest sat next day on the

body, and brought in their verdict *Lunacy*.

27. Charles Cary, viscount Falkland; succeeded by his grandson Henry Thomas Cary, a cornet of horse.

*March 1.* Lately, lady Arabella Denny, aunt to the marquis of Lansdown, foundress of the Magdalen Asylum in Dublin; and the only female member of the Dublin Society for promoting arts and agriculture.

2. Hon. Mrs. Trevor, sister to lord Trevor.

7. Right hon. sir Arthur Brookes, bart. a privy-counsellor, and M. P. in Ireland.

9. Hon. Mrs. Drax, wife of Henry Erle Drax, esq. and aunt of lord St. John, of Bletsoe.

14. In Ireland, lord Templetown.

16. Rev. sir William Anderson, bart.

23. At his apartments in Carey-street, Lincoln's Inn, count O'Rourke, descended from the sovereigns of O'Rourke's county, now the county of Leitrim, in Ireland. Oliver Cromwell stripped this family of an estate worth 70,000l. per annum. The count had been in the Imperial and French service, and had the order of St. Louis conferred on him by the French king for his bravery. He had presented a memorial to the king in consideration of his family being stripped of such an immense fortune (which is in part now in the crown) to allow him a pension.

*April 14.* William Whitehead, esq. poet laureat, register and secretary of the knights companions of the most honourable order of the Bath, author of the Roman Father, the School for Lovers, several prologues, poems, songs, &c. &c.

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15. Sir John Dyke Ackland, bart. He is succeeded in the title, and part of the estate, by his uncle, now sir Thomas Dyke Ackland.

18. Oliver Cromwell, jun. only son of Mr. Oliver Cromwell, an eminent attorney in Essex-street. He was born Sept. 24, 1782. His father is now the last male descendant from the great Oliver.

— The hon. Mrs. Margaret Murray, sister to the earl of Mansfield.

Last month, M. Diderot, one of the greatest mathematicians of the age.

11. The countess of Aldborough, lady of the earl of Aldborough, of the kingdom of Ireland. She was on their journey to London from their seat in Suffolk, and was seized with an apoplexy at the Crown at Brentwood, where they had slept the preceding evening, and expired immediately.

24. Samuel House, a publican, in Wardour-street, celebrated by the name of *Sam House*, and one of the most extraordinary characters of modern time. Amongst many other singularities, he never wore a coat nor a wig, nor was ever found in bed (except when ill) after four in the morning. Though blunt and uneducated in his manners, he was just and honest in all his dealings, and his word upon all occasions sacred. He early espoused Mr. Fox's party upon principles of patriotism, which his conduct indisputably evinced; as he was not only active in forwarding his interest, but frequently entertained, at his own expence, those of that party who would eat buttock of beef, and drink porter in Wardour-street. He was never embarrassed in the presence of any man; and though he frequently called upon the great, and was admitted into their presence, he never changed his dress,

or his character. In short, like Brutus, he died in what he thought the service of his country (having never been able to throw off a cold he got at the Westminster election), and his character might be parodied, from what Antony says of that distinguished patriot:

This was the noblest Briton of them all;  
All the conspirators, save only he,  
Did that they did, to cross the views of  
Cæsar.

He only in the general honest thought,  
And common good to all, made one of  
them.

His life was humorous, and the elements  
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand  
up

And say to all the world, "This was an  
Oddity."

24. The reigning duke of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.

30. Samuel Blackwell, esq. M. P. for Cirencester.

27. Prince Leopold of Brunswick. See p. 34.

May 9. The duke de Choiseul, the late celebrated premier of France. His corpse was buried, at his own request, in a particular spot of his Park; where he has ordered a male cypress tree to be planted, and another of the female kind, when the last tribute to nature is paid by his surviving consort, whose remains are to be laid next to his own.

10. Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, sister of earl Stanhope.

13. John Bates, esq. alderman of Queenhithe Ward.

22. Lady Bowyer, mother of the present sir William Bowyer, bart.

23. Mr. William Woollett, the celebrated engraver.

24. Robert Allop, esq. alderman of Bridge Ward Without, and father of the city.

25. Francis lord Godolphin; the title extinct.

28. Richard Atkinson, esq. M. P. for

for New Romney, and alderman of Tower Ward.

19. Lieutenant-general sir Robert Rich, bart. colonel of the 4th regiment of foot.

29. Andrew Coltée Ducarel, esq. LL. D. F. R. and A. SS. commissary and official of Canterbury, &c.

*June 7.* George earl Pomfret.

9. Lady of the rev. sir Thomas Boughton, bart.

29. Harriet viscountess Mountgarret.

*July.* Dorothy viscountess dowager Powerscourt.

1. General James Oglethorpe, the oldest general in England, aged 87.

5. Charles earl of Portmore.

6. The bishop of Lubec, duke of Holstein-Oldenbourg.

10. Lady Audley.

— Matthew lord Fortescue.

17. Margaret Cavendish Harley, duchess dowager of Portland.

23. Sir Henry Tichborne, bart.

27. Mrs. Jenkinson, mother of the right hon. Charles Jenkinson, and of Mrs. Cornwall, wife of the right hon. Charles Wolfran Cornwall, speaker of the house of commons.

*August 8.* Lady Moore, relict of the late admiral sir John Moore.

9. The infant don Lewis, brother to the king of Spain.

25. Sir Charles Kemys Tynte, bart.

— Right hon. sir William Lynch, K. B.

26. George viscount Sackville.

*September 7.* Hon. Mary Judith Cocks, eldest daughter of lord Somers.

— Countess of Haddington.

10. George earl of Abergavenny.

11. Thomas Reynolds Ducie, lord Ducie.

18. Sir William Robinson, bart. brother to the lord primate of Ireland.

Lately, at Lyons, the hon. and rev. lord Edward Seymour, dean of Bath and Wells, brother to the duke of Somerset.

19. Maria Antonietta, queen of Sardinia.

*October 7.* John lord Dormer, aged 93.

9. Rev. sir John Cullum, bart.

12. General Cuthbert Ellison, aged 91.

18. At Naples, the right hon. Humphry Morrice.

21. Henry Robert Trevor, brother of viscount Hampden.

22. Robert Henley Ongley, lord Ongley, late M. P. for Bedfordshire.

29. Sir William Wake, bart. late M. P. for Bedford.

31. His serene highness the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

*November 5.* Sir Walter Blount, bart.

6. Prince George of Mecklenburgh Strélitz, brother to the queen.

10. Sir Alexander Dick, bart.

11. George lord Elibank.

14. Sir George Coghill, bart. M. P. for Newport, Cornwall.

— Lewis Philip, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood in France; succeeded by his son the duke of Chartres.

15. Lord Rutherford, a lieutenant in the navy.

17. Lieut. gen. Henry Lister.

19. Hon. and rev. Geo. Talbot, D. D. uncle to earl Talbot and lady Dinevor.

20. Sir James Wright, bart. late governor of Georgia.

— Rev. Richard Burn, LL. D. author of the Justice of Peace, and Ecclesiastical Law.

23. — Sandys, esq. nephew and heir to lord Sandys.

25. Richard Glover, esq. author of *Leonidas, Medea, &c.*

— Mr. John Henderson, of Covent-garden theatre.

30. Countess dowager Cornwallis.

*December 2.* Sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart.

6. Mrs. Catharine Clive, the celebrated actress.

9. John Baptista Cipriani, F. R. A. the celebrated painter and designer.

11. Anne countess of Corke and Orrery.

12. The princess Charlotte Wilhelmine of Hesse Darmstadt, consort of prince Charles of Mecklenbourg Strelitz, brother to her majesty.

18. Sir Charles Frederick, K. B.

#### PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1785.*

*January 12.* Ralph Woodford, esq. late envoy extraordinary to the court of Denmark, to be commissary to treat with the commissary of the Catholic king concerning new arrangements of commerce, pursuant to the definitive treaty concluded between the two crowns at Versailles, the 2d of September, 1783.

21. Sir Charles Middleton, bart. Edward Hunt, John Henslow, Geo. Marsh, George Rogers, William Palmer, William Campbell, Edward Le Cras, John Laforey, Henry Martin, Charles Proby, and Henry Duncan, esqrs. to be commissioners of the navy.

*February 9.* The earl of Glendore, to be a privy counsellor of Ireland.

15. John Pownall, esq. to be a commissioner of the customs.

— Hon. John Luttrell, to be a commissioner of the excise.

19. John Campbell Sutherland,

esq. to be commissary of the commissariat of Caithness and Sutherland.

— John Temple, esq. to be consul general to the United States of America. *See Public Papers.*

*March 13.* The earl of Beftive, sir Skeffington Smyth, bart. and David Latouche, esq. to be privy counsellors of Ireland.

*April 14.* Mr. William Caflon, to be letter-founder in ordinary to his majesty.

19. The earl of Leven, to be high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

20. The honour of knighthood on James Douglas, esq. consul general at Naples.

23. Mr. Frederick Polydore Nodder, to be botanic painter to the queen.

25. The rev. Thomas Warton, B. D. of Oxford, to be poet laureat.

30. Matthew Gosset, jun. esq. to be viscount of the isle of Jersey.

— James Stewart, esq. to be commissary clerk of the commissariat of Dunkeld.

*May 14.* Thomas Stevenson, esq. to be serjeant at arms in ordinary to his majesty.

*June 11.* Marquis of Carmarthen, to be governor of the islands of Scilly.

25. Charles Whitworth, esq. to be minister plenipotentiary to the king and republic of Poland.

— James Walker, esq. to be marshal of the King's Bench.

— Alexander Christie, jun. clerk, to be the commissariat of Lauder.

*July 2.* Richard Bourke, otherwise De Burgho, esq. to be a baronet of Ireland.

William Godfrey, esq. to be the same.

— Edwin Francis Stanhope, esq. to be a commissioner of the duties on salt.

5. Ran-



5. Randal William earl of Antrim, to be viscount Dunluce, and earl of Antrim, of the kingdom of Ireland, with remainder to his daughters and their heirs male.

— Elizabeth dowager baroness of Longford, to be countess of Longford, of the kingdom of Ireland, with the dignity of earl to her heirs male.

The dignity of earl of the said kingdom to the following noblemen :

John viscount Carlow, to be earl of Port Arlington.

Barry viscount Farnham, to be earl of Farnham.

Simon viscount Carhampton, to be earl of Carhampton.

John viscount Mayo, to be earl of Mayo.

And the dignity of a viscount of the said kingdom to the following noblemen :

Thomas lord Dartrey, to be viscount Cremorne.

Archibald lord Gosford, to be viscount Gosford.

Ralph lord Clonmore, to be viscount Wicklow.

St. Leger lord Doneraile, to be viscount Doneraile.

The dignity of a baron of the said kingdom to the following gentlemen :

Cornelius O'Callaghan, esq. to be baron Lismore.

Right hon. Charles Tottenham Loftus, to be baron Loftus.

Sir Cornwallis Maude, bart. to be baron de Montalt.

Richard Malone, esq. to be baron Sunderlin.

— James Balmain, esq. to be commissioner of excise in Scotland.

Henry Boulton Cay and John Vivian, esqrs. to be solicitors of the excise in England.

12. Sir John Dick, bart. one of the comptrollers of the army ac-

counts, sir William Musgrave, bart. William Molleson, esq. the other comptroller of the army accounts, or the comptrollers of the army accounts for the time being, John Thomas Batt, and John Martin Leake, esqrs. to be commissioners for auditing the public accounts.

— The rev. John M'Farlane, to be his majesty's almoner in Scotland.

30. Joah Bates, esq. to be a commissioner of the customs.

*August 3.* Lord viscount Dalrymple, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

13. Earl Cowper, and his issue, allowed by the king to take the title and arms of a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, conferred on him by the present emperor of Germany, the 31st of January, 1778.

29. Charles Bowen, esq. to be gentleman usher extraordinary to the prince of Wales.

*September 24.* William Fauquier, esq. to be secretary and registrar of the order of the Bath.

27. Rev. and hon. Edward Venables Vernon, to be canon of the cathedral of Oxford.

— Rev. George Prettyman, D. D. to the rectory of Sudburn, cum capella de Orford, in Suffolk.

*October 1.* George Cherry, esq. to be a commissioner of the victualling office.

11. Hon. Edward James Eliot, to be remembrancer of the court of exchequer.

— Robert Blair, M. D. to be professor of astronomy at Edinburgh.

15. Edward Tucker, jun. esq. to be secretary and provost marshal general of the islands of Bermuda.

29. Joseph Iwart, esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Berlin.

*November 15.* Hugh Elliot, esq. to be envoy extraordinary to the court of Denmark, with the additional character of minister plenipotentiary.

23. Right hon. Thomas Orde, to be privy counsellor.

25. William Gill, esq. alderman of Walbrook Ward, to be treasurer of Christ's Hospital.

*December 3.* Augustus Pechell, esq. to be receiver-general of the post-office.

9. Right hon. William Eden, to be one of the committee for the consideration of all matters relative to trade and foreign plantations, and envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of France for negotiating commercial arrangements.

20. William Boscawen, esq. to be one of the commissioners for victualling his majesty's navy.

27. Daniel Bomeester, esq. to be consul at Minorca, Majorca, and Ivica.

— Mr. Archibald Davidson, to be the principal of the college of Glasgow..

**SHERIFFS** appointed for the Year 1785.

**Berkshire**—Edward Thornhill, of Kingston.

**Bedfordshire**—Wm. Gibbard, of Sharnbrooke.

**Bucks**—Tho. Saunders, of Brill.

**Cumberland**—Edward Knuble, of Wigton.

**Cheshire**—Hon. Wilbraham Tolle-mache, of Woodhay.

**Cambridge and Huntingdonshire**—John Crichloe Turner, of Great Stukely.

**Cornwall**—Weston Helyar, of Newton, esq.

**Devonshire**—Jn. Hen. Southcote, of Buckland.

**Dorsetshire**—Hon. Lionel Damer, of Warmwell.

**Derbyshire**—Herbert Greensmith, of Priory.

**Essex**—George Bowles, of Wap-lead.

**Gloucestershire**—John Niblett, of Gloucester.

**Hertfordshire**—Wm. Phillimore, of Aldenham.

**Herefordshire**—Sir Hungerford Hoskins, bart.

**Kent**—Edward Knatchbull, of Provender.

**Leicestershire**—Wm. Vann, of Belgrave.

**Lincolnshire**—Charles Chaplin, of Blankney.

**Monmouthshire**—Wm. Rees, of St. Bride's.

**Northumberland**—Sir Henry Liddel, bart.

**Northamptonshire**—Lucas Ward, of Gillsbrough.

**Norfolk**—Edw. Stracey, of Rackheath.

**Nottinghamshire**—Sharbrooke Lowe, of Southwell.

**Oxfordshire**—John Lenthall, of Burford.

**Rutlandshire**—Thomas Falkner, of Morcott.

**Shropshire**—Robert More, of Linley.

**Somersetshire**—Richard Cross, of Broomfield.

**Staffordshire**—Thomas Stevenson, of Stafford.

**Suffolk**—Thomas Gooch, of Benacre.

**Hants.**—Sir Jn. Whalley Gardiner, bart.

**Surrey**—James Payne, of Chertsey.

**Sussex**—Wm. Nelthorp, of Sedgwick Park.

**Warwickshire**—Joseph Boulton, of Baxterley.

**Worcestershire**—Richard Bourne Charlett, of Elmly Castle.

Wilts.

Wilts.—James Sutton, of Roundway.

Yorkshire — Sir Thomas Turner Slingby of Scriven Park, bart.

### SOUTH WALES.

Brecon—Walter Roberts, of Llanvihangell.

Carmarthen—Wm. Lewes, of Llysnewydd.

Cardigan—Thomas Powell, of Nanteos.

Glamorgan—Stephen White, of Miskin.

Pembroke—John Lloyd, of Dale Castle.

Radnor—James Price, of Clirrow.

### NORTH WALES.

Anglesea—Rich. Lloyd, of Monachdon.

Carnarvon—John Jones, of Beyrhir.

Denbigh—John Twigge, of Burhas.

Flint—Sir Tho. Hanmer, of Hanmer, bart.

Merioneth.—John Jones, of Cyffty.

Montgomery.—Sam Yates, of Llanbrinemair.



## P U B L I C P A P E R S.

*Letter from the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal, to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, dated Lucknow, April 30. With a Postscript, dated May 13, 1784.*

*Lucknow, April 30, 1784.*

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE judged it incumbent upon me to make trial of every practicable chance of conveying to you the earliest intelligence of my arrival at the place from which this letter is dated, and of the first effects produced by the accommodation, which took place, by the resolution of the governor-general and council, passed on the 31st of December last, and already notified to you by the successive dispatches of your ships. I shall begin the thread of my report from that date.

I soon after found that the state of this country was so disordered in its revenue and administration, and the credit and influence of the nabob himself so much shaken by the effects of the late usurpation of his authority, and the contests which attended it, as to require the accession of an extraneous aid, to restore the powers and constitution of his government; and I was strongly and repeatedly urged to repair hither in person for that purpose.

These instances, though declared to be conformable to the wishes of the nabob vizier, his family and ministers, having been privately conveyed to me, I represented them as such to the board on the 20th of January, and offered my services to go to Lucknow, whenever the na-

bob vizier should require it, which I knew from undoubted authority he would, with his answer to the notification formally made to him, of the 31st of December.

My reasons for thus anticipating the occasion were many; the distracted state of affairs, which every suspension of a day would aggravate; the season of the collections requiring the application of early exertions for their security, and my own infirm state of health, which was not equal to sustain so long a journey, if protracted to the commencement of the hot winds.

My offer was accepted by a conditional declaration on the part of Mr. Wheeler, and I made instant preparations for the journey.

On the 14th of February the nabob's invitation arrived: I repeated the proposal; the same authority decided its acceptance, and on the 17th I took my leave of the board, and departed from Calcutta with a severe indisposition, which had seized me some time preceding, then hanging on me; happily the change of air effected my speedy cure, and on the 27th ult. I arrived at this place in a state of health so confirmed, as to promise an unremitting attention to the very important objects of my commission.

On my way, I had the alarming perspective of a soil so completely exhausted of its natural moisture, by

by the failure of one entire season of the periodical rains, that except the fields of grain, which have been kept in vegetation by the uncommon labour of the husbandmen, and were still clothed with a luxuriant produce, or retained the stubble of the recent harvest, the plains exhibited an appearance of barrenness, so dreary, that even the roots of its former herbage no longer existed, and the deep ravines, and beds of rivers which I passed, threw up clouds of dust from their channels. These are not circumstances of trivial observation, nor are they confined to the lands of these provinces; every region of Hindostan has felt the same angry visitation, and another year of equal drought, which is not to be expected in the course of natural events, would put it out of the reach of human wisdom to prevent, or retrieve the dreadful calamity which must attend it.

Yet such is my reliance on the gratitude and unbounded confidence of the nabob and his ministers, that I dare promise, even at this immature period, under every circumstance, but the dreadful one which I have supposed, and which I have stated as improbable, a successful progress and termination of the measure which I have begun, equal to any expectations which may have been formed of it, however sanguine, if I am not counteracted, and my operations impeded by orders which I may not resist, and am allowed to remain to the time destined for their perfection. Nor shall it be a common obstruction which shall restrain me; for I possess such inherent advantages as I trust will prove superior to every species of opposition, but the last extremity of it. Indeed if such springs as give the common movements to popular opinion, could influence my

proceedings, I have already experienced them in two instances, one of which I believe to have had the special service I am engaged in for its object, and the other, the general ruin of my authority.

I allude, first, to a report fabricated at Fort St. George, of the arrival of a ship of war at Bombay, with the authentic intelligence of my dismissal with disgrace from my office, which I received at the instant that I was setting my foot on the shore at Nuddeah, for the commencement of my journey; and secondly, to a paper transmitted to me by a respected authority from Calcutta, containing strictures on my former deputation, said to be a part of a report of the select committee of the house of commons, which unhappily apply to every purpose of this, and which declare (with horror I repeat it) a right invested in the commander in chief of the army, to oppose the power delegated by the government itself to its first executive member, and to assert that right by an appeal to the army for its ultimate decision upon it. The words of the report (if it be such) to which I allude, are these:

“By these instructions” (that is the instructions sent by the court of directors to Bengal in the year 1774 and 1778) “it appears, that the governor-general was positively restrained from the exercise of any military power whatsoever beyond the garrison and fortrefs of Fort William; so that the delegation and exercise of all military power beyond the limits so described, was a direct and positive disobedience of the orders of the court of directors.”

“Disobedience of orders on a point, so delicate and important as that of wresting the military command

mand from the official military officer, who was invested with that authority by the orders of the directors, might have been productive of consequences extremely prejudicial to the service : if the commander in chief had asserted the right invested in himself, a contention for executive power might possibly have been the consequence, and the army, which in India is so peculiarly constituted, as to require not only exact discipline, but the most perfect subordination, in order to insure obedience, must have ultimately decided where that obedience was due."

I dare not examine a doctrine affirmed to be of so sacred an authority ; yet I may humbly suggest that it never was, nor could have been intended to be applied to the actual commander in chief, whose command was originally constituted by the governor-general and council themselves, and therefore could not be rendered superior to, and independent of the powers vested in the governor-general and council, by an act of parliament passed before its existence ; nor included in any instructions of the court of directors, also framed at a more ancient period, if even at a later ; and a sense of national duty superior to every consideration of personal safety, or the reverence which is due to high office, impels me to denounce, and to date the fall of the British empire in India from the instant that it shall be decidedly declared, or understood, that any commander in chief of the army, be his title or rank what it will, is, or may be, by any constructive power, independent of the government under which the wisdom of parliament hath hitherto placed the army forming in these provinces, and

every member of it, in an implicit, and absolute subjection to its authority.

God forbid, that any future Pizarros, and Almagros, should disgrace the annals of your dominion, or mark the traces of its decline with the blood of your servants and soldiers ; but the contest will probably be of short duration ; and happy will it be for the interests of humanity, if such shall be the issue, though dreadful to our own, whatever period of time may close it.

Let me add, nor let my words be uttered in vain, that whenever the fatal blow shall be struck, or from whatever hand it shall proceed, its effect will be, not a gradual decay, but instantaneous ruin ; for your existence hangs on the thread of opinion, which the touch of chance may break, and even that source, which ought to flow with the principles of its duration, will, if productive of the same deleterious streams, which have been lately seen to issue from it, prove the cause of its dissolution.

I am not myself apprehensive of any evil consequence, from the partial and limited command which I possess over your army, in its tending to provoke a competition ; for in the first place I will never put it to the issue of a trial ; and in the second, were the board to permit the commander in chief to come into this quarter, which is not likely, I confidently hope, that before he could arrive, this province will have been so regulated as not to require any foreign aid for its internal protection, nor, of course, any exercise of the powers which I possess, and which he might deem himself warranted to resist.

I proceed to repeat the effects which have been produced to this time,



time, from the late accommodation, and the objects to which I look, for the final issue of it.

Before my departure from Calcutta, I applied through a private channel to the acting minister, to advance an immediate supply of money to your paymaster-general at Lucknow, for the subsistence of the troops stationed in these provinces, who were then many months in arrears, and suffered much additional distress, from the scarcity and dearth of grain. He instantly raised the sum of ten lacks of rupees, which proved a critical and effectual relief.

Since my arrival, he has made other payments to a considerable amount. These are particularized in the enclosed account, No. 1. in which I have included, for your early information, all the payments made in liquidation of the honourable company's debt, in the course of the present fustee year, to which all accounts of the revenue are, by old custom, adjusted, and which commences on the 11th of September to the present time\*.

To this I have joined another account, No. 2. stating the probable claims of the company upon the nabob vizier, from the beginning of the present to the end of the next fustee year, or to the end of September 1785.

On both these accounts I shall offer a few necessary remarks. First on No. 1. The first sum of sixteen lacks of rupees stated as the amount of Mr. Bristow's receipts, is taken from his own account in the possession of Mr. Wombwell, the ac-

comptant for this station, but differs materially from that which has been drawn by the nabob's officers, and I have referred it to the board for adjustment with Mr. Bristow, who alone can explain the difference.

The second article is the regular produce of the current revenue: I was early careful to guard the minister against the use of violent measures to anticipate the periods of collection, for the purpose of giving an ostensible credit to the present system, by swelling the amount of the payments, made in consequence of it, although the exigencies of your state induced me to press him to contribute what he could for their relief, without adding to the distresses of his own; for the country will not bear it.

The third article was obtained by my own suggestion from Almas Ally Cawn, who complied cheerfully and without hesitation, considering it as an evidence seasonably offered for the general refutation of the charges of perfidy and disloyalty which have been too laboriously urged against him, and carried at one time to an excess which had nearly driven him to abandon the country, for the preservation of his life and honour, and thus to give a colour to the charges themselves.

It would scarce merit your attention to be informed, that I have invested a part of this supply in bills of exchange payable to the governor-general and council in Calcutta, to the amount of five lacks of Calcutta siccas; but as it is connected with an arrangement which

\* From the 11th of September, 1783, to the 31st of January, 1784,  
received by Mr. Bristow, current rupees 1,857,873  
From the 31st of January to the 30th of April, 1784, received by  
Mr. Wombwell current rupees 4,497,795

£.  
185,787

450,000

Total £.635,787  
may

may prove a future advantage to your interests, in the reduction of the hoondyan, or exchange, from sixteen per cent. to five and a half, at which it is my determination to fix it.

I have recommended to the board to appropriate the whole of this article as a fund for the payment of the interest on your bonds, which had suffered something in their credit and current value, from the suspension of the payment of interest, some months before I left Calcutta.

The first article is the balance of the sum due from Fyzoola Cawn, by the treaty made between him and the nabob vizier, through the agency of major Palmer, on the 16th of February, 1783. Two lacks of this amount are now in regular course of payment; the remaining three are not due by stipulation till the next season called Knereef, which is a period included between the middle of September and the middle of February. Some days after my arrival, I intimated to his vackeel, my wish to have both payments immediately concluded, and his master gave immediate orders for it.

To this instance of respect for your government, he has added another, in the deputation of his son to Lucknow, to confirm the assurance of his attachment to the company and British nation.

What farther sums may be cleared in the course of this year, of which the most productive part is already past, I cannot say; but it is my hope, that a considerable part of the nabob's debt will be liquidated, and the discharge of the remainder ensured by the engagements of creditable bankers, so that it may be wholly cleared within the course of the ensuing year.

The account, No. 2, is an esti-

mate formed on the actual expence; but will be considerably reduced, if my future prospects and objects shall be answerable to my present expectations. To these I proceed.

First. My first wish is to realize the amount of your demands on the nabob of Owde to the end of the next fuffelee year, and to obtain ample securities for it before I depart from him.

Second. My next care will be to induce the nabob's ministers to appoint bodies of regular troops, for the support of his collections, and the internal defence of his country. This will preclude the necessity of calling for the aid of our troops, and I hope may prove the means of releasing him from the extraordinary and undefined subsidy which he now pays for the great detachment employed under the command of sir John Cumming in Rohilcund, and the regiments which have been occasionally demanded, and remain scattered over other parts of his dominions; and of confining our defence, and the nabob vizier's payments, to the brigade stationed at Cawnpore, and to the subsidy paid by treaty, for its expence.

Third. My last and ultimate hope is, that when these objects are attained, your wisdom will put a final period to the ruinous and disreputable system of interference, whether avowed or secret, in the affairs of the nabob of Owde, and withdraw for ever the influence by which it was maintained.

This country has no inlets of trade by which it can supply the issues which are made from it; for, excepting the factory at Tonda, which subsists by a contract, making part of your investment, and the produce of opium and saltpetre, which is not considerable, I do not know

know any other articles of commerce from which it could derive any returns. Therefore, every rupee which is drawn from its circulation into your treasury, must accelerate the period at which its ability must cease to pay even the stipulated subsidy. By the continuance of this fund, you maintain an accession of *more than one half to the military establishment required for the defence of your own dominions*, without any charge on your own income; and you oppose a wide and powerful frontier to your eventual enemies.

That force will continue to be an effectual safeguard to the country, which will suffer nothing by its maintenance, because the specie thus applied will, of course, flow back into its circulation; and it is a tribute which it ought gladly to pay; for its whole wealth would not in any other way yield an adequate mode of protection.

Few are the advocates of the national interests, and their voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud exclamations of private rapacity; but I humbly assume to rank myself with the former, and to assure you, that if you seek for a permanent and profitable system of connection with this country, you must confine your claims upon it to the line I have recommended.

If you transgress it, you may extend the distribution of patronage, and add to the fortunes of individuals, and the nominal riches of Great Britain; but your own interests will suffer by it, and the ruin of a great and once flourishing nation will be recorded as the work of your administration, with an everlasting reproach on the British name.

To this reasoning I shall join the obligations of justice and good faith,

which cut off every pretext for your exercising any power or authority in this country, while the sovereign of it fulfils the engagements which he contracted with you.

I have the honour to be,  
With the most profound respect,  
Honourable Sirs,  
Your most obedient  
and most faithful servant,  
WARREN HASTINGS.

P. S. May 13, 1784. This letter, though purposely and declaredly written for instant dispatch, has been detained by the sudden appearance of an uncommon phenomenon, which though in itself simple and unimportant, derived a magnitude (like the less ordinary events of the physical world, viewed through the medium of superstition) from its operation on the opinions of mankind. On the night of the 11th of last month, the prince Jewan Bukht, who has long held the principal and most active part in the little that remained of the administration of the king, Shah Allum, and is his eldest son, being about thirty-six years of age, fled from the capital, attended only by his mother's brother and another person; and rapidly passing the bounds of his father's dominions, escaped far beyond the reach of pursuit, before his absence was discovered; nor was the first direction of his flight known for some days. The king sent circular orders to every quarter, that he might be apprehended and sent back to the presence. The nabob vizier and myself received phirmauns, or letters to that effect, and in the same terms. We waited three days to learn the course of his route, and as soon as it appeared probable that it lay towards this place, we addressed the prince

prince separately to inform him of the commands which had been received, the mortification which these would impose upon us of withholding from him the duties of respect, if it was his intention to come this way, and he persisted in it, and therefore intreated him not to come. Answers were written to the king, with the information of the part we had thus taken, and the utmost we could take in obedience to his commands: the prince in reply, disclaimed any design or object but such as were dictated by the most devoted attachment and zeal for his father's interests, demonstrated by his choosing for his retreat the place where the vizier of the empire and the chief of the English nation resided, who were known to be incapable of abetting him in a different conduct from that which he professed, and declaring that he would proceed at all events, trusting his destiny to the conviction which must follow the integrity of his intentions. At the same time I received a letter from major Browne, in which he related a private conference to which he had been admitted by the king, and in which his majesty had expressed his pleasure at hearing that his son had chosen Lucknow for his retreat, where he would be safe from the consequences which were to have been apprehended, had he thrown himself into other hands; and his majesty enjoined major Browne, with repetition and emphasis, to write so to me. It was accordingly resolved to receive the prince, and of course to pay him all the honours of his rank, which by the constitution of Hindostan, were the same as those which were paid to the king himself; and this determination was instantly transmitted to the king, with our reasons for it. In conformity to

this plan, I accompanied the nabob vizier on the 7th instant to the prince's encampment, at the distance of about eighteen miles from Lucknow, attended by the nabob vizier, myself declining, in opposition to the desire of both, to bear any principal part in the ceremony, though I could not refuse, at the prince's instance, to appear in it, which I did, following him on horseback, as a mere attendant; and on the same obvious motives, the prince having desired to be accommodated in a house near to my own, I resigned to him that which I then occupied, and took immediate possession of one of the nabob's, which he had originally provided and prepared for my reception, within the compass of his own palace, and immediately adjoining to that which he lived in. I have been minute in detailing these little particularities, because, little as they are in themselves, they are not such in their effects. The meanest circumstances of such an interview will be circulated to every durbar in Hindostan, and construed the prognostic of future events, and in that inspection may give birth to them. It was my duty therefore to avoid every appearance which might be received as a symptom of encouragement, by exceeding the limits of my present relation to the nabob vizier, as his guest, and to raise his consequence; my own, and that of the nation which I represent, being independent of external show. I have the satisfaction to know, that in this line I have pleased both.

The nabob conducted the prince to his capital, seated on the same elephant behind him, and attended him to the house appointed for his accommodation. I paid my respects to him there early on the morning of the 10th, and had the honour of  
a long

a long conversation with him, in which he explained to me all the motives of his visit, and painted the wretched condition of his father, which had been the primary cause of it, in such strength of colouring, qualified with so modest a dignity in every occasion of reference to himself, and such a delicacy of expression, where he touched upon those circumstances of the royal sufferings, as might tend to the diminution of his personal character, as exceed my powers of language to do them justice in the recital of them.

I shall beg leave to deliver the abridged account of what passed in the words of a letter, which I immediately wrote on my return to my own quarters, and with the impression of it recent on my memory, and dispatched the same day to Mr. Wheeler for his private information, and that of the other members of the board.

“ The sum was, that his father was a mere passive instrument in the hands of others, and that he had undertaken this journey at the peril of his head, because it afforded the only chance he had of a relief to the king, or a restoration of the dominion of his house; that if he could be the instrument of effecting this, he wished for nothing for himself but the credit of it, and a conviction in his father's mind of his having served him with duty, zeal, and fidelity. He observed that, distressed as the royal family was, he himself enjoyed a comparative state of comfort, possessing a jagheer, horses, elephants, a portion of splendour, and domestic ease and pleasure; that he had voluntarily made a sacrifice of these advantages, and given his person to fatigue and distress, and his life to the hazard of the obvious conse-

quences of his flight, that he might attempt the greatest possible service for his father, in which if he failed, he would either return on his majesty's command, which, he said, impressed him with such awe, that he doubted his ability, even at this distance, to resist it; or he would go to Calcutta, and there solicit a passage in a ship to England; for he understood the voyage was but five months; and if it was longer, he could bear the fatigues which others bore, and accommodate himself to any situation of life which it became him to accept as a lot, and to submit to it. He said, I was not to expect from his father any other letters than such as I had already received, and such as were consonant to the wishes of those who were about his person; but that he knew his father's real sentiments, which were of a very different kind, and I might easily believe that the king must in his heart be pleased with a conduct, which could be attributed to no other motive than that of fidelity and attachment, and which could not be productive of ill, if it failed of the means of deliverance from his distresses. He painted the situation of the king's family in strong and affecting colours. The whole of what he said on this subject may be comprised in a few words. In the course of the last twelvemonth, the whole income which he had received for the subsistence of so large a domestic establishment, from a territory of some extent, and from the rights of an empire, which once yielded many crores (I think he said six), scarce amounted to a lack and 50,000 rupees. It was natural, he said, for those by whose power the sultanat, such as it was, was supported, to endeavour to raise themselves to the independent pos-

session



session of it; and to that he could submit; but it was the condition of vassalage and meanness to which the servants of the king had reduced him, by degrading him into a mere instrument of their interested and fordid designs, that he regretted; and this was such a condition that neither his pride, nor the sense of duty would allow him to view with forbearance. It would be impossible to follow this discourse through every branch of it, though connected: I have hastily written it as it occurred to my memory, and may have used repetitions which did not appear in its original delivery. My reply ought to be confined to its substance. I told him that our government had just obtained relief from a state of universal warfare, and required a term of repose; that our whole nation was weary of war, and dreaded the renewal of it; it would be equally alarmed at any movement, of which it could not immediately see the issue or progress, but which might eventually tend to create new hostilities; that I came hither with a limited authority, and could not, if I chose it, engage in a business of this nature without the concurrence of my colleagues in office, who, I believed, would be averse to it; that the country of Owde was in a disordered state, and the nabob incapable of joining immediately in such a plan; and that my sole business here was to assist him with the power and influence of our government in retrieving his affairs, which I hoped a few months would effect, and enable him to perform the duties of loyalty to his sovereign. In the mean time the prince's residence in this place, though he sat still and inactive, would be of some use; it would be

a check on the people at Delhy, who would not dare to proceed to farther extremities, but find it their interest and policy to make their court to the king, while there was an appearance or possibility of his cause being espoused from this quarter, with so powerful a sanction for it; that I would represent his situation to the joint members of my own government, and wait their determination. In the mean time, I advised him to make advances to Madjee Scindia, both because our government was in intimate and sworn connection with him, and because he was the effectual head of the Marattah state; besides, I feared his taking the other side of the question, unless he was early prevented. This is all that materially passed betwixt us."

It will be proper to add, that no person was either present, or within hearing during this conference, and that I have yet only made a private communication of it to the other members of the Board, as there are many circumstances related in it which ought not to be exposed to the risque of being publicly known.

Major Browne, who is your resident at the court of Delhy, left it on the 2d instant, by the king's command, on the express errand of reconducting the prince to court, and to give him an assurance of pardon for his past transgression.

"What may be the final issue, or even the progressive events of this visit, I cannot conjecture; the scene is too novel to be judged by any comparison of such as have fallen within the compass of my experience. I can only promise my most watchful care, that it may not lead to any consequences which may involve your interests, inter-

fore



ferre with the œconomy of my present plan, or disturb the tranquillity of your possessions.

I am strongly tempted to mention, and I hope not improperly, one trait of the prince's character, which has fallen within my own imperfect observations. When he arrived at the place where the first honours were paid him, on his approach to Lucknow, he was devoid of almost every necessary of life; and had scarce a change of raiment for his own use: nor was his situation, with respect to the means of expence, immediately improved on his arrival at the place of his appointed residence at the city. To his own distresses he appeared insensible, or affected a spirit of self-dependence which raised him above the consideration of them; but he privately hinted to the gentleman, who was appointed by the nabob vizier and myself to attend on him, on our joint behalf, that the king, his father, was in such a state of wretchedness, that any supply of money, however small, would be an acceptable gift; even at the instant in which I am writing, I receive an additional evidence of the same disposition, which, whether it be real benevolence, or let it flow from whatever source, is at least commendable, in a report made to me by the same channel, which is that of my Persian interpreter, captain Scott, who is just returned from the prince, to whom the nabob vizier had sent him with a supply of 15,000 rupees, for his private expence; and I shall use his own words written immediately in my presence for the recital of it.

“ His highness received the money with many expressions of thanks, but observed, that while he knew his father daily experienced the greatest distresses, he thought it un-

1785.

lawful for him to enjoy the luxuries of life; that he wished, therefore, the governor and nabob vizier would remit the money to the nabob mirza, for his majesty's use. His highness observed also, that he at present, from the attention of the English and the nabob vizier, had many superfluities, which he should dispatch to his majesty in a few days.”

WARREN HASTINGS.

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*A Second Letter from Governor Hastings to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*

Benares, Oct. 1, 1784.

Honourable Sirs,

I Have the honour to send you a duplicate of my last address, and a copy of a letter to the council, dated the 20th of September, and containing the report of my proceedings, and of the state of your claims on the nabob vizier to that period, being within three days of the close of the fustee year. This is so full as to render any farther information on that subject unnecessary. The nabob vizier is so sensible of the just and disinterested conduct which I have observed towards him, and possesses, if I may credit appearances amounting to the strongest evidence of which such a conclusion is capable, so entire a confidence in my intentions respecting his concerns with the company, that I have, on my part, an equal reliance on his steady support of the arrangements which have been formed under my inspection, both for the administration of his revenue, and the discharge of his debt to the honourable company depending on it. He has given me the firmest assurances of this; and I have every reason

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to expect, that the influence of the most respectable persons of his family will be employed to counteract every other which may tend to warp him from it. I am sorry to say that such an assistance was wanting, as the nabob, though most gentle in his manners, and endowed with an understanding much above the common level, has been unfortunately bred up to habits that draw his attention too much from the care of his own affairs, and often subject him to the guidance of insidious and unworthy confidants. This is one motive for my intention of making a longer stay at Benares than is necessary for the settlement of this zemindary, which is already nearly concluded, that I may be at hand to counteract any attempt to defeat the effect of my proceedings at Lucknow; but I believe that the precaution, though dictated by prudence, will prove unnecessary.

My only remaining fear is, that the members of the council, seeing affairs through a different medium from that through which I view them, may be disposed, if not to counteract the system which I have formed, to withhold from it their countenance and active support. While I myself remain, it will be sufficient if they permit it to operate without interruption; and I almost hope that in the event of a new administration of your affairs, which shall confine itself to the same forbearance, and manifest no symptoms of intended interference, the objects of my arrangements will be effectually attained; for I leave them in the charge of agents, whose interests, ambition, and every prospect of life are interwoven with their success, and the hand of Heaven has visibly blessed the soil with every elementary source of

progressive vegetation. But if a different policy shall be adopted, if new agents are sent into the country, and armed with authority for the purposes of vengeance or corruption (for to no other will they be applied); if new demands are raised on the nabob vizier, and accounts overcharged on one side, with a wide latitude taken on the other, to swell his debt beyond the means of payment; if political dangers are portended, to ground on them the pleas of burthening his country with unnecessary defences and enormous subsidies; or if even abstaining from direct encroachment on the nabob's rights, your government shall shew but a degree of personal kindness to the partizans of the late usurpation, or, by any constructive indication of partiality and disaffection, furnish grounds for the expectation of an approaching change of system; I am sorry to say, that all my labours will prove abortive; for the slightest causes will be sufficient to deject minds sore with the remembrance of past conflicts, and to elevate those whose only dependence is placed in the renewal of the confusion which I have laboured with such zeal to eradicate, and will of course debilitate the authority which can alone ensure future success. I almost fear that this denunciation of effects, from causes so incompetent as they will appear to those who have not had the experience which I have had of the quick sensibility which influences the habits of men placed in a state of polity so loose, and subject to the continual variations of capricious and despotic authority, will be deemed overcharged, or perhaps void of foundation; nor, if they should come to pass, will it be easy to trace them with any positive evidence to their

their connection ; yet it is my duty to apprize you of what I apprehend, on grounds which I deem of absolute certainty, may come to pass ; and I rely on your candour for a fair interpretation of my intention.

It is not quite foreign from this doctrine, as it will be highly acceptable to your honourable court, to be informed, that during my residence, and I may take the date farther back, to the expectation of it, at Lucknow, the most perfect tranquillity prevailed, and it still subsists in every part of the dominion of the nabob vizier ; a circumstance unexampled in the annals of government, either in any former period, or during that in which our influence has been blended with its own constitution ; and this I attribute exclusively to the prevalency of opinion, or, to apply the general maxim, to the universal conviction of a power, and a disposition actually existing, the one equal to the suppression of any movement of sedition, and the other determined to the punishment of it. Nor has my time been unprofitably bestowed, even in the long interval in which I was obliged to wait for the first appearance of the rainy season, before I could see the beginning of the new settlement.—It afforded leisure for the constitutional administration of the country to recover its authority—it impressed the minds of all men, that the government which I represented was determined to render it permanent ; and it enabled me to establish my own influence and ascendancy over the minds of the nabob, his ministers, and his people, on the grounds of their confidence in me. This was an easy line ; for it required nothing to be done, nothing but forbearance—I daily conferred with the ministers ; I receiv-

ed their reports ; I gave my advice ; but I left every thing wholly to their management—I assumed no appearance of command, I exercised none—not even in private ; I issued not a single warrant, nor suffered any individual of my dependants to use my name, even in the common bazar, with any privilege distinct from the rights of any other inhabitant.—The nabob met me on the border of his territory ; our troops and baggage were intermixed on the road, and our camps often joined ; I and my people, who were numerous, with a large society of English gentlemen, which was unavoidable, lived in the same city five months and of that time within the same common enclosure of the nabob's palace ; nor in all that time did a single accident happen, from such a mixture of society, to disturb the peace, or to create misunderstandings between either the principals or parties of either ; but they continued united with the same harmony that exists between the members of a private family. Nor whether in public or in private, though occasions of great delicacy often occurred, did a word ever pass in conversation between the nabob and myself, inconsistent with the strictest amity and mutual good humour. I hope this will not have the air of self-condemnation ; my behaviour was regulated by preconcerted policy ; the nabob's by a natural benevolence and pliancy of disposition, joined to a persuasion that I merited more than an ordinary return of kindness from him ; which left my part very easy, and will, I trust, still continue to operate for the common benefit of his interest and yours, whatever may be my lot ; for I have promised that I will not abandon him to the

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chance of another mode of relation, and most confidently given him assurances of your ratification and confirmation of that which I have established between his government and the company.

I hope I shall be pardoned for repeating a remark which I have already made in my letter to the council—for it ought to be known and remembered—that I have provided for the complete discharge in one year, of a debt contracted by the accumulation of many, and from a country whose resources have been wasted and dissipated for three successive years of drought, and one of anarchy.

The recovery of so large a part of your property will also afford a seasonable and substantial relief to the necessities of your government, and enable it, for such is my confident hope, to begin upon the reduction of your debt at interest before the conclusion of this year, I mean the year of our own computation.

Whatever may be the event of this transaction, I cannot conclude the report of it, without testifying my acknowledgement of the very useful assistance which I have received from the official skill and abilities of Mr. David Anderson. His reputation, which has been established on the merit of much more important services, will receive little addition from this tribute paid to it; yet the circumstances under which they were yielded on this occasion, would not allow me to suppress it, as he had formed the resolution of resigning the service for the recovery of a very declining health: and had actually bespoke his passage in one of your homeward bound ships, when his friendship and public zeal induced him to remain at my solicitation, and to accompany me on this deputation.

As I have occasionally mentioned the number of gentlemen who composed my family, I have a pride and a pleasure in adding, that they all contributed, by the correctness of their manners, and conciliating behaviour, to maintain that familiar and cordial intercourse, which I have already described to have subsisted between the nabob and myself, and to leave a lasting and favourable impression of the British character with his subjects.

For the rest I beg leave to refer to my letter to the board; and am with the most respectful and dutiful attachment,

Honourable Sirs, &c.

WARREN HASTINGS.

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To EDWARD WHEELER, Esq. &c.  
Council, Fort William.

*Benares, Sept. 20, 1784.*

Gentlemen,

I Avail myself of the first leisure which has been afforded me since my departure from Lucknow, to advise you of the progress and close of my proceedings at that capital, and the state of your claims on the nabob vizier.

You will be pleased to recollect, that on the 27th of December last the board agreed to the removal of Mr. Bristow, and to the suspension of his office, upon the express conditions, that the nabob vizier would engage to discharge the whole amount of his arrears and growing debt to the company, in the course of that and the ensuing fussellee year, ending on the 20th of August, 1785; that he would produce the security of creditable shroffs for the same; and that I would bear the whole responsibility for the rectitude of the measure: that those conditions having been performed,

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and the nabob having farther solicited the aid of my presence at Lucknow, for the confirmation of his authority, and for the construction of such arrangements as might be necessary to insure the complete execution of his engagements, I, with the authority of the board, departed from the presidency on the 17th of February, and arrived at Lucknow on the 27th of the month ensuing.

I found the season of collection already past, and a long interval approaching of total inertia. This was a circumstance which I should have much regretted, had I sought only to gain an ostensible credit from the instant requisition of large payments on my first outset; but my objects were of a more permanent kind, and, if I may be allowed to apply such a term to acts reflective on my own credit, to a more liberal principle. These objects were threefold; first, to obtain the complete discharge of the arrears and growing debt of the nabob vizier to the company within the stipulated period of the ensuing year: secondly, to assist in putting his finances in such a state as should enable him with ease to acquit himself of the fixed monthly engagements as they became due, and to possess a sufficiency in reserve for the necessary claims of his own administration; and the third, and not least essential to the interests and honour of our government, to fix him in the independent possession of his own dominion, by precluding, as the consequence of the two former, every plea for the exercise of a double authority in the interference of a British agent.

Upon the same principle I applied the sums which the last scanty payments of the collection, and the voluntary contribution of Allmas

Ally Cawn, enabled the acting minister to pay into your treasury at Lucknow, to the discharge of the heavy arrears due, and running on with the hazard of the most licentious consequences, to the brigade, and other divisions of the army stationed within these provinces; in remittances to Bombay, made with your express concurrence; and in official disbursements: not unaware of the distresses which the commerce of the presidency sustained from the scarcity of the current specie, nor of the eclat which I might have personally derived from a transportation of the whole, or a large portion of the amount in treasure to Calcutta, I should have suppressed this intimation, which is foreign from the immediate purpose of this letter, had it not been privately suggested to me, that I had disappointed the popular expectation, by not adopting the policy which I had, on the conception of better grounds, rejected.

The points which solicited my earliest attention, were the formation of the settlement of the approaching year, and the retrenchment of expences. The latter, a work in itself of great delicacy and obstruction, depended essentially on the former, and that, on contingencies which imposed on me the mortification of suffering a long and indefinite term to pass in suspense and inaction, before it could possibly be undertaken. The public revenue had declined, with the failure of the cultivation, in three successive years; and all the stores of grain, which the providence of the husbandman had, as I am informed it is their custom, in defiance of the vigilance of their aumils, clandestinely reserved for their own use, were of course exhausted; and another year of dearth, which the habit of re-



peated disappointment had taught the people to expect, would have proved no less fatal to the population than to the actual collections. In this state of apprehension, no man of credit would accept of a charge of collection on positive engagement. It was therefore necessary to wait the commencement of the season in which the rains usually fall, before any steps could be taken in the ensuing settlement; nor was it till the 10th of July that the rain began to fall. From the date to the close of the last month it has been almost incessant, and the expectations of all men were raised to the production of a more abundant harvest than any that has been known for many years past. The minister, aided by this providential blessing, has concluded a settlement with men, whom he has reported to me, to have been selected from superior knowledge and responsibility, and whom I believe generally to merit his report of them, for a period of five, and some of six years, on an encreasing jumma, viz.

|            |   |             |    |   |
|------------|---|-------------|----|---|
| Jumma 1192 | - | 2,20,65,639 | 13 | — |
| 1193       | - | 2,44,50,504 | 6  | 3 |
| 1194       | - | 2,66,05,326 | 6  | 3 |
| 1195       | - | 2,87,11,326 | 6  | 3 |
| 1196       | - | 3,06,93,035 | 10 | 9 |

The inclosure, No. 1. contains an estimate taken at a large allowance, of the whole of the nabob's debt for the year 1192; and No. 2, the provision made and agreed for the complete discharge of it, by monthly kistbundy, or instalments.

Though it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of my transactions, since these have no other relation to the interests of the company than in their final effect, yet there is one condition of the settlement of which you ought to be apprized, as it essentially connects the confirmation of the settlement itself with the in-

terests of the company. The aumils demanded, that a clause should be inserted in their engagements, that they were to be in full force, for the complete term of their leases, provided that no foreign authority was exercised over them; or, in other words, that their engagements were to cease, whenever they should be interrupted in their functions by the interference of an English agent; this requisition was officially notified to me by the acting minister, and referred to me in form by the nabob vizier, for my previous consent to it: I encouraged it, and gave my sanction to it. For the particulars of this transaction, I refer you to my correspondence with the nabob vizier upon the subject, in the inclosure No. 3.

The account No. 4. comprises the state of the nabob vizier's debt at the close of the last year, and completes the information which I have professed to communicate, of the state of this concern. From this account you will observe, that the vizier has fulfilled his engagement down to the time of my departure from Lucknow; and that the balance due from him to the company, which at the end of January last, stood in the books of the accomptant general of Fort William at current rupees 72,95,656 4 7 was reduced at the end of August to Sa. Rs. 38,44,930. 9.—including the sum of Sa. Rs. 10,00.441. 11 5, charged to the nabob's debt in conformity to the books of the accomptant-general.

In the estimate, No. 1. I have struck out the charge of the detachment commanded by col. sir John Cummings, from the 1st January, 1785, the nabob having a second time remonstrated against its continuance, both as being unnecessary, and a burthen which the impoverished



rished state of his revenue could not bear, and therefore required that it should be wholly withdrawn. I have for these reasons given my assent to it, and have left a written order to that effect in the hands of major Palmer, to be transmitted to colonel Cummings as soon as an adequate force shall have been provided for the defence of that frontier, by detachment from the nabob's own battalions. The relief, whenever it takes place, may lead to a saving in our own expences, by the farther reduction of the army; for I must revert on this occasion to the opinion which I have had occasion more than once before to declare, that the company will gain nothing by the continuance of the detachment at the nabob's charge in its present station, since he has not the means of defraying it; and whether it remain on account of the company, or be continued to swell the nabob's with an accumulating debt which he cannot pay, its effect on the company's funds will prove the same; while it holds out a deception to the public, and furnishes a plea for the future usurpation of the sovereignty of the country, and the private embezzlement of its treasures.

In the other disbursements of the nabob vizier, both personal and public, considerable savings have been made; but these would have proved insufficient to fulfil the nabob's engagements, without other expedients. The begums, and the nabob Salar Jung (to whom their jaghires have been restored, conformably to the company's orders, and more so to the inclinations of the nabob vizier, who went to Fyzabad for the express purpose of making a respectful tender of them in person to the begums) have made a voluntary concession of a large

portion of their respective shares; and the nabob Saadut Ally Cawn has been required to submit, but I will not say voluntarily, to a tax of one lack of his allotted income, not so much for the increase which so small a sum would make to the public treasury, as to preclude the just cause of offence which might have been taken at his being partially exempted. The ministers have in like manner contributed their share of relief, by the resignation of three fourths of their rustoom, or commission of office. The like concession was made by them to the adjustment of the last year's accounts, to the amount of seven lacks deducted from the full sum of their commission, which was 9,98,519. 00 rupees. In both instances, the sacrifice was entirely spontaneous, and even unsolicited. The difference which yet remained, to complete the payments of the year, has been provided for by an accommodation with the shroffs, and may be considered as an anticipation of the next year's income, which, if the system which has been thus far happily established, remains unmo-  
lest, it will easily bear.

I have a singular pleasure in adding, that I have received the strongest assurances from the nabob himself, of his determination to abide by the late arrangement; and have an equal ground to expect every degree of support which can be given to it by the influence of the first characters of his family, who are all warmly and zealously interested in the event of it.

To conclude: I have thus far attained the objects of my mission, and provided, in the means and course of one year, for the complete discharge of a debt which has been the accumulation of many; notwithstanding the difficulties

which I have had to surmount, in the lasting effects of the failure of the natural rains in the three preceding years, and in still worse, from a cause which created a total suspension of all the springs of government during the course of the last.

I reserve my final report, and other observations upon it, to the period of my departure from this place.

I have already advised you of my departure from Lucknow, on the 27th ultimo. The nabob vizier accompanied me some stages of my journey by land, and was with difficulty dissuaded from proceeding with me to Benares, having provided boats for his conveyance. The prince is here, and will, I fear, prove a cause of my detention beyond the term required by the settlement of this province, which you have been pleased to entrust to my charge, and of which little remains to complete it. Nor will this delay be wholly unserviceable to my late transactions at Lucknow, as I am still near enough to attend to the first effects of execution, and to interpose my influence for the removal of any obstructions to which they are or may be liable. But I do not apprehend that my stay will exceed the middle of next month.

I have the honour, &c.

W. HASTINGS.

A true copy.

E. HAY, Sec.

*The Speech of his Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the 20th Day of January, 1785.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to

desire your advice and co-operation upon those affairs of importance which in the present circumstances of the kingdom require your most serious attention.

Whilst I lamented the lawless outrages and unconstitutional proceedings which had taken place since your last prorogation, I had the satisfaction to perceive that these excesses were confined to a few places, and even there condemned. And I have now the pleasure to observe, that by the salutary interposition of the laws, the general tranquillity is re-established.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you. I have the fullest reliance on your approved loyalty to the king, and attachment to your country, that a due consideration of the exigencies of the state will lead you to make whatever provisions shall appear to be necessary for the public expences, and for the honourable support of his majesty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am to recommend, in the king's name, to your earnest investigation those objects of trade and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland which have not yet received their complete adjustment. In framing a plan with a view to a final settlement, you will be sensible that the interests of Great Britain and Ireland ought to be for ever united and inseparable. And his majesty relies on your liberality and wisdom for adopting such an equitable system for the joint benefit of both countries, and the support of the common interest, as will secure mutual satisfaction and permanency.

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The encouragement and extension of agriculture and manufactures, and especially of your linen manufacture, will, I am persuaded, engage your constant concern. Let me likewise direct your attention in a particular manner to the fisheries on your coasts, from which you may reasonably hope for an improving source of industry and wealth to this kingdom, and of strength to the empire.

The liberality which you have always shewn to the maintenance of your protestant charter-schools, and other public institutions, makes it unnecessary for me to recommend them to your care. You cannot more beneficially exert this laudable spirit than by directing your attention to improve, and to diffuse throughout the kingdom, the advantages of good education. Sensible of its essential consequence to the morals and happiness of the people, and to the dignity of the nation, I am happy to assure you of his majesty's gracious patronage; and shall be earnest to give every assistance in my power to the success of such measures as your wisdom may devise for this important purpose.

It is the province of your prudence and discretion to consider what new provisions may be necessary for securing the subject against violence and outrage, for the regulation of the police, and the better execution of the laws, as well as for the general encouragement of peaceable subordination and honest industry. It will be a pleasing task to me to assist and promote your exertions for the tranquillity of the kingdom, and supporting the true principles of our happy constitution both in church and state.

The uniformity of laws and of religion, and a common interest in

treaties with foreign states, form a sure bond of mutual connection and attachment between Great Britain and Ireland. It will be your care to cherish these inestimable blessings with that spirit and wisdom which will render them effectual securities to the strength and prosperity of the empire.

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*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 25, 1785.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

After the laborious attendance of the last session of parliament, it has given me peculiar pleasure, that the situation of public affairs has admitted of so long a recess.

Among the objects which now require consideration, I must particularly recommend to your earnest attention the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as are not yet finally arranged. The system which will unite both kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am persuaded, best ensure the general prosperity of my dominions.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that, notwithstanding any appearance of differences on the continent, I continue uniformly to receive, from all foreign powers, the strongest assurances of their good disposition towards this country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates of the ensuing year to be laid before you. I confide in your liberality and zeal to grant the necessary supplies, with a just regard as well to the oeconomy requisite in every department, as to the maintenance of the

the national credit, and the real exigencies of the public service.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The success which has attended the measures taken in the last session towards the suppression of smuggling, and for the improvement of the revenue, will encourage you to apply yourselves, with continual assiduity, to those important objects. You will, I trust, also take into early consideration, the matters suggested in the reports of the commissioners of public accounts, and such farther regulations as may appear to be necessary in the different offices of the kingdom.

I have the fullest reliance on the continuance of your faithful and diligent exertions in every part of your public duty. You may at all times depend on my hearty concurrence in every measure which can tend to alleviate our national burthens, to secure the true principles of the constitution, and to promote the general welfare of my people.

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*Petition of the Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster, presented to the House of Commons, Feb. 2, 1785.*

Sheweth,

That, notwithstanding the parliament is now assembled in its second session, after a long recess, the city of Westminster, equally to the surprise and concern of your petitioners, is still without any representatives in parliament.

That, at the opening of the present parliament, after the electors of Westminster, according to the exigency of the king's writ for meeting his people in parliament on the eighteenth day of May last, and

conformably to law and ancient usage, had duly chosen two citizens to represent the same, the said electors were, by an act equally illegal and unprecedented, deprived of their just and valuable right to a share in the legislation of their country, through their representatives, chosen into the commons house of parliament; the high bailiff of Westminster, though solemnly called upon, having refused to make any return of citizens to serve in parliament for the said city.

That your petitioners, impressed with a high sense of the value of that branch of the legislature, which they have been taught to consider as the natural guardians of the rights of the people, from whom it derives its power, and to whom it is accountable for the execution of the trust, could not behold, without great indignation, an attempt so insulting to the dignity of parliament, which has been thereby rendered maimed and incomplete in its construction, as well in direct contradiction to the king's writ of summons for meeting his people in a full parliament, as to the manifest degradation of the character and importance of that august assembly. Nor can your petitioners, consistently with their duty to themselves, with a just regard to the common rights of their fellow-subjects, and what they owe to their posterity, omit any proper occasion to express their honest sentiments; and still, as free men, though deprived of the sacred distinction which makes men free, prefer their just complaints against a proceeding so unprecedented in the annals of parliament, so full of danger in its example, and which is not more a grievous injury to the interests and privileges of the citizens of Westminster, than ut-

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terly subversive of the rights of the whole constituent body of this country.

That the salutary wisdom and honest vigilance of the house of commons to check the progress of corruption, and to guard against the influence of the ministers of the crown, in the elections of members to serve in parliament, will have become altogether fruitless, if it may happen that, after electors shall have withstood every unconstitutional attempt to dictate particular persons to their choice, and shall have exercised their suffrages freely and independently, a new and extraordinary device may be resorted to, by means of which it may be in the power of those who have, or who by secret and corrupt management may obtain an undue influence over a returning officer, to exclude from parliament, and to subject to an expence, which might be ruinous to the most ample fortune, under the pretence of a scrutiny, any person, the exertion of whose abilities may be peculiarly necessary to the interests of his country, but whose attachment to the true principles of the constitution may have rendered him an object of extraordinary persecution.

That there never was a period in which the presence and assistance of the members in parliament was more essential to the peace and prosperity of the city of Westminster.

That, during the last session of parliament, beside many important regulations of trade and revenue, various new and burthensome taxes, to the amount of near a million per annum, were imposed on the nation; a very considerable part whereof hath been, and must continue to be paid by this city.

That your petitioners have always understood it to be a funda-

mental principle in the constitution of this government, that the money of the subject could not be taken without his consent; a position which would have more sound than sense or meaning, if the opportunity of giving their voices in the grant of money could be withholden from those places which are invested with the privilege of sending members to parliament. This dear and inestimable privilege, however it may have been disregarded in the imposition of the late taxes upon the city of Westminster, when they had an opportunity of giving or withholding their consent, your petitioners yet claim and insist upon, as their indubitable right; and the heavy grievance, of which they complain, will indeed be severely aggravated, if suffered to remain during any farther part of the present most important session of parliament, in which objects of the deepest concernment to all his majesty's subjects, and peculiarly interesting to those in whom the rights of representation are vested, have been announced to be brought forward, under a solemn call for the strict attendance of all the representatives of the people.

That the necessity for regulating and amending the police of the city of Westminster is universally felt, and loudly calls for immediate attention. And to whom, in this, as in all other parliamentary business, in which the citizens of Westminster are particularly interested, is it natural for them to look for counsel and assistance, but to those whom they had chosen to represent them in parliament?

That your petitioners are advised, and have heard with great satisfaction, that efficacious measures are likely to be proposed early in the present session of parliament, under

under the auspices of one of the most confidential servants of the crown, to meliorate the present defective state of the representation of the united kingdom. But your petitioners humbly presume to suggest, that it will appear but little consistent with professions of future purity and reform in the representation of the commons, to suffer the actual and subsisting representation to remain curtailed and imperfect, even according to its present form, and to permit, with silence and impunity, a deep and dangerous wound to be given to those first principles of the constitution, upon which alone a free and independent parliament can be founded. And your petitioners cannot but deem it an unfortunate casualty, that at a time when other bodies of men are entertaining the most sanguine expectations of the extension and security of their inherent and dearest rights, the city of Westminster should, without any act of delinquency even alledged, be suffering the penalties of actual disfranchisement. And your petitioners are more forcibly led to this consideration, by reflecting that the representation of Westminster is not merely nominal and unsubstantial, like that of boroughs, where there are few electors, or where, under the appearance of an election, an hereditary right to a seat is preserved in a family, or assigned at pleasure (an evil which your petitioners humbly presume will be a main object of attention in the proposed reform); but involves in it the dearest interests and most important concerns of many thousand citizens, inhabitants of this extensive, populous, and flourishing city.

That the scrutiny which is still carrying on in the city of Westminster hath lasted for a period of nearly eight months; and that, judging by the progress already made, it appears extremely probable that, should it proceed with the same pace (and your petitioners do not understand that any complaint hath been made of undue delay), the present parliament may be advanced to its last session by the time the high bailiff has decided on his poll.

That your petitioners are well informed that every prediction of the futility, insignificance, expence, and injustice, which must attend the proceedings of such a court, hath been abundantly verified by the event: but your petitioners forbear any detail of the progress or consequences of a measure, the origin and principle of which they solemnly protest against, as contrary to the spirit and practice of the constitution, to the plainest provisions, both of common and statute law, and to the rights and privileges of the electors of Great Britain.

For the same reason your petitioners forbear to meddle with the motives, reasons, or imaginations, alledged by the high bailiff of Westminster in defence of his conduct; or with the claims and pretensions of the respective candidates. But your petitioners do humbly pray that this honourable house will immediately take such measures as shall restore the city of Westminster to its undoubted right of having its representatives in parliament; there being no farther or other relief suited to the nature of the injury complained of in the premises, or which can be satisfactory to your petitioners,



*Resolutions passed at a National Assembly of Delegates, for promoting a more equal Representation of the People in Parliament, held in Dublin on the 20th of January, 1785, and thence continued till the 4th of February following, pursuant to adjournment from the 27th of October, 1784. See Principal Occurrences, p. 8. and 12.*

A Motion being made and seconded, that a printed paper, entitled, "A third Address from the Society for Constitutional Information to the People of Great Britain and Ireland," be now read, and the question being put, and carried unanimously in the affirmative, the same was read accordingly :

Resolved unanimously, That the said Address, as relating to parliamentary reform, comes properly within the consideration of this assembly.

Resolved unanimously, That the said Address appears to be intended to promote and defend the rights of the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland conjointly.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this assembly, that the expressions of affectionate regard and common interest between the two kingdoms, contained in the said Address, demand grateful applause, and the kindest acknowledgements on the part of the people of Ireland, and that it appears to be the wish of the people of Ireland, and equally for the advantage of both kingdoms, that such sentiments of mutual friendship should be universally cherished between the two countries.

Resolved therefore unanimously, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to the said society, as a token of the grateful and brotherly regards towards them,

entertained by the assembly of delegates, appointed for the promoting of a parliamentary reform in Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That a sufficient number of copies of the following Address be printed, and that the same be published in Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That our president have power to convene this assembly prior to the day of adjournment, if occasion shall require.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this assembly be given to our worthy president, William Sharman, esq. for his very upright, able, and spirited conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this assembly be given to Simon Isaac, esq. our worthy member, for his very proper and impartial conduct as chairman of the committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this assembly be given to our worthy member, John Talbot Ashenhurst, esq. for acting as secretary, and for his proper conduct and attention to this assembly.

Resolved unanimously, That this assembly do now adjourn till Wednesday the 20th of April next, then to meet in Dublin.

To the PEOPLE of IRELAND.

We, the assembly of delegates for promoting a parliamentary reform, have deliberated with care, and with the warmest zeal upon the subjects referred to our consideration. We have, therefore, contented ourselves for the present, with considering and reducing into some order, the materials which we have hitherto been able to collect, leaving to a future meeting, the pro-

probability of affording farther lights ; conscious, at the same time, how much must be referred to parliament.

Continue to cherish an affectionate attachment to his majesty, and a reliance on his paternal attention to the liberties of his subjects, trusting that his majesty's councils, and the wisdom of parliament, will devise some effectual means to gratify the wishes of a peaceable and loyal people.

Persevere in a due respect to the authority of the laws, and the dignity of the legislature.

Encourage those kind sentiments of affection to Great Britain, which already animate this country, and which ought to subsist between associates in the cause of freedom.

Turn your attention to those grievances which have called forth the voice, and awakened the exertions of Great Britain, and remember, that this country labours under a more enormous and complicated usurpation.

Your right to a controul over your representatives, by frequency of election, has been infringed. Oaths are multiplied upon electors, whilst the consciences of the elected are left at large. Your counties groan under aristocratic combinations ; and even if they were free, their members compose but a fifth, whilst a few individuals nominate a large majority of the representative body. The freedom of your cities has been undermined by perversion of their charters ; and their independence is oppressed by a multitude of fraudulent electors. Places and pensions are the rewards of apostacy. Your boroughs have become the property of individuals, which they notoriously barter for gain, and a price is thus set on the rights of a people.

If those enormities be not corrected, the house of commons may in time become so degraded by venality, and disfigured by innovation, that the best administration may find corruption a necessary engine of government. The rapacity of your representatives may prey upon the earnings of your industry. The protectors of your rights may receive the wages of treachery. The trustees of the people may become the partizans of factious nobles. The prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the subject, may be equally overwhelmed ; and the house of commons may, at length, cease to be the representatives of the people.

We conjure you to look back to the glory of your former successes : and we solemnly remind you, that the sacred honour of the nation is pledged for the attainment of a parliamentary reform ; that, without the accomplishment of this great object, your commercial interests are insecure, and the independence of your legislature but a name.

You have sent us to consult upon the means of redressing your grievances ; we have told you the progress of our deliberations ; we exhort you to recollect, that upon yourselves depends the completion of your wishes. Shun the extremes of temerity and indolence. Keep alive the spirit ; but let prudence regulate the activity of your zeal. Believe, for you feel it, that patriotism exists ; be warned, but not seduced by the example of those, who have usurped your rights : nor think that the dignity of constitutional assemblies can be degraded by the mockery of men who add insult to oppression ; reward with your favour, and encourage with your confidence, those who have stood forward in your cause, from the threats

of unconstitutional power, which endeavours to subdue the unconquerable spirit of a free people. Informed of what the laws permit, neither transgress their bound, nor distrust their protection. Lawyers may cavil about forms, but your rights are unalienable, and redress is in your power. Cunning, cabal, and violence, are opposed to prudence, union, and perseverance. Time shall lead us to success; and we shall wear those honours well, which we shall have obtained by honourable exertions. This struggle for their liberties will inform the minds, and fortify the hearts of Irishmen; and when they shall have obtained, they will have sense to perceive, and resolution to preserve, the blessings of a free constitution.—Teach posterity, that temper and firmness can produce what in other countries has been accomplished by blood.—Persevere, therefore, unless you would be the mockery of the world, and would have your triumph of yesterday become the reproach of to-day.

W. SHARMAN, president.  
J. T. ASHENHURST, sec.

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*Plan of Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, which, on the 7th of Feb. 1785, Mr. Orde, Secretary to the Duke of Rutland, laid before the Grand Committee of the Irish Parliament, and which being amended on the 11th, were passed on that Day.*

I. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible, and for that

purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. Resolved, That, towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties) if subject to duties) to which they are liable, when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on the importation into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

III. Resolved, That for the same purpose it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

IV. Resolved, That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty

duty as the similar commodities or home manufacture of the same kingdom.

V. Resolved, That for the same purpose it is also proper, that in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material; and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burdens than the home-made manufacture; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burthen, not drawn back, or compensated on exportation.

VI. Resolved, That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

VII. Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary farther, that no prohibitions, or new, or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manu-

facture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and also, except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms: in every such case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised, so as to make them equal.

VIII. Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensation for duties paid; and that no bounty should be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

IX. Resolved, That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other.

X. Resolved, That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; that therefore it is highly expedient, that the annual revenue

venue of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expence.

XI. Resolved, That, for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce over and above the sum of 656,000*l.* in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenue shall equal the annual expence, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct.

*Extract from the Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, dated Council-Chamber, Whitehall, March 1, 1785.*

And that your majesty may have some view of the general trade of Ireland, they will add an account of the amount in value of all goods exported from Ireland to Great Britain, the British colonies and plantations, and the rest of the world: distinguishing the amount in value of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Ireland; also the amount in value of the imports from each: for nine years, ending 25th March, 1782, distinguishing each year: taken from the accounts stated by the officers of the customs in Ireland, and being in Irish money.

Value of the EXPORTS to Great Britain.

| Years. |               |           |    |    |
|--------|---------------|-----------|----|----|
| 1774   | Irish produce | 2,113,849 | 18 | 3½ |
|        | Foreign goods | 3,835     | 13 | 4½ |
|        |               | 2,117,695 | 11 | 8  |
| 1785.  |               |           |    |    |

|      |                |                                |
|------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1775 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,376,517 13 2½<br>3,340 16 5½ |
|      |                | 2,379,858 9 8½                 |
| 1776 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,547,460 13 10<br>3,750 17 5  |
|      |                | 2,551,211 11 3                 |
| 1777 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,547,131 15 0<br>5,164 3 4    |
|      |                | 2,552,296 18 4                 |
| 1778 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,718,145 18 1<br>5,653 12 5   |
|      |                | 2,718,145 18 6                 |
| 1779 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,252,976 18 2½<br>3,682 7 8½  |
|      |                | 2,256,659 0 5                  |
| 1780 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,381,234 18 3½<br>3,663 18 4½ |
|      |                | 2,384,898 16 7                 |
| 1781 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,187,215 7 11½<br>7,191 7 0½  |
|      |                | 2,187,406 15 0                 |
| 1782 | I. P.<br>F. G. | 2,699,825 13 8½<br>9,941 1 6½  |
|      |                | 2,709,766 18 2                 |

British Colonies and Plantations.

| Years. |               |         |    |     |
|--------|---------------|---------|----|-----|
| 1774   | Irish produce | 243,217 | 19 | 11½ |
|        | Foreign goods | 16,784  | 1  | 4   |
|        |               | <hr/>   |    |     |
|        |               | 260,012 | 1  | 3½  |
|        |               | <hr/>   |    |     |
| 1775   | I. P.         | 247,141 | 9  | 7   |
|        | F. G.         | 19,568  | 18 | 2   |
|        |               | <hr/>   |    |     |
|        |               | 266,710 | 7  | 9   |
|        |               | <hr/>   |    |     |
| 1776   | I. P.         | 253,838 | 15 | 9   |
|        | F. G.         | 10,960  | 0  | 8½  |
|        |               | <hr/>   |    |     |
|        |               | 264,798 | 16 | 6½  |
|        |               | <hr/>   |    |     |
| 1777   | I. P.         | 298,611 | 12 | 10  |
|        | F. G.         | 32,765  | 10 | 5   |
|        |               | <hr/>   |    |     |
|        |               | 331,377 | 3  | 3   |
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(146) P U B L I C P A P E R S.

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|------|-------|---------|----|-----|
| 1778 | I. P. | 273,730 | 8  | 10½ |
|      | F. G. | 27,285  | 13 | 1½  |
|      |       | 301,016 | 1  | 11  |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1779 | I. P. | 224,820 | 3  | 6½ |
|      | F. G. | 16,202  | 13 | 8  |
|      |       | 241,022 | 17 | 2½ |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1780 | I. P. | 301,401 | 19 | 9½ |
|      | F. G. | 2,849   | 2  | 4  |
|      |       | 304,251 | 2  | 1½ |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1781 | I. P. | 342,078 | 9  | 0½ |
|      | F. G. | 5,246   | 2  | 3  |
|      |       | 347,324 | 11 | 3½ |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1782 | I. P. | 344,278 | 17 | 1½ |
|      | F. G. | 4,271   | 3  | 6  |
|      |       | 348,550 | 0  | 7½ |

Rest of the World.

|        |       |         |    |    |
|--------|-------|---------|----|----|
| Years. |       |         |    |    |
| 1774   | I. P. | 444,075 | 10 | 2½ |
|        | F. G. | 10,682  | 4  | 5  |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1775 | I. P. | 492,054 | 13 | 1½ |
|      | F. G. | 4,418   | 10 | 4½ |
|      |       | 496,460 | 3  | 6  |

|      |       |         |    |   |
|------|-------|---------|----|---|
| 1776 | I. P. | 438,097 | 7  | 7 |
|      | F. G. | 6,640   | 18 | 0 |
|      |       | 444,738 | 5  | 7 |

|      |       |         |    |     |
|------|-------|---------|----|-----|
| 1777 | I. P. | 258,694 | 3  | 5   |
|      | F. G. | 5,763   | 16 | 10½ |
|      |       | 264,458 | 0  | 3½  |

|      |       |         |    |     |
|------|-------|---------|----|-----|
| 1778 | I. P. | 239,358 | 18 | 11½ |
|      | F. G. | 4,280   | 8  | 8½  |
|      |       | 243,639 | 7  | 7½  |

|      |       |         |    |     |
|------|-------|---------|----|-----|
| 1779 | I. P. | 224,247 | 0  | 10½ |
|      | F. G. | 5,185   | 14 | 9   |
|      |       | 229,432 | 15 | 8½  |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1780 | I. P. | 320,614 | 8  | 4½ |
|      | F. G. | 2,414   | 6  | 7½ |
|      |       | 323,028 | 15 | 0  |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1781 | I. P. | 358,136 | 18 | 1½ |
|      | F. G. | 3,167   | 1  | 10 |
|      |       | 361,304 | 0  | 9½ |

|      |       |         |    |    |
|------|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1782 | I. P. | 331,587 | 14 | 6  |
|      | F. G. | 10,693  | 17 | 4  |
|      |       | 342,281 | 11 | 10 |

Value of the E X P O R T S from Great Britain.

Years.

|      |           |    |    |
|------|-----------|----|----|
| 1774 | 1,711,174 | 13 | 7  |
| 1775 | 1,739,543 | 18 | 4½ |
| 1776 | 1,875,525 | 12 | 8  |
| 1777 | 2,233,192 | 7  | 9½ |
| 1778 | 2,076,460 | 16 | 2½ |
| 1779 | 1,644,770 | 17 | 5½ |
| 1780 | 1,576,635 | 13 | 5½ |
| 1781 | 2,432,417 | 13 | 10 |
| 1782 | 2,357,946 | 10 | 8½ |

British Colonies and Plantations.

Years.

|      |         |    |     |
|------|---------|----|-----|
| 1774 | 147,383 | 12 | 6   |
| 1775 | 185,215 | 12 | 2½  |
| 1776 | 167,240 | 12 | 10½ |
| 1777 | 130,621 | 14 | 10  |
| 1778 | 81,699  | 17 | 9   |
| 1779 | 71,035  | 15 | 10  |
| 1780 | 35,142  | 0  | 1½  |
| 1781 | 43,276  | 5  | 8   |
| 1782 | 67,130  | 9  | 1½  |

Rest of the World.

Years.

|      |         |    |     |
|------|---------|----|-----|
| 1774 | 599,473 | 18 | 5   |
| 1775 | 583,655 | 18 | 5½  |
| 1776 | 611,691 | 16 | 10½ |
| 1777 | 760,114 | 15 | 5½  |
| 1778 | 678,641 | 18 | 11½ |
| 1779 | 480,128 | 8  | 4½  |
| 1780 | 515,801 | 16 | 0   |
| 1781 | 647,337 | 10 | 1½  |
| 1782 | 569,188 | 17 | 10  |

Balance of Trade in Favour of Ireland, and against Great Britain.

Years.

|      |         |    |     |
|------|---------|----|-----|
| 1774 | 406,520 | 18 | 2   |
| 1775 | 642,314 | 11 | 3½  |
| 1776 | 675,685 | 18 | 7   |
| 1777 | 319,104 | 10 | 7½  |
| 1778 | 641,685 | 2  | 11½ |
| 1779 | 611,888 | 2  | 11½ |
| 1780 |         |    |     |



|      |         |   |    |
|------|---------|---|----|
| 1780 | 808,263 | 3 | 2  |
| 1781 |         |   |    |
| 1782 | 351,820 | 7 | 6½ |

British Colonies and Plantations.

| Years. |         |    |    |
|--------|---------|----|----|
| 1774   | 112,638 | 8  | 9½ |
| 1775   | 81,424  | 15 | 7½ |
| 1776   | 97,458  | 3  | 8  |
| 1777   | 100,755 | 8  | 5  |
| 1778   | 219,316 | 4  | 2½ |
| 1779   | 169,987 | 1  | 4½ |
| 1780   | 269,109 | 2  | 0  |
| 1781   | 304,048 | 5  | 7½ |
| 1782   | 281,419 | 11 | 6  |

Rest of the World.

NOTHING.

Balance of Trade against Ireland, and in Favour of Great Britain.

| Year. |         |    |    |
|-------|---------|----|----|
| 1781  | 255,010 | 18 | 9½ |

British Colonies and Plantations.

NOTHING.

Rest of the World.

| Years. |         |    |     |
|--------|---------|----|-----|
| 1774   | 144,716 | 3  | 9½  |
| 1775   | 87,186  | 14 | 11½ |
| 1776   | 166,853 | 11 | 2½  |
| 1777   | 495,656 | 15 | 2   |
| 1778   | 435,002 | 11 | 3½  |
| 1779   | 250,695 | 12 | 8   |
| 1780   | 224,308 | 15 | 1½  |
| 1781   | 207,884 | 17 | 0½  |
| 1782   | 337,007 | 16 | 8½  |

The committee conclude their report by answering the two questions referred to them by his majesty, and propose a plan for regulating the commercial intercourse in future between Great Britain and Ireland.

The committee having thus laid before your majesty the information they have received; and having stated such observations as appeared to them to be necessary, for the purpose of explaining the accounts, and pointing out any mistakes in

the evidence given; it is their duty now, in obedience to your majesty's commands, to offer their opinion on the first question referred to them; that is, on the propriety of reducing the duties payable in Great Britain on the importation of goods, the growth and manufacture of Ireland, to the same rate as the duties payable in Ireland, on the importation of the like goods, the growth and manufacture of Great Britain. And the committee think it right to begin by observing, that since the constitution of Ireland has been put on its present footing, it is not probable that the people of that kingdom will rest satisfied with the same system of commerce that subsisted before that alteration was made; for though the parliament of Ireland, in their last session, rejected the duties that were proposed for the protection of their woollen manufactures, they imposed duties on four other articles of British commerce, viz. on refined sugar, on beer, wine, and printed calicoes, for the express purpose of encouraging their trade in these several articles.

And it appears, that the two houses of parliament of Great Britain were of opinion, that, in consequence of the change made in the Irish constitution, some new arrangement would be necessary; for, on the 17th of May, 1782, after having resolved, that an act made in the sixth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the First, intituled "An act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain" ought to be repealed, they came immediately to the following resolution:

"Resolved,

"That it is indispensable to the interests and happiness of both  
(K 2) king-

kingdoms, that the connection between them should be established by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent basis."

The present question is not, therefore, whether the system of commerce, on which your majesty has required the opinion of the committee, is better or worse than that which existed before the change made in the Irish constitution; but whether it is better than that which, if some agreement is not made, is likely now to take place.

It appears to the committee, that in arranging the commercial intercourse in future between the two kingdoms, there are but three plans that can possibly be adopted.

First, That the ports of each kingdom should be open to goods, the growth and manufacture of the other, free from all duties, except those of excise, and other internal duties.

As there are certainly articles of commerce, in which each country has a decided advantage, it is probable that such a plan would occasion the ruin of many of your majesty's subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, and introduce an immediate convulsion in the commerce of the two kingdoms.

The second plan is, that each kingdom should for the future proceed in making such regulations, and imposing such duties on the importation of goods, the growth or manufacture of the other, as their respective legislatures shall, in their wisdom, think necessary for the protection and improvement of their own commerce. This plan, which will probably be followed, if some agreement is not made, will be the source of perpetual dissensions; will necessarily tend to separate each country farther from the other; and, in a course of years,

will place them, in their commercial relation to each other, in the state of foreign countries.

The third plan is, that the two kingdoms agree on certain moderate duties, to be imposed on the importation of goods, the growth and manufacture of the other; such as will secure a due preference in the home market to the like articles of its own growth and manufacture, and yet leave to the sister kingdom advantages, though not equal to its own, yet superior to those granted to any foreign country. The duties now payable on British goods imported into Ireland seem, by their moderation, as well adapted to answer this purpose as any that could be devised; but, to make this system complete, there should be added proper regulations with respect to bounties in future, and with respect to the duties on raw materials imported into each kingdom.

It is, in the judgment of the committee, a great recommendation of this plan, that if it should now be carried into execution, and become the system to which both countries shall be bound hereafter to conform, it will secure them in future from those unpleasant contests, to which, in pursuit of their respective interests, they may otherwise be exposed; and your majesty, as sovereign of the two kingdoms, will be relieved from the disagreeable situation of having laws presented to you, by their respective houses of parliament, for your royal assent, which, though beneficial to one of your kingdoms, may in their operation be highly detrimental to the interests of the other.

The committee humbly take leave to refer your majesty to the information given by the merchants and manu-

manufacturers for what relates to the particular branches of commerce, in which they are respectively engaged, and to the observations made thereon. They think it right, however, in general to observe, that the duties intended to be imposed, according to the proposed plan, on the importation into Great Britain of goods, the growth and manufacture of Ireland, appear to them to be a sufficient preference in the home market, which is the only object at present to be considered; for Ireland as well as Great Britain has already a right to supply its own market, and the markets of foreign countries, with any goods of its growth and manufacture, subject only to such duties and restrictions as its own legislature shall think proper to impose.

The duties imposed by this plan on woollen goods imported from Ireland, will be lower than those on any other article of Irish growth or manufacture, being about six pence per yard on old drapery, and two pence on new; which is on an average not more than five per cent. and yet the merchants and manufacturers in this branch of commerce, whom the committee have examined, appear by their evidence to have very little apprehension of a competition. The duties on the importation of all other goods of the growth and manufacture of Ireland into this kingdom, will, according to the proposed plan, be at least ten per cent. and on some articles considerably more, which, with the charge of freight, insurance, commission, and port-charges, will, in the judgment of the committee, be amply sufficient to secure

a due preference to the subjects of Great Britain in their own market; especially if we add to what has been already mentioned, the skill of established manufactures, and the advantages arising from long credit and great capitals. And it ought to be considered, that if the Irish should be able to extend their trade in some branches of manufacture, which will probably at first be of the inferior kinds, where labour rather than skill is required, the British trader in return will have his advantage in the superior articles of manufacture, for which, by his skill and experience, he may be better qualified; which advantage the proposed plan will secure to him against non-importation agreements, or any new laws that might be otherwise made to his detriment. And as the people of Ireland increase in wealth, in consequence of the extension thus given to their commerce, the subjects of Great Britain will necessarily derive advantages from it, by the larger sale of those commodities in which they particularly excel.

The committee have also taken into consideration the second question referred to them by your majesty, viz. What preferences are now given to the importation of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, by any duty or prohibition on the importation, use, or sale of the like articles from foreign parts; and how far it may be the interest of Great Britain in future to continue or to alter the same.

For their information on this head, the committee called for the two following accounts\*, which have

\* The first account states the preference given the linen manufacturers of Ireland, on exportation from Great Britain, over that of foreign countries.

On Irish linen, under five pence a yard, from Great Britain to Africa, America, Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar, Minorca, or the East Indies, a bounty of one halfpenny per

have been presented to them by the commissioners of your majesty's customs in England.

On considering the several articles of Irish growth and manufacture, to which, according to the foregoing accounts, preferences are given, it does not appear to the committee that there is any reason at present for altering the same: according to the true principles of reciprocity, the Irish ought to grant the same bounty on British linen exported from Ireland as is now paid on Irish linen exported from Great Britain. It would be very inconvenient, and even detrimental to the commerce of Great Britain, in its intercourse with foreign nations, to say, that these preferences should at no time and in no respect be altered; but the committee are of opinion that some sufficient preference should always be given to the foregoing articles, being the growth or manufacture of Ireland, on their importation, use, or sale in Great Britain.

*Account of the Totals of the Net Produce for all the Taxes, from Christmas Eve, 1783, to the 5th Day of April, 1784; and from Christmas Eve, 1784, to the 5th Day of April, 1785.*

## C U S T O M S.

Total to 5th Apr. 1784 £419,915 0 6½  
Total to 5th Apr. 1785 990,209 14 7½

## E X C I S E.

Total to 5th Apr. 1784 1,292,220 3 6  
Total to 5th Apr. 1785 1,312,612 6 10

per yard is given; of the value of five pence, and under six pence, a bounty of one penny per yard; of the value of six pence, and under one shilling and six pence, a bounty of three halfpence a yard.

The second account states the articles of Irish produce, that are favoured in the duties on importation into Great Britain. It is too large for insertion here. The articles are provisions, cattle, skins, hides, cable and cordage, flax and hemp, sail-cloth and canvas, iron, pitch, tar and rosin, rape seed and cakes, wood, yarn. Almost all of these are imported free, or with only a small duty; whilst from France, and other parts of Europe, some are prohibited, and many of them are subjected to very high duties.

## S T A M P S.

Total to 5th Apr. 1784 222,421 17 4  
Total to 5th Apr. 1785 320,336 0 0

## I N C I D E N T S.

Total to 5th Apr. 1784 263,419 3 10½  
Total to 5th Apr. 1785 373,097 16 8½

Grand Total of  
Customs, Excise,  
Stamps, and Inci-  
dents, to the 5th  
April, 1785 - - } 3,066,255 18 1  
Stamps and Incidents,  
to 5th April, 1784 } 2,198,006 5 2

JOHN HUGGISON.

*Exchequer, the 15th day  
of April, 1785.*

*Account of the Totals of Payments into  
the Exchequer, by the Receiver Ge-  
neral of the Customs, from Lady  
Day, 1780, to Lady Day, 1785,  
both inclusive.*

1780 - £2,495,270 5 2½  
1781 - 2,627,643 4 11  
1782 - 2,636,536 15 2½  
1783 - 2,783,574 2 4½  
1784 - 2,654,757 7 2½  
1785 - 3,719,405 6 7

T. MILLS.

*For William Mellish, Esq.  
Rec. Gen.*

*Plan of a commercial Intercourse be-  
tween Great Britain and Ireland,  
as finally passed by the British  
House of Commons, in twenty Re-  
solutions, May 30, 1785.*

*[The Amendments and new Resolu-  
tions are in inverted Commas.]*

I. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the intercourse and

com-

commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision, equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

III. That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, "except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan," should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they "would be" liable when imported directly from the "country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be;" and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. "But, nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, in the kingdom

"to which the export may be made, shall be returned and compared with the entry outwards."

IV. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and, therefore, that it is essential, towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, "such laws imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms, should" be in force in Ireland, "by laws to be passed by the parliament of that kingdom for the same time, and" in the same manner as in Great Britain.

V. That it is farther essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies in America, or the West Indies; and the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties "and regulations" as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain; "or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland."

VI. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland,

Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. That for the like purpose, it is also expedient that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, "or any other of the British colonies or plantations," shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies as shall be required by the law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

VIII. That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, "or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa," should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incum-

brance of duties or imposition than the like goods shall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain.

"IX. That it is essential to the  
 " general commercial interests of  
 " the empire, that so long as the  
 " parliament of this kingdom shall  
 " think it advisable that the com-  
 " merce to the countries beyond  
 " the Cape of Good Hope shall be  
 " carried on solely by an exclusive  
 " company, having liberty to im-  
 " port into the port of London  
 " only, no goods of the growth,  
 " produce, or manufacture of any  
 " countries beyond the Cape of  
 " Good Hope, should be import-  
 " able into Ireland from any fo-  
 " reign country, or from any set-  
 " tlement in the East Indies be-  
 " longing to any such foreign coun-  
 " try; and that no goods of the  
 " growth, produce, or manufac-  
 " ture of the said countries, should  
 " be allowed to be imported into  
 " Ireland but through Great Bri-  
 " tain; and it shall be lawful to  
 " export such goods of the growth,  
 " produce, or manufacture of any  
 " of the countries beyond the Cape  
 " of Good Hope to the Straights  
 " of Magellan from Great Britain  
 " to Ireland with the same duties  
 " retained thereon as are now re-  
 " tained on their being exported to  
 " that kingdom; but that an ac-  
 " count shall be kept of the duties  
 " retained, and the net drawback  
 " on the said goods imported to  
 " Ireland; and that the amount  
 " thereof shall be remitted by the  
 " receiver-general of his majesty's  
 " customs in Great Britain to the  
 " proper officer of the revenue in  
 " Ireland, to be placed to the ac-  
 " count of his majesty's revenue  
 " there, subject to the disposal of  
 " the parliament of that kingdom;  
 " and that whenever the commerce

" to



“ to the said countries shall cease to  
 “ be carried on by an exclusive  
 “ company in the goods of the  
 “ produce of countries beyond the  
 “ Cape of Good Hope to the  
 “ Streights of Magellan, the goods  
 “ should be importable into Ire-  
 “ land from countries from which  
 “ they may be importable to Great  
 “ Britain and no other; and that  
 “ no vessel should be cleared out  
 “ from Ireland for any part of the  
 “ countries from the Cape of Good  
 “ Hope to the Streights of Magel-  
 “ lan, but such as shall be freight-  
 “ ed in Ireland by the said exclu-  
 “ sive company, and shall have  
 “ sailed from the port of London;  
 “ and that the ships going from  
 “ Great Britain to any of the said  
 “ countries beyond the Cape of  
 “ Good Hope, should not be re-  
 “ strained from touching at any of  
 “ the ports in Ireland, and taking  
 “ on board there any of the goods  
 “ of the growth, produce, or ma-  
 “ nufacture of that kingdom.”

X. That no prohibition should  
 exist, in either country, against the  
 importation, use, or sale of any ar-  
 ticle, the growth, produce, or ma-  
 nufacture of the other; except such  
 as either kingdom may judge expe-  
 dient, from time to time, upon  
 corn, meal, malt, flour, and bis-  
 cuits; “ and except such qualified  
 “ prohibitions, at present contain-  
 “ ed in any act of the British or  
 “ Irish parliament, as do not abso-  
 “ lutely prevent the importation of  
 “ goods or manufactures, or mate-  
 “ rials of manufactures, but only  
 “ regulate the weight, the size, the  
 “ packages, or other particular cir-  
 “ cumstances, or prescribe the built  
 “ or country, and dimensions of the  
 “ ships importing the same; and  
 “ also, except on ammunition,  
 “ arms, gunpowder, and other u-  
 “ tensils of war, importable only

“ by virtue of his majesty’s li-  
 “ cence;” and that the duty on  
 the importation of every such arti-  
 cle (it subject to duty in either  
 country) should be precisely the  
 same in the one country as in the  
 other, except where an addition may  
 be necessary in either country, in  
 consequence of an internal duty on  
 any such article of its own con-  
 sumption, “ or in consequence of  
 “ internal bounties in the country  
 “ where such article is grown, pro-  
 “ duced, or manufactured, and ex-  
 “ cept such duties as either king-  
 “ dom may judge expedient, from  
 “ time to time, upon corn, meal,  
 “ malt, flour, and biscuits.”

XI. That in all cases where the  
 duties on articles of the growth,  
 produce, or manufacture of either  
 country, are different on the impor-  
 tation into the other, it is expedi-  
 ent that they should be reduced, in  
 the kingdom where they are the  
 highest, to “ an amount not ex-  
 “ ceeding” the amount payable in  
 the other; “ so that the same shall  
 “ not be less than ten and a half  
 “ per cent. where any article was  
 “ charged with a duty, on impor-  
 “ tation into Ireland, of ten and a  
 “ half per cent. or upwards, pre-  
 “ vious to the 17th day of May,  
 “ 1782;” and that all such articles  
 should be exportable, from the  
 kingdom into which they shall be  
 imported, as free from duty as the  
 similar commodities or home manu-  
 factures of the same kingdom.

XII. That it is also proper, that  
 in all cases where the articles of the  
 consumption of either kingdom shall  
 be charged with an internal duty  
 on the manufacture, the said ma-  
 nufacture, when imported from the  
 other, may be charged with a far-  
 ther duty on importation, adequate  
 to countervail the internal duty on  
 the manufacture “ as far as relates  
 “ to

“ to the duties now charged there-  
 “ on ;” such farther duty to con-  
 tinue so long only as the internal  
 consumption shall be charged with  
 the duty or duties to balance which  
 it shall be imposed ; and that where  
 there is a duty on the importation  
 of the raw material of any manu-  
 facture in one kingdom, greater  
 than the like duty on raw materials  
 in the other, such manufacture  
 may, on its importation, “ into the  
 “ other kingdom,” be charged with  
 such a countervailing duty as may  
 be sufficient to subject the same, so  
 imported, to “ burdens adequate to  
 “ those which” the manufacture  
 composed of the like raw material is  
 subject to, in consequence of duties  
 on the importation of such material  
 in the kingdom into which such ma-  
 nufacture is so imported ; and the  
 said manufacture, so imported, shall  
 be entitled to such drawbacks or  
 bounties on exportation, as may  
 leave the same subject to no heavier  
 burden than the home-made manu-  
 facture.

XIII. That, in order to give  
 permanency to the settlement now  
 intended to be established, it is ne-  
 cessary that no new or additional  
 duties should be hereafter imposed,  
 in either kingdom, on the impor-  
 tation of any article of the growth,  
 produce, or manufacture of the  
 other ; except such additional du-  
 ties as may be requisite to balance  
 the duties on internal consumption,  
 pursuant to the foregoing resolu-  
 tion, “ or in consequence of boun-  
 ties remaining on such articles  
 when exported from the other king-  
 dom.”

XIV. That for the same pur-  
 pose, it is necessary, farther, that  
 no prohibition, or new or addi-  
 tional duties, shall be hereafter im-  
 posed in either kingdom, on the

exportation of any article of na-  
 tive growth, produce, or manu-  
 facture, from “ the one kingdom”  
 to the other, except such as either  
 kingdom may deem expedient,  
 from time to time, upon corn, meal,  
 malt, flour, and biscuits.

XV. That for the same purpose,  
 it is necessary, that no bounties  
 whatsoever should be paid or pay-  
 able in either kingdom, on the ex-  
 portation of any article to the  
 other, except such as relate to  
 corn, meal, malt, flour, and bis-  
 cuits, “ and except also the boun-  
 “ ties at present given by Great  
 “ Britain on” beer, and spirits di-  
 stilled from corn ; and such as are  
 in the nature of drawbacks or com-  
 pensations for duties paid ; and that  
 no bounty should be “ payable”  
 on the exportation of any article  
 to any British colonies or planta-  
 tions, “ or to the British settle-  
 “ ments on the coast of Africa,” or  
 on the exportation of any article  
 imported from the British planta-  
 tions, “ or from the British settle-  
 “ ments on the coast of Africa, or  
 “ British settlements in the East In-  
 dies ;” or any manufacture made  
 of such article, unless in cases where  
 a similar bounty is payable in Great  
 Britain, on exportation from thence,  
 or where such bounty is merely in  
 the nature of a drawback or com-  
 pensation of or for duties paid,  
 over and above any duties paid  
 thereon in Britain ; and where  
 “ any internal bounty shall be  
 “ given in either kingdom, on any  
 “ goods manufactured therein, and  
 “ shall remain on such goods when  
 “ exported, a countervailing duty  
 “ adequate thereto may be laid  
 “ upon the importation of the said  
 “ goods into the other kingdom.”

XVI. That it is expedient for  
 the general benefit of the British  
 empire,

empire, that the importation of articles from foreign "countries" should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as may "effectually favour" the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; "except in the case of materials of manufactures, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free; and that in all cases where any articles are or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, than the like goods are or may be subject to when imported, as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the states of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom."

XVII. That it is expedient that measures should be taken to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coast of any part of the British dominions."

XVIII. That it is expedient that "such privileges of printing and vending books as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the crown or otherwise, and" the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the

laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

XIX. "That it is expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions thereon granted and contained, shall be of equal duration and force throughout Great Britain and Ireland."

XX. That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

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*Petition to Congress on the State of Trade in New England.*

*In consequence of some Votes and Resolutions of the Merchants, Traders, and others, of the Town of Boston, on the alarming State of their Commerce with Great Britain, the following Petition to Congress*

*gress was forwarded by the Committee appointed for that Purpose.*

*Boston, 22d April, 1785.*  
To the United States, in Congress assembled.

May it please your Excellency and Honours,

Your petitioners, the merchants, traders, and others of the town of Boston, at a large and respectable meeting, beg leave unanimously to express their sentiments on the present critical and alarming situation of the commerce of this country, and to request the immediate interposition of those powers for its relief with which congress may be now invested. If your authority had been equal to the object of their present application, your petitioners are fully convinced that their grievances would not at this time have been the subject of your deliberation; nor would it have been matter of regret that the unfortunate delinquency of some of the states in the union, in withholding the necessary power from congress, had hitherto precluded the enjoyment of those commercial benefits, which the happy establishment of our national independency had given us so much reason to expect.

In full confidence, however, that such power will be soon, if it is not already delegated, as alone can redress the present, and prevent the impending evil, your petitioners observe, that the ships and commodities of that nation, whose insidious conduct has long been the object of our peculiar jealousy, are received in our ports under the same advantages with our own, while our navigation, in return, is discouraged by every possible embarrassment, and our exports, on

their part, are either prohibited, or, if admitted to their ports, are loaded with the most rigorous exactions. In proof of our assertions, we need but point the attention of congress to the enormous duties on our rice, oil, and tobacco; to the principle and spirit of their navigation act; or to a bill lately agitated in the British parliament, which now most probably has the sanction of a law, for the support and encouragement of their American fishery, to the direct prejudice of our own, and is intended to derive that benefit from these states as, in our apprehension, and on their principles, ought only to be permitted in our own bottoms. It is indeed unnecessary to multiply examples when the staple productions of every state feel alike the baneful influence of such regulations.

To add to these evils, already sufficient to excite our utmost disquiet, the late intervention of British factors in this state threatens a monopoly of our trade, and hastens the rapid decrease of our circulating medium—an event pregnant with the utmost mischief, not only to the mercantile interest in particular, but to the community at large.

Impressed with these ideas, your petitioners beg leave to request of the very august body which they now have the honour to address, that the numerous impositions of the British on the trade and exports of these states may be forthwith contravened by similar expedients on our part, else, may it please your excellency and honours, the commerce of this country, and of consequence its wealth, power, and perhaps the union itself, may become victims to the artifice of a nation, whose arms have been in  
vain

vain exerted to accomplish the ruin of America.

JOHN HANCOCK,  
SAMUEL A. OTIS,  
SAMUEL BRECK,  
JOHN C. JONES,  
SAMUEL BARRETT,  
EDWARD PAYNE,  
CALEB DAVIS,  
THOMAS RUSSELL,  
JONATHAN L. AUSTIN,  
CHARLES JARVIS,  
WILLIAM TUDOR,  
STEPHEN HIGGENSON,  
JOSEPH BARRELL,  
PEREZ MORTON,  
JOSEPH RUSSELL, jun.

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*Prohibitory Act passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts in North America.*

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In the Year of our Lord 1785.

An Act for the Regulation of Navigation and Commerce.

Whereas it is become expedient and necessary for this commonwealth to make some commercial regulations for the encouragement of their own trade :

Therefore be it enacted, by the senate and house of representatives, in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of August next, and during the continuance of this act, there shall not be exported from any port, harbour, creek, bay, or inlet, river, or shore, or any other place within this commonwealth, any goods, wares, or merchandize, the growth, manufacture, or produce of this or any of the united states, in any ship, vessel, or craft of any kind, belonging (either in whole or in part) to, or being the property of, any

of the subjects of the king of Great Britain.

Provided nevertheless, and whereas proclamations and orders have been issued by the governors of several parts of the British dominions, for prohibiting vessels belonging to any of the united states from entering their ports or trafficking there:

Be it further enacted, that in case the said proclamations and orders shall be reversed, and open trade allowed to such vessels, and the governor of this commonwealth being certified thereof, shall by advice of council publicly signify the same by his proclamation, then shall the foregoing clause of this act be discontinued, and shall cease to operate during the time such open trade shall be allowed.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the said first day of August next, if any ship, vessel, or craft of any kind, as aforesaid, be found in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, taking on board, or having taken on board while in this commonwealth, any of the articles aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, every such ship, vessel, or craft, together with their lading, shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized by any naval officer, collector of excise, or his deputy, or by any other citizen or citizens of the united states, and the same may be issued for, prosecuted, and recovered in any court of record within this commonwealth, proper to try the same; and after deducting the charges of prosecuting the same from the gross produce thereof, the remainder shall be given, one moiety to the person or persons who shall have made the seizure and

and prosecuted the same, and the other moiety shall be paid into the treasury of the commonwealth, for the use of the same.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, there shall not be taken out or landed from on board any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly belonging to, or the property of the citizens of the united states, any goods, wares, or merchandize in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the ports of Boston, Falmouth (in Casco Bay), and Dartmouth; and if any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly owned as aforesaid, shall be found in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the ports of Boston, Falmouth (in Casco Bay), and Dartmouth, aforesaid, discharging her loading, or any part thereof, or having discharged her loading, or any part thereof, otherwise than above mentioned, the said ship, vessel, or craft, together with her loading, shall be seized and forfeited, to be recovered and appropriated as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, there shall be paid by the master, owner, or consignee of every ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in part or in whole by any foreigner, at the time of entering the said ship, vessel, or craft, into the hands of the naval officer of the ports of Boston, Falmouth, and Dartmouth aforesaid, for the use and benefit of this commonwealth, a duty of five shillings per ton, for each and every ton the said vessel may measure by carpenters measurement, and a farther duty of two shillings and eight pence per ton, as light money, in addition to what

by law they are now subject to pay, for the use and service of the light-houses; and likewise pay unto the collector of impost or excise, for the counties of Suffolk, Cumberland, and Bristol, double the duty on the goods imported in the said vessel, as is or may be paid at that time upon the like goods imported in a vessel belonging wholly to the citizens of the united states; and a farther duty of six pence shall be paid upon every bushel of salt imported in any ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in whole or part, by any of the subjects of the king of Great Britain, and previous to their breaking bulk, they shall give bond to the said collector for the payment of the same.

Provided nevertheless, that the said duty of six pence per bushel on salt shall not be paid in case an open trade shall be permitted in the British dominions, and during the continuance of such open trade; such permission to be signified by the governor's proclamation, as aforesaid.

And whereas some persons, for the sake of enjoying more extensive privileges in commerce, have had double sets of papers for their vessels, in order that they might appear the property of one nation or another, as might best answer their purposes: for the prevention of which impositions,

Be it enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, any vessel which may appear to have two sets of papers, by the one of which she may appear to be the property of the citizens of the united states, and by the other the property of foreigners; or if it shall be made to appear, that any vessel, that has cleared at any naval-office in this commonwealth, as the property of the citizens of these states, shall



shall afterwards enter and discharge her cargo taken in and cleared as aforesaid, in any foreign port, as the property of a foreigner; the said vessel, upon her return into this commonwealth, shall be forfeited, and may be seized by the naval-officer of the port where she may be found, or by any other person or persons, who may prosecute for the same, to be recovered; and the money arising from such forfeiture to be applied as aforesaid, and the master of such vessel so offending shall forfeit and pay, for the use of this commonwealth, a sum of 100l. to be recovered as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that each naval-officer in this commonwealth, previous to his admitting any vessel to an entry, shall administer the following oath or affirmation to the master, or one of the principal owners thereof (provided the said vessel shall appear to be the property of the citizens of these states), and certify it on the back of the register (if not done before) in the following words:

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Then personally appeared before me one of the principal owners (or the commander, as the case may be) of the and made solemn oath (or affirmation) that the said is the sole property of the citizens of the united states; and that no foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath any part or share therein.

Naval-officer.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any naval-officer, or his deputy, shall presume to enter or clear any vessel contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or if any naval-officer, collector of impost and excise, or their deputies, shall neg-

lect any of the duties required of them by this act, he or they, so offending or neglecting their respective duties, shall forfeit and pay the sum of 300l. one moiety thereof for the use of this commonwealth, and the other moiety thereof for the use of the person or persons who may prosecute for the same; to be sued for and recovered in any court of record in this commonwealth proper to try the same; and, in addition thereto, shall be rendered incapable of any farther exercise of his or their respective offices.

Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent any ship or vessel built in this commonwealth, and owned either in whole or in part by any of the subjects of the king of Great Britain, from taking a cargo upon her first departure from this commonwealth, upon the same terms and no further restrictions than if the said vessel was owned by the citizens of these states.

And be it further enacted, that this act shall continue in full force until the united states, in congress assembled, shall be vested with competent power for the purpose, and shall have passed an ordinance for the regulation of the commerce of these states; and the period may arrive when the said ordinance is to take effect, and no longer.

In the house of representatives, June 23, 1785.—This bill having had three several readings, passed to be enacted.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,  
Speaker.

In senate, June 23, 1785.—This bill having had two several readings, passed to be enacted.

SAMUEL PHILIPS, jun.,  
President.

By the governor. Approved.  
JAMES BOWDOIN.  
Jains

*Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, relative to the Proceedings on the Irish commercial Business, July 28, 1785; with his Majesty's Answer.*

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration the important subject of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, recommended in your majesty's speech at the opening of the present session; and the resolutions of the two houses of parliament in Ireland, which were laid before us by your majesty's command on the 22d of February last; and after a long and careful investigation of the various questions necessarily arisen out of this comprehensive subject, we have come to the several resolutions which we now humbly present to your majesty, and which, we trust, will form the basis of an advantageous and permanent commercial settlement between your majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

We have proceeded on the foundation of the rights of the parliament of Ireland; but, in considering so extensive an arrangement, we have found it necessary to introduce some modifications and exceptions, and we have added such regulations and conditions as appeared to us indispensably necessary in establishing the proposed agreement as just and equitable, and for securing to both countries those advantages, to an equal enjoyment of which they are in future to be entitled. Your majesty's subjects in Ireland being secured in a full and lasting participation of the trade with the British colonies, must, we are persuaded, acknowledge the jus-

tice of their continuing to enjoy it on the same terms with your majesty's subjects in Great Britain; and it is, we conceive, equally manifest, that as the ships and mariners of Ireland are to continue and enjoy the same privileges with those of Great Britain, the same provisions should be adopted in Ireland as may be found necessary in this country for securing those advantages exclusively to the subjects of the empire.

This object is essentially connected with the maritime strength of your majesty's dominions, and consequently with the safety and prosperity of both Great Britain and Ireland. We therefore deem it indispensable, that those points should be secured as may be considered necessary to the existence and duration of the agreements between the two countries, and they can only be carried into effect by laws to be passed in the parliament of Ireland, which is alone competent to bind your majesty's subjects in that kingdom, and whose legislative rights we shall ever hold as sacred as our own.

It remains for the parliament of Ireland to judge, according to their wisdom and discretion, of these conditions, as well as of every other part of the settlement proposed to be established, by mutual consent; as the purpose of these resolutions is to promote alike the commercial intercourse of your majesty's subjects in both countries; and we are persuaded that the common prosperity of the two kingdoms will be thereby greatly advanced; the subjects of each will, in future, apply themselves to those branches of commerce which they can exercise with most advantage and wealth as will operate as a general benefit to the whole.

We

We have so far performed our part in this important business, and we trust, that in the whole of its progress, reciprocal interests and mutual affection will insure that spirit of union so essentially necessary to the great end which the two countries have equally in view. In this persuasion we look forward with confidence to the final completion of a measure, which, while it tends to perpetuate harmony and friendship between the two kingdoms, by augmenting their resources, uniting their efforts, and consolidating their strength, will afford your majesty the surest means of establishing a lasting foundation, in the safety, prosperity, and glory of the empire.

To the above joint address his majesty was most graciously pleased to return the following answer :

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
I receive with the greatest satisfaction these resolutions, which, after so long and diligent an investigation, you consider as affording

the basis of an advantageous and permanent commercial settlement between my kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Nothing can more clearly manifest your regard for the interests of both my kingdoms, and your zeal for the general prosperity of my dominions, than the attention you have given to this important object. A full and equal participation of commercial advantages, and a similarity of laws, in those points which are necessary for their preservation and security, must be the surest bond of union between the two kingdoms, and the source of reciprocal and increasing benefits to both. The same spirit in which this great work has begun and proceeded, will, I doubt not, appear throughout the whole of its progress; and I concur with thinking, that the final completion of it is of essential importance to the future happiness of both countries, and to the safety, glory, and prosperity of the empire.

*A Table of the total annual Amount of the French Taxes and Expences of the State, annual Importation and Exportation, Interest of their national Debt, Charge of the Army, &c.*

[From the celebrated Work of Mr. NECKER on the Administration of the Finances of France.]

|   | French Livres. | English Sterling. |
|---|----------------|-------------------|
| Total amount of the taxes annually levied on the inhabitants of France        | 585,000,000    | 24,375,000 0 0    |
| Annual expences of the state, including the civil and military establishments | 650,000,000    | 25,416,666 13 4   |
| Expences of collecting the taxes  | 58,000,000     | 2,416,666 13 4    |
| Annual amount of the importations   | 230,000,000    | 9,383,333 6 8     |
| Ditto of the exportations   | 300,000,000    | 12,500,000 0 0    |
| Ditto balance of commerce   | 70,000,000     | 2,916,666 6 8     |
| Annual interest of the national debt *  | 207,000,000    | 8,625,000 0 0     |

\* The amount of the debt itself is not given.

|  | French livres. | English Sterling. |
|--|----------------|-------------------|
| Annual charge of the army *  | 124,650,000    | 5,193,750 0 0     |
| Annual charge of the navy  | 45,200,000     | 1,893,333 6       |
| Amount of gold and silver coin, supposed to be actually existing in the kingdom. | 2,200,000,000  | 91,666,666 13     |
| Supposed annual increase   | 40,000,000     | 1,666,666 13 4    |

The French government takes upon itself the care of lighting, watching, and cleaning the streets; as also keeping the roads in proper repair; all of which are taken into M. Necker's account. In France there are no poor's rates.

The various branches of the revenue of France are,

|   | Livres.     |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Two twentieths   | 55,000,000  |
| 2. Third twentieth  | 21,500,000  |
| 3. Land tax   | 91,000,000  |
| 4. Poll tax   | 41,500,000  |
| 5. Local imposts  | 2,000,000   |
| 6. The general farms  | 166,000,000 |
| 7. The general administration for the king  | 51,500,000  |
| 8. The administration of the royal demesne  | 41,000,000  |
| 9. The leases of Sceaux and Poissy  | 1,100,000   |
| 10. Administration of the post office   | 10,300,000  |
| 11. Lease of the public stages, &c.   | 1,100,000   |
| 12. The mint  | 500,000     |
| 13. Administration of the powder mills for the king   | 800,000     |
| 14. Royal lottery   | 11,500,000  |
| 15. Casual revenue  | 5,700,000   |
| 16. Duties on the exchanges of offices  | 1,700,000   |
| 17. Duties collected in the provinces, in which there is a yearly assembly of three estates | 10,500,000  |
| 18. The clergy  | 11,000,000  |
| 19. The grants of towns, hospitals, and chambers of commerce                                | 27,000,000  |
| 20. Excise duties at Verfailles   | 9,000,000   |

|  | Livres.            |
|--|--------------------|
| 21. Taxes of Corsica   | 6,000,000          |
| 22. Taxes collected for the benefit of the regiments of French and Swiss guards  | 300,000            |
| 23. Sundry small objects   | 2,500,000          |
| 24. Duties collected by the princes, or by the mortgagees of the king's demesnes | 2,500,000          |
| 25. Servitudes on the highways, or imposts in their stead                        | 20,000,000         |
| 26. Seizures, attachments, &c.   | 7,500,000          |
| 27. Militia  | ad referendum      |
| 28. Quartering of soldiers   | ditto              |
| 29. Indirect tax proceeding from smuggling                                       | ditto              |
| <b>Total sum</b>   | <b>585,000,000</b> |
| <b>Sterling</b>  | <b>24,375,000</b>  |

*Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, Sept. 7, 1785.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Although the very advanced season of the year renders it expedient to conclude the present session of parliament, I flatter myself that the great object of adjusting a commercial intercourse with Great Britain has not in vain engaged your attention, and protracted your deliberations. You have repeatedly expressed your wishes for the attainment of an equitable settlement,

\* The ordnance expences are included in this and the next article.

The estimate in English money is made at the rate of twenty-four livres to the pound sterling, and as this is the exact par of exchange, it will be an easy operation to divide any of the inferior sums contained in the details, in order to know their amount in English money.

and

and I have the satisfaction to observe, that you continue to be impressed with a true sense of its necessity and importance. You will have now the fullest leisure to pursue your consideration of the subject in private, with that dispassionate assiduity which it so eminently deserves.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for the liberal provision you have made for the public service, and the honourable support of his majesty's government. In your generous contribution of supplies you have not less consulted the dignity of his crown than the real interest of his people. The necessity of preventing the accumulation of debt cannot be too strongly enforced, and it shall be my earnest and constant endeavour to render your wise exertions for this salutary purpose effectual and permanent.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I feel the truest satisfaction in observing the various beneficial laws which have passed during this session, and the wholesome effects of your wisdom in the returning tranquillity and industry, and in the rising prosperity of the kingdom. The conduct of parliament has had its just influence; their deliberate spirit and approved attention at all times to the public welfare, has inspired the people with full confidence in the legislature, and will teach them to consider their true interest with calmness and discretion.

The noblest object to which I can direct my attention, and which will ever constitute the happiness and pride of my life, is the esta-

blishment of the prosperity of Ireland, by extending and securing her commerce, and by cementing and perpetuating her connection with Great Britain. And I trust you will continually cherish this sentiment in the national mind, that the stability and strength of the empire can alone be ultimately insured by uniting the interest and objects of both kingdoms in a general and equitable system of reciprocal and common advantage.

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*A Letter from the Right Honourable JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON, Secretary of State, to the Mayor of Cork, on the Subject of the Bill presented by Mr. ORDE on the 15th of August, 1785, for effectuating the Commercial Inter-course between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable Principles, for the mutual Benefit of both Kingdoms.*

Dear Sir,

I mentioned to you, during your magistracy, my intention to address you on the subject of the commercial bill. My letter, of the same date and tenor with that which you will now receive, was prepared, but not sent to you. Reflecting that I had declined to debate the commercial part of the bill, till our merchants and manufacturers should have had an opportunity of laying their evidence and observations before the house of commons, I doubted whether the same reason did not then conclude against my declaring any opinion or entering into any argument. On a subject of great importance and complication I wished for every possible information. The address from the late sheriffs and grand jury of Cork has since determined me to deliver my

(L 2)

opinion ;

opinion ; and having been censured for not assigning my reasons, I think I should no longer withhold them from my fellow-citizens, and that my letter as originally written to you will fully explain my sentiments. I am an advocate for truth alone ; and shall be as readily disposed to acknowledge, on conviction, any error in my sentiments, as I am firmly determined not to surrender up my reason to unmerited reproach.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

Obedient servant,

JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON.

*Knocklofty,*

*O.S. 14, 1785.*

*To James Morrison, Esq.*

#### A L E T T E R, &c.

Dear Sir,

I have sent you printed copies of the bill for effectuating the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, for the information of my constituents ; and think it my duty to address them, through their chief magistrate, on a subject of such general importance, and in which the merchants and traders of the city of Cork are peculiarly interested. My object in this letter is not so much to influence their opinions, as to rouse their attention to the different parts of this bill, for the purpose of informing their judgments and my own. When I see in some of the public prints the grossest misrepresentations of this measure, and statements of several particulars as contained in the bill, which are not to be found there, but are con-

trary to the whole tenor of it ; I consider those attempts as tending directly to alienate the affections of Ireland from Great Britain, and to disturb that mutual concord so essential to the happiness, strength, and security of these two sister kingdoms. If these execrable attempts to promote discord and division tended only to misrepresent and calumniate individuals, I should have suffered them to pass with silent contempt ; knowing that these shafts have but momentary effects, and that every man's character will finally find its own level, and be appreciated by his fellow-citizens according to the tenor of his conduct.

Though the public has been assured by authority, that the bill, brought in this session for a commercial arrangement between the two kingdoms, should never be revived if not called for by public voice, yet attempts are still making to disturb the public mind, as if this measure was to be carried through against the sense of the nation. An arrangement of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland is generally desired, or our house of commons was mistaken in its unanimous address at the close of the last session. The interval between this session and the next should be employed in the investigation of this subject ; the bill should be dispassionately and carefully read ; the objections to it fairly stated, and the advantages likely to arise from it candidly considered. I presume it will not be thought inconsistent with the character of an honest man for any of you to do this, though this is the crime objected to such of your representatives as thought that the house of commons should have taken the very same course.



course. For the man who asserts, that those who voted for the introduction of this bill, had by such conduct declared in favour of any particular clauses in it, is ignorant of the course of parliamentary proceedings, or wishes to misrepresent.

The objections to this bill were partly of a constitutional and partly of a commercial nature. On the first the introduction was principally opposed; and the great ground of argument for establishing the objections on constitutional principles was taken from those parts of the bill which relate to the trade with the British colonies and settlements; to the four enumerated articles from the united states of America; the grant of the surplus of the hereditary revenue; and the trade to the East Indies.

By this bill we should have taken the British colony trade on the same terms with Great Britain herself, rum excepted, which we had many years since obtained liberty to import from the British colonies, and had imported, on lower duties still to be continued. She gives her colonial produce a preference to similar articles from other countries; for, having the monopoly of that produce, she always thought it just to encourage it by such a preference, and expects that we, as equal partners in that monopoly, should do the same. To this principle we have conformed since we obtained the trade. If we should at any time dislike any of the terms, we may by this bill refuse to abide by them, and determine the agreement. Those colonies are British property; she has a right to grant them on what conditions she pleases; she now grants

them to us in the same manner she holds them herself, with the exception before mentioned, which is in our favour.

On these terms, but without any exception, our house of commons, in the year 1779, gratefully accepted the grant of this trade in the following resolution of the 20th of December, in that year:—"Resolved, nem. con. That a liberty for this kingdom to trade with the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, in like manner as trade is carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements, will be productive of very great commercial benefits, will be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great Britain to our distresses, and will give new vigour to the zeal of his majesty's brave and loyal people of Ireland, to stand forward in support of his majesty's person and government, and the interest, the honour, and the dignity of the British empire." But the British act of that session, passed subsequent to the resolution last mentioned, having required equal duties and drawbacks, and the same duties, regulations, and restrictions, only in such part of the trade between Ireland and the British colonies in America, the West Indies, and British settlements on the coast of Africa, as was not enjoyed by us previous to that session, our acts of parliament followed this distinction. In the first of these \* there is the following clause: "Whereas such part of the trade between this kingdom and the British colonies in America, the West Indies, and British settlements on the coast of Africa,

as was not enjoyed by this kingdom previous to the present session, can be enjoyed and have continuance so long, and in such case only, as the goods to be imported from the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, shall be liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and be subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions, as the like goods are liable and subject to upon being imported from the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, into Great Britain, or exported from thence to such colonies, plantations, or settlements respectively."—And this clause, copied from a British act of that session, is to be found in every Irish act from the year 1780 to this time, including the present session \*.

These terms were enjoined by the legislature of Great Britain as the condition of the grant, which the legislature of Ireland has uniformly recited and performed in every material article. The enjoining or complying with this condition was never thought a violation of our constitution; it was a condition annexed to the commencement and continuance of the commercial grant of the colonies; it is a condition, which this bill still annexes to the same grant, and also to the new grant of the British markets. The nature of the new grant has made it necessary that the condition should be expressed with more clearness and precision; but its principle is in no respect varied. The same liberty of performing or not performing the condition would still remain; because the national faith is not pledged by the agreement of 1779 or the bill of 1785, to adopt any British law. The con-

dition was not obligatory to Ireland; it is not now proposed to be obligatory; it did not violate the constitution from 1779 to 1785; it does not violate the constitution now.

On one of the laws of this period, introduced by some of the great supporters of our legislative independency, and passed in the year 1782 † after the restitution of our constitutional rights, the present bill, in the parts that relate to legislation, is founded, but is not carried so far. A law, formed at such an important æra by men of such high characters, well deserves our most serious attention, when we are considering the propriety of uniformity of laws, or concurrence of legislation. It recites as a fact, "that it is the earnest and affectionate desire of his majesty's subjects of this kingdom," and lays it down as a principle, "that it is their true interests that a similarity of laws should at all times subsist between the people of Great Britain and Ireland;" and with this view it enacts, "that all such clauses and provisions, contained in any statutes heretofore made in England or Great Britain concerning commerce, as import to impose equal restraints on the subjects of England and Ireland and to entitle them to equal benefits, should be accepted, used, and executed in this kingdom; provided always, that all such statutes, so importing as aforesaid concerning commerce, shall bind the subjects of Ireland, so long as they continue to bind the subjects of Great Britain." By the latter part of this law we give to the British legislature the power of repealing laws of Ireland, the du-

\* See 21st and 22d Geo. III. chap. 5. Geo. III. chap. 4.

† 21st and 22d Geo. III. chap. 48.

23d and 24th Geo. III. chap. 5. and 25th

ration of which is referred to that legislature; and from this clause a probable intention may be inferred of adopting such laws as should be made in Great Britain in the place of the laws so repealed, provided the restraints and benefits were equal in respect to both countries. The opinion of the legislature at that time is express, that uniformity of commercial laws would promote the interest of both kingdoms; and if that advantage could not have been obtained without injuring the independency of Ireland, that opinion would not have been advanced at the moment of its establishment.

Compare that act and the present bill. The act establishes the British commercial laws, which contain equal benefits and restraints, as laws in Ireland, with a retrospect of 200 years; and extends the idea of similarity of laws between the two kingdoms not only to seamen, but to commerce generally. This bill makes it a fundamental condition of the proposed agreement, that the ships and seamen of both countries should, by the laws of both, be secured in the same privileges, advantages, and immunities; but as to commerce, restrains the similarity of laws to that commerce only, which consists of British property, and arises to Ireland from British concession, or is immediately and necessarily a part of that system; and even there binds the British legislature to the rule of equal restraints, and equal benefits, of which the Irish legislature being also to judge, a concurrence of legislation would have grown out of this system, in the exercise of which the sentiments of both nations must have been consulted, and the consequence would have been an enlargement of the objects and power of Irish legislation, and certainly no

diminution of independency. By the operation of this bill, the subject of every law proposed for our adoption, would be distinctly considered either during its progress, or soon after it passed in Great Britain; but by the act of 1782 the acts of near three centuries were adopted in one heap. If the bill is unconstitutional, the act is infinitely more so. But neither is subject to that imputation, because similarity of laws is a just and constitutional principle, if neither of the countries can be bound without the assent of its legislature.

The justice of the rule, that *Cuius est dare ejus est disponere*, was never questioned; but Great Britain offers to relax this rule in favour of Ireland, and to engage to give herself no benefit in her own colonies that she does not give to her sister kingdom; to impose on her no restraint in that commerce which she gives, that she does not impose on herself; and to make Ireland in some measure a joint legislator with herself over a part of her own empire. It is and ever has been a part of the British colony system, to favour the produce and manufactures of her colonies against the interference of similar articles from foreign colonies and states. She expects, that, as long as you choose to enjoy the benefit of this system, you should do the same, and that these similar articles should be made subject to the same duties on importation into this kingdom as in Great Britain. To this we have hitherto conformed without objection or inconvenience. The same principle applies equally to the like articles imported from the united states of America; and therefore to four of these articles, namely, rum, peltry, whalebone-fins, and oil, of which the British colonies can furnish

nish a complete supply, the same condition is annexed. That this was considered as part of the colonial system, and not founded on any intention to regulate the trade of Ireland by British law, is manifest from this—that motions made on this occasion in both houses of the British parliament, to regulate our trade with the states of America in some articles unconnected with the colony system, were rejected on this avowed principle, that Great Britain had no power to regulate any part of our foreign commerce. If by this agreement Ireland was to retain the liberty of importing from other countries produce or manufactures similar to those of the British colonies, she would not take the colony trade on the same terms with Great Britain.

It is true the British act of 1780 allows Ireland a selection; but we framed our import duties from the year 1779 pursuant to the resolution of our house of commons in that year, and followed the British laws; and, as by the proposed agreement we were to have the liberty of importing British colonial produce from this kingdom into Great Britain, she thought it necessary to annex it as a condition to this agreement, that we should subject similar articles from foreign countries to the same duties, regulations, and restrictions, as in Great Britain; because otherwise we might import those articles, as the produce of the British colonies, into her ports, with little probability of detection, and subvert her whole colony system. This argument applies equally to the four enumerated articles from the American states.

But whether we adopted British colony laws in a smaller or greater number of articles, makes no dif-

ference in the constitutional principle. If it violated our independency in one case, it would be equally a violation of it in the other. But it is a violation of it in neither. The objection, that if we refuse to adopt the British law we should lose the benefit of this agreement, applied with more weight to the condition of 1780, because Great Britain gave us then more than she has now to grant.

When I reflect, how long Scotland had endeavoured to obtain from England the protection of her navigation laws, and the benefits of her colony trade; that, what is now offered to be permanently granted to Ireland without any infringement of her rights of legislation, could not be purchased by Scotland without the surrender of her legislative sovereignty; when I reflect with what effusions of public gratitude we received that very boon, which some of us seem now to disdain and spurn; and how carefully and affectionately it had been cherished by our legislature in the acts of every succeeding session; I view with amazement the wonderful revolutions of human sentiments, and consider the constitutional jealousy arising from the proposed system of colonial legislation, as one of those popular delusions, which have too often inflamed the passions and misled the reasons of men.

A farther constitutional objection has been made to that part of the bill, which grants in perpetuity the surplus of our hereditary revenue above 656,000*l*. and to the support of that grant by a supposed perpetual revenue bill. As to the grant, it is necessary to observe, that the guarding the seas had been a heavy expence to this kingdom as early as the

the reign of king Charles the First \*. At the Restoration specific duties were granted, and granted in perpetuity, "for the better guarding and defending of the seas against all persons intending, or that may intend the disturbance of the intercourse of the trade of this your majesty's realm, and for the better defraying the necessary expences thereof, which otherwise cannot be effected without great charge; and for increase and augmentation of your majesty's revenue †." The probable amount of the proposed grant for many years to come would be far inferior in value to one year's amount of the duties granted by that act, and granted in the first place for this specific purpose. This part of the bill would provide for the same service with more economy, and with much better effect. When I say with much better effect, I speak from experience. In the late war frigates were stationed off the coast of Scotland to protect the trade of that country. I presented a memorial from Cork to the then administration of Ireland, praying that the same attention should be shewn to the southern and western coasts of this kingdom. I was not able to prevail. But when this navy becomes the navy of the empire, to the support of which Ireland contributes, it would be Irish as well as British; and there could be no longer a foundation for any distinction. Our contribution would centre among ourselves, and would encourage our industry, by the investment of our quota in our own manufactures.

As to the second objection to this part of the bill, the fact has been misapprehended. It is no part of

the bill that this grant should be supported by a perpetual revenue bill. It would have been supported with good faith; but, like the rest of our revenue, by annual bills in aid of the acts of excise and customs, which are now perpetual.

It has been objected in a neighbouring kingdom, that the grant of this surplus is a diminution of the royal power and property. It certainly is so, and has justly and liberally been conceded, to strengthen the whole empire by a great commercial adjustment between these two countries. But to state this part of the bill as an incroachment on the rights or power of parliament, or as weakening or limiting the freedom of the constitution, is a strange perversion of the most obvious tendency and effect, of a regulation calculated to promote the manufactures, protect the commerce, strengthen the constitution, and provide for the defence of the nation.

As to objections made, on constitutional principles, to those parts of the bill that relate to the British East India company, I shall consider them more fully when I come to the commercial parts of the subject, to which they properly belong. I will only say in this place, that I consider those parts of the proposed agreement as an exchange, by mutual consent, of a commerce which exists in theory only, and which may never be productive, for a certain immediate and advantageous commerce to a great empire in that part of the globe, and to Great Britain, neither of which we can acquire without such an exchange; and, this possible commerce being reassumable at our plea-

\* Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 68, 152.

† 14th and 15th Ch. II. chap. 9.

sure, by parting with the consideration given for it; and as we barter commerce for commerce, and not commerce for constitution, that no objection of a constitutional nature can justly apply to those paragraphs of the bill.

I cannot discover in any of those instances the smallest particle of legislative power gained by Great Britain, or lost by Ireland. The former has always made laws to regulate the trade with her colonies and settlements in Africa and America; by this agreement she is to continue to do so. The Irish legislature now follows those laws, and has declared by several of her statutes, that it is reasonable to do so. After this agreement, she will continue to follow them as long as she thinks it reasonable. But, when this event shall have taken place, Great Britain, in making those laws must consider, what regulations appear equal to the Irish legislature, or she hazards the continuance of this agreement. What legislative power is Ireland to lose? When a bill shall be brought into either of our houses of parliament, relative to the British colonies, or to the four articles from the American states, shall we not have the same power over that as every other bill? Can we not amend any part, or reject the whole? Can we not say, the restraints and benefits are not equal; or, though they are equal, they are not wise, and they shall not be the law of Ireland? But then you risk the agreement—so would the British legislature, if she made any law relative to her colonies and settlements, which the Irish legislature should think unjust. But the determination of the agreement would not necessarily follow our varying or rejecting their bill; for by the proposed agreement the dis-

satisfaction of the British legislature must be first declared. If our conduct should be founded on just grounds, it is not improbable that no such dissatisfaction would be declared, but that wise and moderate men might suggest some expedient, to recommend some middle course that would be agreeable to both countries, and that the British legislature would vary or change its law. But, it is said, you could not originate the bill. In respect to the British colonies and settlements, no man could be so unreasonable as to desire it; as to foreign colonies, and the four enumerated articles, our right to originate would be unquestionable. I speak of the right, not of the exercise of it, the prudence of which must depend on the occasion.

If Great Britain neither gains nor Ireland loses any power of legislation, where is the injury to our independence? Where is the bridle that is to be thrown, it seems, over the neck of the high-spirited steed? It is held out, not by those who offer, but by those who would scare him from his provender.

I therefore thought and still think, that there was no good reason on constitutional grounds against the introduction of the bill; for which reason I voted. Considering the subject in its true light, as merely commercial, I thought that there were strong reasons to induce even those, who objected to some of the commercial regulations of the bill, to vote for liberty to bring it in. A commercial settlement between the two kingdoms is acknowledged by every reasonable man to be much wanted; and how this can be obtained, without temperate discussion, and the communication to each other of the points in which they agree, and of those in which they



they differ, I cannot comprehend. In the accomplishment of the British union, many delays and differences in opinion had arisen. Though the commissioners, appointed for that purpose under the authority of the parliaments of both kingdoms, had on both sides signed and sealed the articles of union, yet the Scotch parliament made many important alterations, which were adopted by the English parliament. In the proceedings to establish a commercial union between Great Britain and Ireland, difficulties and differences in opinion must necessarily have arisen among men of the best intentions. Our propositions have been altered by the British house of commons; their resolutions have been altered by the lords of Great Britain; and these alterations were adopted by the house of commons of that kingdom. In the progress on the Irish bill the fullest discussion was intended. Every objection would have been heard, and every well-founded objection doubtless must have been allowed, and every proper alteration made. Nothing final during this session was ever in contemplation. A great length and variety of examination must have preceded the settlement of the schedule of duties and regulations. This schedule must have been laid before our two houses of parliament in the next session for their approbation; and, after all this had been done, nothing could have been concluded, until the Irish parliament had declared its satisfaction in the acts of the British legislature.

The bill offered to Ireland many commercial advantages of the most important nature. It secured for ever the linen trade of this king-

dom. The agreement, effectually to favour our manufactures, would have been of great value to us. The encouragement which it gave to our sail-cloth manufacture, would have occasioned an annual profit to a very great amount. The perpetual supply of rock-salt would have been useful to our victualling trade and fisheries; of bark to our manufacture of leather; and of coals to all our manufactures. The perpetual exemption of this last article from duty on the export to Ireland, would have been a great and peculiar advantage to our manufactures. The inhabitants of Great Britain pay for their own coals, from port to port, five shillings the chaldron. An intention has been mentioned not long since to tax this commodity at the pit. If this bill had passed, the tax would have been drawn back, and this kingdom secured against any imposition, which the necessities of Great Britain may induce her to lay on the export of this necessary article. If Great Britain had not given of late years the strongest proofs, that she is not disposed to look to times of less liberality, for precedents to govern her conduct in respect to her sister kingdom, it would not be prudent to mention, that English coals came formerly to Ireland under a duty of four shillings the ton, imposed on the export by an English act \*.

I also thought the circuitous colony trade from Ireland to Great Britain would have been highly useful to this kingdom, and particularly to the city of Cork. I thought the opening of the British markets to our manufactures would be, in one respect, of the utmost importance to this kingdom, I mean by the re-exportation of Irish manu-

factures

\* Carte's Life of Duke of Ormond, vol. i. p. 84.

actures from Great Britain with a drawback of all duties : and, if this opinion is well founded, we should consider the advantages of having our manufactures exported to all parts of the world, by the capitals and credit of Great Britain. By this assistance, our linens, to a great amount, are re-exported from England ; and this assistance has ever been one great source of the prosperity of that manufacture. Under the proposed agreement, all our other manufactures would have been re-exported from thence equally free from duty.

That the British markets would have produced consequences so extensive in favour of Ireland, as her principal manufacturers affirmed, it is not my opinion. That Ireland would have been materially benefited by it in some of her manufactures, I entertain no doubt. And, whenever Great Britain can lighten the taxes on her manufactures, and on the materials of them, which must naturally be one of her first objects when her circumstances permit, this part of the proposed agreement would effectually open the best, the nearest, and the most certain markets in the world to Ireland, and would promote the most beneficial of all trades, because the whole profits would belong to the subjects of the same empire, and because a capital employed in a home trade, which this may be justly considered, may be sent out and brought back many times, before the capital employed in a foreign trade has made one return ; which must be peculiarly advantageous to a country deficient in capital, and would at the same time be attended with all the advantages of foreign trade, by increasing the quantity of specie, and the number of ships and seamen. The re-export of our ma-

nufactures from Great Britain ensures their admission wherever British are received, and baffles the ungenerous policy of Portugal.

In all those particulars the advantages are on our side ; and, if we hesitate whether to accept or not the colonial and domestic markets of Britain on terms equally beneficial with herself, I will venture to tell you that no nation in Europe, which had no colonies of her own, would follow your example. If this part of the subject admitted no doubt, the questions then for the consideration of our houses of parliament would have been, whether they thought it reasonable and just to agree to the parts of the bill, that related to the East India trade, and to the prevention of prohibiting the export to Great Britain of our yarn. The first of these considerations have depended on the evidence of our merchants, as to the parts of the East which were open to us ; for no European settlement there would admit us ; whether we had sufficient capitals to carry on that trade ; and whether any probable future advantages (for at present there are none, as we have never sent a ship there, though at full liberty so to do during the last six years) were of sufficient weight to prevent a commercial settlement between the two kingdoms, in which Great Britain offers you access to all her markets foreign and domestic, on the same terms with herself ; with a covenant on her part effectually to favour every article of your growth, produce, or manufacture, materials from foreign countries excepted, which are to be imported into both kingdoms duty free : and in which she offers an export of your manufactures with all duties drawn back, through the medium of her company, to her East Indian

Indian territories, by which channel alone she can convey her own manufactures thither—the benefit of whatever revenue shall arise on India goods sent to Ireland, or a drawback on the exportation from Great Britain, which would give them to us free of all duties—and an equal trade with Great Britain in her possessions in India, in the event of a dissolution of the company; in which company, during its continuance, you have an equal right with Britons of becoming adventurers; and from which you can purchase the produce of the East in an open market, and at a public auction, on the same terms with your fellow-subjects of Great Britain, and on cheaper terms than at any other market.

These several circumstances appeared to me to be worthy the consideration of the house of commons; which, after having been fully informed on this subject, would have been more competent to determine, whether we should or should not, in favour of the British East India Company; and in consideration of the other commercial benefits proposed to us, impose this limitation on our commerce, determinable at the discretion of our two houses of parliament; which, while we allowed it to continue, would have placed Ireland in precisely the same circumstances with every part of Great Britain, London excepted.

Had this part of the agreement been found injurious to the probable hopes of our rising commerce, it ought to have been and unquestionably would have been rejected. If it had appeared, that, without prejudice to ourselves, we could

have strengthened the staff on which our sister kingdom leans in the day of her adversity, what generous Irishman would have withheld his concurrence? But if this part of the bill, instead of imaginary prospects, in the place of commercial visions, offered us some immediate, real, and substantial benefits, the choice would not have been difficult to make.

The agreement not to prohibit the exportation of our yarn would be an engagement not to relinquish a beneficial and profitable part of our commerce; beneficial and profitable to the whole kingdom, but to Munster in particular: it would be an agreement not to do what we shall never do, though no such agreement existed. When it is considered that Ireland gains by this export above 340,000*l.* yearly\*, that it is a manufacture, though an imperfect one, which employs great numbers of our people, for whom it would be difficult to find any other employment; it seems to be a proposition almost self-evident, that the exportation should never be prevented by any other means, than by giving every possible encouragement to our own people to manufacture it at home, the only rational and effectual means of preventing the export.

But it is objected, that Great Britain prohibits the exportation of her yarn, and that there is no equality in our agreeing not to prohibit. I answer, that the policy of that nation in this respect has been condemned by persons of great commercial information; that these prohibitions were laid on to gratify the manufacturers of that country, who have been sometimes much mistaken

\* At a medium of seven years, ending 25th March, 1784, it amounted to 340,927*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*

in their opinions on this subject. In 1698 they petitioned, that the importation of all worsted and woollen yarn from Ireland should be prohibited, and represented that the poor of England were perishing by this importation; and in 1739 † they petitioned against taking off the duties on those articles from Ireland to England; but now they insist that it should be made a part of this agreement, that the exportation from Great Britain to Ireland should never be prohibited—a caution to manufacturers not to be too confident in their present opinions; and to the public, not to give way to such opinions, without hearing proofs or reasons. As to equality, it is to be estimated by the sum of advantages on each side, and not by a comparison of each article separately. Thus Britain gives bounties on Irish linen exported from her ports, but we give none on British exports from ours. In yarn the inequality is merely nominal. In coals the equality is but nominal, and the whole advantage is in the Irish scale.

In these and other articles the exercise of the legislative power would be restrained in this kingdom during the continuance of the agreement; and in many articles similar restraints would be imposed on the British legislature; but without such restraints no commercial agreement could ever be framed between two independent legislatures. Restraints of the same nature made a part of our propositions, which were almost unanimously agreed to, and were never considered as subversive of constitutional rights. Limitations, which arise out of the power of the legislature, and depend for their duration on the same

power, are not arguments against, but the clearest proofs in support of legislative independence. Agreements to direct the channels in which trade shall flow, or to commute the barren speculation of a possible distant trade, which is open now to us, but which we are not now able to enjoy, and perhaps may never be worth our having; for a beneficial trade which is not open to us, and which we may acquire by the suspension of an useless right, reassumable at our pleasure, would not be a relinquishment but an enlargement of commercial freedom, and a just and constitutional exertion of legislative power for salutary purposes. Let us apply this reasoning to the East India commerce. You have no liberty of trade with the British empire in India. Great Britain offers you an export of your manufactures to those countries from Great Britain and Ireland, on the same terms with her own, through the medium of her East India company, to which she limits herself. She offers you at the same time her own markets in the same manner that she enjoys them herself; but to this she annexes a condition, that, while you think proper to enjoy those benefits, you should agree not to trade to the few hospitable shores that will receive you between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straights of Magellan; and that when you choose to relinquish that profitable liberty of trade which she offers, and which you have not, you may then reassume that unproductive liberty of trade, which you have now in theory only.

Some of the commercial regulations of this bill have been misunderstood, I mean those which re-

† English Comm. Journ. Commercial Restraints, p. 115.

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in favour of the British East India company, without murmur, though  
equivalent. We are now offered an equivalent for what we have, in  
conceded without any.

mons to the throne has declared their sense; and the bill of the British house of commons has spoken most explicitly and decidedly on that subject. The Irish bill differs materially from those resolutions, and contains many new provisions in favour of our constitution and commerce. I speak of that bill for the introduction of which I voted; and on the ground of that bill I will maintain this position against any man: That it neither surrenders nor impairs, nor promises or engages, nor tends in any respect to impair the independence of the legislature of Ireland; but that, on the contrary, it expressly reserves to this and all succeeding parliaments the full exercise of legislative rights, in all acts of legislation whatever; and gives to our houses of parliament a greater power than any houses of parliament ever had before, by placing in their hands, without the royal assent, the repeal of a legislative agreement.

Consider the present state of the British empire. Survey your own country, with an honest pride, as a most important part of that empire; conscious of your own weight in the general scale, be not too prone to suspect that any English ministry would be mad enough to invade your liberties, or to impair either your commercial or constitutional rights. What is now the necessary object of British councils? To strengthen and connect the remaining parts of the empire. What are the principal means of effecting this? Multiplying the resources, increasing the wealth, promoting the population and industry, and establishing the tranquillity and contentment of Ireland. No two countries on the globe are more necessary to the happiness of each other than those two islands. The

man who considers them as adversaries, and not as partners in commerce, is not a judicious friend to either. The man, who attempts to serve one at the expence of the other, would injure both. What is the obvious wish and interest of the enemies of the British empire? To separate these two kingdoms. First to weaken and disunite the British empire, and then to subvert it. What would become of the liberties of Ireland then? Counteract your enemies, co-operate with your friends, and consolidate the strength of the two kingdoms on such terms as shall appear to be of equal advantage to each.

Let me ask any of my fellow-citizens some few plain questions. Have we since 1779 to this time followed British laws, by laying the same duties on all colonial produce, foreign as well as British? Have you felt any commercial or constitutional prejudice by this? Do you think it reasonable that Great Britain should allow you to bring into her ports the produce of foreign colonies, whilst she prohibits herself from doing so? Have not her colonies been the great source of her superior commerce and maritime strength? Would you promote the trade and navigation of Great Britain, and in effect of Ireland, or of foreign nations? Would you strengthen the fleet which protects, or that which may be destined to invade you? Is there any country, the trade to which is more valuable to Ireland, than her trade with the rest of the world? Is not Great Britain that country? Can more effectual means be devised for promoting your trade than by extending the most valuable part of it? Was not this the object of our propositions, and is not this the object of our bill?

What



What would you have? To remain as we are. How, would you have Britons keep their markets shut against you, whilst you keep your markets open to them? Shall they supply you with colony produce, and refuse to receive it from you? Is this equality of commerce or constitution? Give us similar prohibitions or prohibitory duties. Are you inclined to bring your linens within this rule, and can you justly expect that Great Britain should encourage your staple manufacture, with prejudice to her own in other countries, if you discourage hers? Are you aware, that every protection to a manufacture by a duty, which excludes a better or a cheaper manufacture of the same kind, is, to the amount of the difference in price, a tax on every other manufacture, and every other man in the community who buys the protected manufacture? Do you prefer a system of mutual prohibitions, that tends to protect idleness or ignorance in both kingdoms, to a system that sets up the industry and skill of each nation as an example and rival to the other? You certainly feel no dastardly repugnance to this noble emulation? Do you prefer exclusion to comprehension; reciprocal restraints, prohibitions, perpetual jealousies, and ill-will, to the mutual intercourse of kindness and encouragement, which bids the mixing commerce of the two kingdoms roll in one common flood?

There is no kindness, you say, in the attempt to exclude us from a trade to the East \*? Is there none in offering you a trade to her extensive dominions there? Does she

give greater liberty to the inhabitants of Great Britain? Which is most valuable, the trade she offers, or that of which she proposes to you still to suspend the exercise? If the exchange is in your favour, is there any thing dishonourable in accepting of it? or any thing indecorous in proposing it? Would you have her violate her national faith, and dissolve her India company? No, you say, that expectation would be unreasonable and unjust. Tell me then what can she offer more than she now proposes to you, either whilst that company exists, or in the event of its dissolution? I ask you but one question more: Does Great Britain possess in any one part of the globe any one article of free commerce whatever, in her power to participate, which she does not open as freely and beneficially to Ireland as to herself? And then consider, my fellow citizens, what nation upon earth has the widest and best regulated range of commerce.

In considering the bill, examine the fundamental principles in the first place. What are they? 1st, To encourage and extend as much as possible the trade between the two kingdoms, on permanent and equitable principles. 2dly, That the inhabitants of each should trade to and from the British colonies, settlements, and dominions in every part of the globe, now or hereafter to be planted, made, or acquired, on equal terms, both directly and circuitously. If you disapprove of the principles, reject the bill; if you approve of the principles, go into the detail of the bill; approve, or amend, or reject, accord-

\* The most valuable part of that trade, which consists in teas, we have already relinquished in favour of the British East India company, without murmur, though without any equivalent. We are now offered an equivalent for what we have, in effect, already conceded without any.

ing to your judgment, applied coolly to every distinct and separate part of this comprehensive system. In this you will act with that wisdom and temper which become a great commercial city. Consider whether any clause or expression in it can have the most remote tendency to injure your constitution. If you find any such, reject it, whatever commercial benefits the bill may offer. But pray, let the clause be first read, and a little considered, and a little understood. Judge of it from the plain words of the text itself, and not from the brilliant paraphrase of eloquent commentators; and let not every man, who thinks proper to beat on the spirit-stirring drum of the constitution, make you start and tremble, and frighten you out of your wits.

I certainly consider myself accountable to my constituents for my parliamentary conduct; but on great national questions it is my duty to think as well as to act for them. I desire only that they will read the bill, make themselves, as I have endeavoured to do in respect to myself, masters of the many important and complicated subjects which it comprehends; and then say, whether a member for the first trading city of Ireland, who was not unversed in subjects of constitution and commerce, would have acted as became him, if he had voted that a subject of this nature should not have been considered. I have voted only that it should be considered; and was never more thoroughly convinced, that I never gave a vote of more beneficial tendency to the city of Cork; and have no doubt that my constituents will hereafter view my conduct in this light. I affectionately regard

my fellow-citizens, and there is nothing I value more than their esteem, except the lasting interests and happiness of them and their posterity. I desire only that they may judge for themselves, and of the bill itself by its own merits; and not view it through the medium of misrepresentation, which so many men in both kingdoms have, or think they have, an interest in placing between the public and the real subject for their consideration.

The great principle of this bill, namely equal freedom in each kingdom to the merchants and manufacturers of the other, has been long my decided opinion\*. When for your service I endeavoured to give some light to this subject, I pointed out this inequality as one of the just grounds of our commercial complaints. Are my fellow-citizens, after twenty-five years experience of my conduct as one of their representatives, so little acquainted with my character, as to suppose me capable of expressing to the public the warmest feelings on the subject of their former oppressions in trade, and that I should now have any design to renew those grievances or to impair those constitutional rights, which alone can protect them in the enjoyment of commercial freedom! Apply all the exertions of your knowledge and experience to this subject; its importance deserves them all. Shew your veteran, and, let me add, faithful representative, that any part of the measure injures your rights as merchants, manufacturers, or freemen, and then see whether any man will use more vigorous exertions for your service. But consider it with that temper and good sense with which the conduct of my fellow-

\* See Commercial Restraints of Ireland, Letter IX.

citizens has been usually marked ; and do not suffer it, before it has been read or understood, to be encountered by violence and outrage.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,  
your most faithful  
and obedient servant,  
JOHN HELY HUICHINSON.

Palmerston,  
5th September, 1785.

To the Right Worshipful  
James Morrison, Esq.  
Mayor of Cork.

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*Address of the Merchants of Cork, presented to his Grace the Duke of Rutland, on the 28th of October, when his Grace condescended to accept of an Invitation to Dinner from the Merchants of Cork. See Public Occurrences, p. 91.*

To his Grace Charles Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, &c. &c.

The Address of the Merchants of the City of Cork.

May it please your Grace,

To permit us the merchants of the city of Cork, to unite in presenting our assurance of steady loyalty to our august sovereign, and dutiful attachment to his mild and gracious government, and to offer our cordial and respectful gratulations to his illustrious representative, and the amiable duchess of Rutland, on the honour conferred, by your condescending visit to this city.

Accustomed in our commercial intercourse to judge and speak from facts, we willingly tender our true and grateful acknowledgment of the benefit we and our fellow-subjects

derive, from the encouragement held out by premiums to manufacturers, and from other salutary laws which have been enacted in the administration, and under the auspices of your grace.

Thus emulous to join in the just tribute of gratitude, for the blessings we experience, permit us with the like candid plainness, to lament the continuance of illicit trade on the coasts of this kingdom, the effectual suppression of which demands the unremitted and increasing vigilance of the servants of the crown, so essentially necessary to the protection of the fair trader, and the future extension of our commerce.

Sensible of the vast importance of the trust delegated by the benign father of his people, to the distinguished personage whom we have the honour to address, and anxious to have the execution of that high charge rendered as easy as its nature can admit, we applaud the deliberate wisdom of that proceeding which has resorted to the matured sense of the people, upon the great subject of commercial adjustment.

And we presume to express our confidence that such measures *only* will be permitted to be brought forward, as in the capacious system of administration, and to the extinction of national disquietude, shall clearly comprehend the inviolate preservation of our constitution, the encouragement and extension of our manufactures, and ample security to our commerce, on the solid and permanent principles of fair reciprocity.

In the completion of these momentous, national concerns, we behold objects worthy of even the consummate wisdom of a Chatham, or the shining virtues of a Granby; and we trust it is reserved for the

dignified descendants of these much honoured names, by an active display of that wisdom and those virtues, again to establish and secure the strength, the prosperity, and the harmony of the empire; and thus bear to the royal presence the well-founded acclaim of an united, loyal, and happy people.

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*Petition presented June 19, 1785, to the House of Commons, from the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, against the Attorney General's Bill for regulating the Police, &c.*

That the petitioners are greatly, and, as they conceive, most justly alarmed, at a bill depending in parliament for the farther prevention of crimes, and for the more speedy detection and punishment of offenders against the peace, in the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and certain parts adjacent to them; and they think it a duty incumbent upon them, as magistrates, who are materially concerned in the administration of justice, in so considerable a part of the district proposed to be the object of that bill, to take the first moment that offers for expressing their apprehensions of the mischievous and dangerous effects of a law, which, under colour of correcting abuses, overturns the forms established by the wisdom of our ancestors, for regular administration of justice, and goes to the entire subversion of the chartered rights of the greatest city in the world, and the destruction of the constitutional liberties of above a million of his majesty's subjects; and that the petitioners forbear to state any of the numerous and weighty objections which occurred to them, to the particular clauses

and provisions of the bill; because the principle of the bill establishing, in defiance of chartered rights, a system of police altogether new and arbitrary in the extreme, creating without necessity new offices, invested with extraordinary and dangerous powers, enforced by heavy penalties, and expressly exempted from those checks, and that responsibility, which the wisdom of the law has hitherto thought necessary to accompany every extraordinary power, appears to them so mischievous, that no amendment or modification can, or ought, to reconcile the nation to such a measure; and therefore most earnestly praying the house, no longer to entertain, or give countenance thereto, but by an immediate rejection of the bill, to quiet the minds of his majesty's subjects, and relieve them from the dread of being reduced under the scourge of such a system.

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*Authentic Account of the Bill alluded to in the foregoing Petition: in a Letter to the Printer of the General Advertiser, July 2, 1785.*

SIR,

The hasty and inconsiderate manner in which all questions are agitated and prejudged in this town, makes the employment of serving the public a very thankless task. After repeated complaints and calls for some reform of the police, lord Sydney, being secretary of state for the home department, has caused a scheme of police to be brought before parliament; and this was stated by the solicitor general, who introduced it, as a scheme that pretended to no perfection, but that had been framed after many months consultation with the principal acting

ing magistrates, and, when put into a bill, had been submitted to the judgment and correction of the first persons for learning and ability in Westminster-hall, both on and off the bench; persons who we should naturally imagine, were well qualified to determine on what relates to the law and constitution. When this plan, thus matured, was stated to the house, it appeared to be calculated merely to add vigour to the execution of the present law, tending to prevent rather than punish, and principally to be applauded for the attempt, to restrain enormities by regulation, and not by severity. Never was a measure received with more sincere and repeated marks of approbation.

After this preparation, and this reception, how astonished must the world be when they see the epithets affixed to this bill, and the designs attributed to it in the resolutions and petition of the court of aldermen, who, in a few hours, discovered that the whole is not only a total subversion of *their* rights, but is wholly *unconstitutional, illegal, and arbitrary*. The resolutions (or certain propositions purporting to be resolutions) of the court of aldermen, were immediately printed in all the public papers, accompanied with what is entitled a *correct Abstract* of the bill, in which the whole is defaced and falsified, for the purpose of fomenting those jealousies, and circulating those prejudices, which the fabricator of this *correct Abstract* knew had no foundation in the bill itself. And, thinking all this would pass upon the world, Mr. Alderman Hammet made an unprecedented and unsuccessful motion in the house of commons to discharge the order for bringing in the bill.

That the public may no longer be

led by false lights, and a well-intentioned, and a very effectual plan of regulation be no longer aspersed so injuriously, I send you, Mr. Printer, a full and minute abstract of the bill presented to the house last Monday, and withdrawn on Tuesday, on account of a trifling informality; but which, I trust, in justice to the public, to the framers of the bill, and to the bill itself, will be brought forward in the same shape in which it was presented to the house. The objections which alone can with any appearance of reason be made by the city being so inconsiderable, and so entirely unconnected with the *principle* of the bill, that they may easily be adjusted in the committee, if necessary.

The bill, Sir, will speak for itself; and, without a comment, will, I think, answer every question, and remove every doubt that has been raised. If I find it otherwise, I shall trouble you with some remarks on such parts as particularly affect the city. As to what concerns the law and constitution, I will, for the present, apprise you generally, that what has been called so *new and extraordinary* in this bill, is nothing more than what is reconcilable with the purest principles of the constitution and of the law as it now stands.

The following is the ABSTRACT of the BILL.

The title of the bill is, "For the further prevention of crimes, and for the more speedy detection and punishment of offenders against the peace, in the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and certain parts adjacent to them."

The preamble states, "That offences against the peace have increased;

“ creased, of late years, in the me-  
 “ tropolis ; and it is found, by ex-  
 “ perience, that the execution of  
 “ the laws now in being is ex-  
 “ tremely defective in London,  
 “ Westminster, the Borough, and  
 “ parishes adjacent ; and that the  
 “ preservation of the peace requires  
 “ constant and unremitting atten-  
 “ tion ; that farther regulations are  
 “ needed for the prosecution of  
 “ crimes ; and for the attainment  
 “ of the object, that the aforesaid  
 “ places should be united into one  
 “ district.” It, therefore, enacts,  
 that London, Westminster, the Bo-  
 rough, and parts adjacent (there  
 named) should be united into a di-  
 strict, to be called—*The District of*  
*the Metropolis*, merely for the pur-  
 poses of this act.

Then it enacts, that any three or  
 more persons should be appointed  
 by the king, to be commissioners of  
 police, for preservation of the peace  
 within the district, who are required  
 to enforce all laws for the preven-  
 tion, and speedy prosecution of  
 crimes.

Then it enacts, that the district  
 shall be divided into nine divisions :  
 the City Division, the Bow-street  
 Division, the Broadway, Oxford-  
 street, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch,  
 Whitechapel, Shadwell, and South-  
 wark Division ; and names the pa-  
 rishes and places contained in each  
 of those divisions.

It enacts, that the commissioners  
 shall appoint a certain number of  
 ministerial officers of the peace, in  
 each division, to be called petty  
 constables ; one head officer in each  
 division, to be called chief constable,  
 and one principal officer, to be  
 high constable of the district ; some  
 of these to be on foot, some on  
 horseback, with proper arms and  
 accoutrements.

It enacts, that the commissioners

shall be justices of the peace, all  
 through the district ; yet shall not  
 be compellable to act as justices, and  
 hearing and taking examinations ;  
 but shall direct all persons appre-  
 hended by their officers to be car-  
 ried, and all persons making com-  
 plaint, and requiring them to act as  
 justices, to go before the justices of  
 the division.

It enacts, that the said petty con-  
 stables, chief constables, and high  
 constable, shall have all the autho-  
 rity of parochial constables ; that a  
 certain number of petty constables  
 shall patrol each division every  
 night.

The commissioners to have a pub-  
 lic office, a seal, secretary, clerks,  
 &c. to take an oath of office, &c.  
 That parliamentary rewards shall  
 no longer be paid for apprehending  
 and convicting felons ; but that the  
 commissioners may reward persons  
 assisting in apprehending as they  
 shall think fit, the whole not ex-  
 ceeding a certain sum annually.

That the marshals of the city,  
 and all high constables within the  
 district (naming them), shall send  
 to the commissioners lists of paro-  
 chial constables within their divi-  
 sions. That trustees of the watch,  
 within the district, shall send lists of  
 their watch and patrol ; and if the  
 commissioners make complaint to  
 the trustees of any watchman, or  
 patrol, being negligent, or unfit  
 for duty, he shall be discharged,  
 and another appointed within a cer-  
 tain number of days, otherwise the  
 commissioners may appoint ; and the  
 person appointed by the commis-  
 sioners not to be turned away with-  
 out the consent of the commis-  
 sioners ; and where the present  
 watch-rate is thought, by the trus-  
 tees, inadequate to the keeping a  
 good watch, they are permitted to  
 increase it not more than a certain  
 sum



sum in the pound. And the trustees are required to keep up the same watch at least which they had at a certain day last past. That the commissioners, or their constables, may make use of the watch-house at night.

That commissioners, or their constables, may command the assistance of every high constable, constable, watchman, patrol, or beadle, for the apprehending offenders, or preventing offences against the peace.

That the lord mayor, and all the aldermen, justices of the peace within the district, clerks, clerks of sessions, &c. &c. city marshals, constables, keepers of goals, &c. And all persons concerned ministerially in the execution, or administration of criminal justice, trustees of the watch, &c. And several other parochial officers there named shall, when required, attend the commissioners, to give them advice, assistance, and information, towards the execution of this act.

That commissioners, or their constables, may apprehend persons carrying goods, if it appears there is probable ground to suspect they were stolen, and take them before a justice. And that commissioners, or their constables (having a warrant from commissioners granted upon oath) may enter any dwelling-house, outhouse, &c. to search for rogues and vagabonds; and also to break any dwelling-house, outhouse, &c. to search for felons, accessories, receivers of stolen goods, or stolen goods, if such dwelling-house, outhouse, &c. shall not be opened on demand. Provided that no warrant of the commissioners shall be of force, or effect, in the city of London, unless indorsed by the lord mayor, or some alderman. And all persons apprehended within the city, by any constable of the

commissioners, shall be carried before the lord mayor, or an alderman, who, if the offence is committed out of the city, shall permit the constable to take the offender, whither he was directed by the commissioners.

That in case the goods so carrying were not stolen, and in case no felon, accessory, receiver of stolen goods, or rogues, and vagabonds, shall be found; nevertheless the informer, the commissioners, or their constables (being duly authorised as aforesaid) shall not be liable, as for a trespass in such apprehending, entering, or breaking.

Provided, that no constable of the commissioners shall break a dwelling-house, outhouse, &c. between sun-setting and sun-rising, unless in the presence of a constable of the parish, or place where the dwelling-house, outhouse, &c. is situated.

That any person resisting the commissioners, or their constables, in apprehending, or searching as aforesaid, or by force, or violence, rescuing, or endeavouring to rescue, may be apprehended and carried before a justice of the peace, and, upon conviction of such offence, be liable to a penalty mentioned in the act.

That any person in whose dwelling-house, outhouse, &c. any accessory, receiver, or rogue, and vagabond, shall be found to be knowingly and wilfully harboured, shall, on conviction before a justice of peace, forfeit, for the first offence, a certain penalty, and a greater for a second and other offences.

That commissioners, or their constables, may enter into houses, licensed to sell beer, or spirituous liquors, and take into custody any journeyman, apprentice, servant, or labourer, who shall be found there:

in drinking, tippling, or gaming at unseasonable hours, who shall be treated as idle and disorderly. And the person keeping the house shall, on conviction before a justice, forfeit a certain sum for the first offence, for the second offence his recognizance, and for the third offence his licence. And if such person, so licensed, shall prevent, or endeavour to prevent, by threats or violence, the commissioners, or their constables, from searching for such idle and disorderly persons, or shall assault, or otherwise resist, he shall forfeit a certain penalty.

That by a certain day, all persons licensed to sell beer, ale, or spirits, pawnbrokers, watchmakers, buyers of gold, silver, old iron, lead, copper, pewter, tin, or other metal, or old building materials, dealers in old furniture, old cloaths, brokers dealing in second-hand things, boilers of horse-flesh, refiners of gold and silver, working and other silversmiths, stable-keepers, &c. shall give notice to the commissioners of their name, place of abode, and occupation, and shall do the same once a year, under a penalty.

That commissioners shall circulate printed or written notices of felons, receivers, and stolen goods, with descriptions, and fix them up in notorious parts of the district. And the postmaster-general shall put them in mail-bags, to be dispersed round the kingdom, to be fixed up in different towns, by the chief peace-officers.

If any person above required to give notice to commissioners shall have in his possession any goods, and after a printed or written notice of their being stolen, shall wilfully omit, or refuse immediately to make discovery to the commissioners, he shall forfeit double the va-

lue thereof; and if, upon requisition of constables or commissioners to produce, he shall omit, or refuse, he shall forfeit treble the value.

That all night-walkers, all persons in the day-time loitering about, without having any visible means of maintaining themselves, all persons not giving a good account of themselves, all persons notoriously suspected of being thieves; all persons gaming in the public streets, bye-places, and fields, shall be liable to be apprehended by any constable, watchman, or beadle, and carried before a justice; and if such person shall not be able to give sufficient surety for his good behaviour, he shall be treated as a rogue and vagabond, and the justice shall give notice thereof to commissioners; and if such person shall be under eighteen years of age, the commissioners may, before he is discharged, tender him to the Marine Society, or cause him to be placed in some useful calling, or employment, according to his age, and circumstances, and as it may seem most practicable and convenient to the commissioners.

The commissioners to visit the gaols, &c. and as often as seems necessary, make report of their state, with observations thereon.

Preamble states, "That the business of a justice of peace, within the districts, cannot be transacted with equal advantage to the public in the private houses of justices as in a public office; and that it is necessary to provide for a regular attendance of fit and able magistrates at such public offices." And enacts, That a public office for transacting the business of a justice of peace shall be appointed in each division before mentioned, in or near the following streets, or places, viz.

Bow-

Bow-street, Broad-way, Oxford-street, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, Shadwell, and Union-street in the Borough. The king to appoint two or three fit persons (being in the commission) to attend at the said offices; one of them to reside there, to appoint clerks and assistants, having the approbation of commissioners; and to cause entry to be made of all proceedings. After such officers are appointed, any justice may give notice to any residing justice of his name and place of abode, and intention to act at that office; those names, &c. to be sent to commissioners, who are to nominate certain persons out of them to act at the office they have severally chosen, and to fill up vacancies from such lists. And none to act at any office, besides those so appointed by the king, and nominated by commissioners. And none to act but at those public offices, under penalty, except in session, in riots, or in parish business. The clerks of the justices at the public offices shall not, upon any pretences or colour whatsoever, take any money, or other recompence, by way of fee or reward, for doing the business of a clerk, under a penalty. The warrant, &c. of a justice, acting within the district, to be of force all through it (except in the city of London) without indorsement. No warrant, &c. of any justice, acting out of the district, to be of force within it.

Any parochial constable, waterman, patrol, or beadle, guilty of a misdemeanor, negligence, or omission, in the discharge of his duty (for which no penalty is specially provided by this act) may be convicted thereof before a justice, and pay a penalty not exceeding nor less than a certain sum.

Complaints, &c. that are direct-

ed by any act to be heard before the next justice, or justice of the division, shall be heard at the public office, and no where else, except in parish business, and except special business, done by the commissioners at their office.

Justices of the peace to give notice to commissioners of complaints, of robberies, &c. and of commitments, and letting to bail of offenders, and send copies of examinations, informations, &c. And no justice of peace to admit any person to become king's evidence, without first acquainting commissioners, and having their assent.

As often as any riot shall happen, or shall be apprehended, the commissioners may, by writing, require the assistance of the justices appointed at the several offices to attend, in person, with parochial constables, acting within their divisions, to act as shall seem best to the commissioners.

Preamble states, "That for carrying into execution the good purposes by this act intended, a more frequent session should be holden. It enacts, That the session of Oyer and Terminer, of gaol delivery, and of the peace for London and Middlesex, shall be adjourned from week to week, and for no longer time; provided, that at the weekly session of the peace, no business shall be done but what relates to indictments and trials for treason and felony, accessaries, receiving of stolen goods, the execution of this act, and the vagrant act; and all other business to be adjourned to the general and quarter sessions. "And because too frequent an attendance of the judges in executing the commission of Oyer and Terminer, and gaol delivery, is inconsistent with their various duties:" It shall be lawful for the king to appoint

point two fit and sufficient barristers of ten years standing at the bar, to be of the quorum; in such commissions, one of them to attend every week at the Old Bailey, at all such times as the judges are not there, provided that this shall not require a more frequent attendance of the judges.

All persons charged with treason or felony, with being accessory, or receiving stolen goods in the aforesaid parishes, in the Borough of Southwark and Surrey, within the district, shall be indicted and tried at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer, and gaol delivery for Middlesex, as if the offence were committed in Middlesex. Such Borough prisoners to be brought to Newgate and Clerkenwell, the keepers of which are to receive and keep them, till delivered by due course of law, the same as Middlesex prisoners. All recognizances for trial of any offence committed within the district, and to be tried at the said sessions, are to be conditioned to appear at the next weekly session.

Then follow the common clauses about levying the penalties, actions on the act, &c. and the revenue, (which is now to be thrown into another bill) among which is a stamp upon proceedings before justices, corresponding with the present fees; and, last of all, a clause making the duration of the act to be only for one year.

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*A Decree of the King's Council of France, respecting the Importation of certain foreign Goods therein specified, dated July the 10th, 1785. Taken from the Registers of the Council of State.*

The king having ordered to be brought before him in his council,

the decrees of the 5th of September and 28th October, 1759, by which the importation of foreign white callicos and painted linens had been permitted into the seaports and other places therein mentioned, upon condition of paying the duties ordered by these same decrees, and afterwards fixed by the decree of the 19th of July, 1760, his majesty found that on one side the circumstances which had been the motive for permitting the said importation subsisted no more since the establishment of the new India company; and that on the other side, the duties which had been laid with a view to protect the national industry and trade, are continually frustrated, by counterfeiting the lead marks, or the certificates, and by the unavoidable effects of smuggling, which the great number of places open for the said importation makes it impossible to prevent. His majesty is informed besides, that there are now arrived in several foreign ports, considerable cargoes of East India goods, the importation whereof would produce a superabundance disproportionate to the wants of his people, and as hurtful to the manufactories which can furnish these kind of goods, as to the interest of the company charged to supply the kingdom with them. These different considerations could not escape his majesty's attention, at a time when, to make his subjects enjoy all those advantages which the return of peace promises them, he is particularly occupied with the means of encouraging their industry, and of propagating the extent of their trade, and reviving their manufactures, the fall and ruin of which has been caused by too much tolerating the importation of foreign goods. Nothing could appear to  
him

him more desirable and suitable to his own principles than a general liberty, which freeing from all kinds of fetters the circulation of all productions and goods of different countries, would make of all nations, as it were, but one, in point of trade ; but as long as that liberty cannot be universally admitted, and every where reciprocally, the interest of the kingdom requires of his majesty's wisdom, that he should exclude from it, or suffer to be imported by the nation only, those foreign goods, the free importation of which would be hurtful to his kingdom and manufactories, and might make the balance of trade to be against him ; whereto being willing to provide, having heard the report of Mr. Calonne, ordinary counsellor of the royal council and general comptroller of the finances, the king being in his council, has ordered and orders as follows :

I. The decrees of the king's council of the 15th of March 1746, and 30th of July 1748, forbidding the importation of all foreign muslins or callicos, which had been abrogated by the decrees of the 15th of September and 28th of October 1759, will be, from the date of the proclamation of this present decree, put into execution in their due form, notwithstanding the aforesaid abrogation which his majesty has made, and now makes null and void ; therefore the importation of all white or raw callicos, and also linens and callicos, handkerchiefs, dimities, and nankeens, fabricated either in the Indies, or any where else abroad, and that are not a product of the India company's trade, or brought to the port l'Orient by the ships of those owners which enjoy the permission mentioned in the 12th article of the decree of the 14th of April last, shall be and re-

main prohibited, nor can hereafter the said goods be admitted at the offices of Bayonne, Havre, Rouen, Nantz, Port Louis, and Bourdeaux ; Valenciennes, St. Dizer, Pont de Beauvoison, Jougues, Septemis, and Low City of Dunkirk, to pay the duties there.

II. The same prohibition extends likewise, without any reserve, to all foreign painted callicos, either dyed or stamped, which shall neither be imported nor sold in the kingdom, under any pretence whatsoever, and those of the said painted linens, either dyed or stamped, which are the produce of the India company's trade, or of private merchants, till the term granted them by decree of the 14th of April 1785, shall hereafter be stored at l'Orient, and there be sold, upon condition of being exported.

III. In order to encourage the manufactories of the different cloths or stuffs which are fabricated in France, and likewise the national manufactories of lawn and gauze, and to facilitate the establishment of those of muslin, his majesty forbids, in all the extent of his kingdom, the sale of any foreign muslins, striped, checked, or brocaded, already prohibited by preceding laws, and specially by the decree of the 7th of September 1764, and also all kinds of foreign gauzes and lawns ; nor shall the said goods mentioned in this article be carried about, sold, or retailed, but as much as they have the marks ordered, to shew that they are the produce of national manufactories.

IV. The prohibition expressed in the foregoing article shall take place in one year's time, from the date of this present decree, during which time traders may sell in the kingdom, or export the goods the sale whercof is forbidden by the said article,



ticle, after which time the proprietors of the said goods shall no more be allowed to sell or export them.

V. The India company will be authorized, at the expiration of the said time, to request, whenever they think proper, that a search be made (in the manner that will be determined by the king) in all the store, ware, and dwelling-houses, of merchants, retailers, and warehouse-keepers, to know, seize, and confiscate, all goods that should be concealed therein, contrary to the disposition of this present decree, and in which case the confiscation and the fine will be pronounced according to the smuggling laws, without it being possible that any agreement take place, between the parties, concerning the said goods.

VI. Within three months after the date of this decree, all merchants, traders, retailers, and warehouse-keepers, shall be bound to declare to our excise officers, at those offices which are nearest to their dwelling place, the quantity, quality, and kind of goods, mentioned in the third article, that they are possessed of; and the said officers shall repair to their warehouses, to verify their reports, and fix on the goods a new stamp with these words, "Goods tolerated till the 10th of August 1786:" after these three months, all goods wanting the said stamp shall be seized and confiscated.

VII. All goods seized and confiscated, for being contrary to the 3d and 6th article of this decree, shall be carried and deposited in the warehouses of the India company, there to be sold every year by the directors, upon condition of exporting them, and the produce thereof, after taking off one third for the company's profit, another third for the detector, in case there has been

a declaration, shall be given to the farmers-general, for gratifications and rewards to those who shall have seized them.

VIII. Any person convicted of importing, or causing to be imported, trading in, selling or retailing the said goods, or of counterfeiting the marks or stamps, his warehouse shall be shut, and interdicted, he shall be deprived of the advantage of becoming a bidder at the company's public sales, and besides condemned to the punishments ordered by the smuggling laws.

IX. If any merchants, or others, had caused to be bought abroad, and can prove that they had bespoke, or caused to be forwarded to them (before this decree being made public) any of the goods prohibited therein, the said goods will be admitted to pay the duties, and the officers of the ordinary offices will put on them the stamps, for which purpose the India company will give certificates to those whose claim will appear to be just; and six weeks from the date of this decree will be allowed them to import the goods designed in the certificates, by the ordinary places, which delay shall not be lengthened upon any account whatsoever.

X. His majesty orders that all tools formerly serving to stamp foreign goods, with these words, white callicos, or foreign painted linens, in the ports and offices mentioned in the 1st article, shall be broke and deposited in the nearest excise offices within two months from the date of this.

XI. His majesty does not mean to extend this prohibition to foreign blue linens striped, checked, dyed, painted, or stamped, for the Guinea trade, which will continue to be permitted, according to the preceding laws concerning them.

XII. The



XII. The lieutenant of the police at Paris, and the intendants and commissaries of the different provinces, are the persons to whom shall be referred, each in their own provinces, all matters of contravention to this decree, or about counterfeiting the stamps; for which matters the king gives them full authority, nor are any other judges or courts to meddle with them in it; only the parties may appeal to the council, but meanwhile their sentences will be provisionally executed.

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*A second Decree of the King's Council of France, dated 17th of July 1785. Taken from the Council's Registers.*

The king having ordered that an account should be given him of the complaints addressed to him by the merchants and manufacturers of his kingdom, concerning the prejudices arising to them, from the open sale of foreign goods, and chiefly English ones, which from fashion and fancy have obtained a preference, discouraging for the natural industry, and the more intolerable, as French goods are prohibited in England by the most severe laws; and his majesty having caused to be brought before him those decrees and laws, which in order to encourage the manufactures of the kingdom, and likewise by the motive of a just reciprocation, have forbid the importation of certain foreign goods, and lay upon others considerable duties, the payment whereof is now-a-days avoided; his majesty has acknowledged that the probation which he owes to the trade of his subjects, requires him to renew these different laws, and to prescribe rules, the more efficaciously to ascertain the

execution of the said laws; he has been willing, however, that the prohibitions, the object whereof is to prevent the sale of foreign goods, should not extend their effect so far as to deprive those of his subjects, which carry on no trade, of the liberty of satisfying their taste, by causing to be sent them from abroad objects newly invented, and which they would think to be of a better workmanship than those of the kingdom; but at the same time, his majesty thought it was proper to lay on the said objects duties considerable enough, that the frequent importation of them might not be hurtful to the national manufactories, to the encouraging whereof the produce of the said duties shall be applied, so that the enjoyers of luxury shall in some manner pay a tribute to the general utility; where-to being willing to provide, having heard the report of Mr. Calonne, ordinary counsellor of the king's council, and general comptroller of the finances, the king being in his council, has ordered, and orders as follows:

I. All foreign goods and wares, the importation whereof into the kingdom is prohibited by laws and decrees published since the year 1687, to this day, shall be and remain prohibited from all entrances of the kingdom, on the pains declared in the said laws.

II. All goods from English manufactories, but those, the importation whereof has been permitted by the decree of the 6th of September 1601, or others since, a list of which shall be joined to this present decree, shall continue to be prohibited from all entrances, of the kingdom, and specially all kinds of sadler's works, hosiery, woollen cloths, and hardwares, upon pain of the said goods being confiscated, and

and of being fined ten thousand livres.

III. His majesty forbids, upon the same pains, the importation of all polished steel wares (except tools and instruments fit for arts and sciences), and also of all kinds of foreign crystal and glass.

IV. However, his majesty allows those of his subjects, which carry on no trade, to cause to be sent them from England, or any other foreign country, but only for their own use or personal consumption, those objects, the importation whereof into the kingdom is forbid, by asking a permit, which will be given them by the comptroller general of the finances, upon their declaring the quality and quantity of the goods, and of the office through which they are to be introduced, upon condition of paying to the chief of the general farm thirty per cent. of their value, with 10d. per pound, according to the rule of estimation of the said goods, which shall be sent by his majesty's order, to all the offices through which the introduction of the said goods will be permitted; and the said goods shall be forwarded with a lead stamp from the first office, to the place they are intended for.

V. His majesty intends that neither exemption nor moderation of the said duties shall be granted to any body whatsoever, or of whatever rank or quality they may be, nor upon any account whatsoever.

VI. His majesty forbids again, as by the decree of the 6th of September 1701, all traders and merchants, either wholesale or retail dealers, in the cities, and all other places of the kingdom, and also all other persons, to offer to sale, retail, or sell in any manner whatsoever, any of the said prohibited goods, upon pain of their being

confiscated, and of being fined three thousand livres, without it being possible to remit or diminish the said fine.

VII. His majesty likewise forbids expressly all merchants, either in the cities or other places of the kingdom, to have on their shop doors the name of *Warehouse for English goods*, or goods of any other country, on the same pain of being fined three thousand livres, and of losing their quality and privilege of merchants; and his majesty orders, on the same pains, all those who should have such inscription on their shops, to cause it to be erased out and destroyed, in a week's time from the day this decree is published, without any farther delay; orders the guards, syndics, and adjoints of the corporations of arts and trades, in Paris and in the provinces, to take care that this article be executed, and to inform the judges of the police of the contraventions thereto.

VIII. The prohibited goods which people (contrary to this decree) should attempt to import, sell, or circulate, in the kingdom, shall be seized by the excise officers, and the confiscation thereof, as well as the fine prosecuted before the lieutenant of police, and before the intendants and commissaries, charged with the execution of the king's orders in the provinces of the kingdom; the king giving to each of them the cognizance of all contraventions to this decree, save the appeal to his council, and forbidding all other courts and judges to meddle with them.

IX. The goods, the confiscation whereof shall have been pronounced, shall be immediately after sent with a lead stamp, and with a warrant cocket to the general office of prohibited goods at Paris, where they

they shall be valued by two appraisers chosen for that purpose, and then half of the price thus valued, granted and paid in ready money to the officers who shall have seized, without any part thereof being kept from them; and then the said goods shall be exported, and for that purpose sent back, viz. those going by the name of white goods, merchandizes, blanches, to the port of l'Orient, and the others in some of the free ports of the kingdom, where they shall be sold in the month of January every year, by public sale, nor shall they be reimported into the kingdom upon any account; the profit of which sales shall be disposed of, according to orders of his majesty, after taking off, however, the half given to the seizing officers, and the expences which shall be taken out of the other half.

T. A. P.

Done in the King's Council, his Majesty being present, held at Versailles, July the 17th, 1785.

(Signed)

BARON DE BRETEUIL.

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*Declaration of the King of Prussia, August 23, 1785, delivered by the Count de Lutz to the Marquis of Carmarthen.*

The king believed he had every reason to expect, that the court of Vienna had given up all thoughts of an exchange of Bavaria, or an acquisition thereof in any other manner, after such an acquisition had been proved to the said court to be inadmissible, in the conferences held at Braunau, in the month of September 1778; after the said court had renounced all its pretensions on Bavaria by the peace of

Teschen, and had become itself, together with the other contracting and mediating powers of that peace, guarantee of the covenants of the house Palatine, whereby that house is not allowed any alienation, or, as it is expressed, "any exchange of its possessions." His majesty, however, having been apprized in the month of January of the present year, by the duke of Deux Ponts, that the court of Vienna had, notwithstanding these important considerations, proposed to that prince an exchange of the whole of Bavaria, together with the Upper County Palatine and the duchies of Neuburg and Sulzbach, for a part of the Austrian Netherlands; his majesty was anxious to communicate his uneasiness on that account to the empress of Russia, as guarantee of the peace of Teschen. The answer which her imperial majesty gave to the king, through her minister prince Dolgoroucki, "that after the refusal of the duke of Deux Ponts, there was no more thought about such an exchange," might have been a sufficient assurance to the king, if his majesty could have been equally secure with respect to the intentions of the court of Vienna. But that court has too evidently shewn, by the steps taken in the course of the present year, as well as by the system it has at all times pursued, that it cannot bring itself to an entire renunciation of the project of making, sooner or later, an acquisition of Bavaria.

The said court, after having in its first circular declaration dissipated the existence of this project, assures indeed in the latter an intimation of the declaration of the court of Russia, that it never entertained, nor ever should entertain, the least thought of a violent or forced exchange of Bavaria. But this

this distinction between forced or voluntary shews evidently that the court of Vienna still entertains an idea of the possibility of a barter of Bavaria. This conjecture, already strong enough in itself, is too well confirmed by the assertion of the court of Vienna, that "by virtue of the peace of Baden the house Palatine has full liberty to exchange its possessions." It is true the 18th article of the peace of Baden says, "that, in case the house of Bavaria finds it convenient to make some exchange of its possessions in return for others, his most Christian majesty promises not to oppose the same." It follows clearly, however, from this very article, that the contracting parties did not mean thereby to allow to the house of Bavaria any thing farther than a partial exchange of some district or piece of country suitable to its interest; but it certainly was not, nor could it be understood at that time, to allow a total exchange of a large electorate and tie of the empire (which, being under the disposition of the Golden Bull, was not at all liable to an alteration of this nature), which would have too nearly affected and overturned the essential constitution of the electoral college, and even the integrity of the whole confederate system of the empire. Admitting even that, by the peace of Baden, the house of Bavaria was allowed to make a partial exchange, suitable to its interest, of some part of its possessions, this power has since been abrogated by the eighth article of the peace of Teschen, and by the separate act concluded at the same time between the elector Palatine and the duke of Deux Ponts; because the covenants of the house Palatine of the years 1766, 1771, and 1774, are therein renewed, whereby all the

possessions of the house of Bavaria Palatine are charged with a perpetual and inalienable fideicomis. The ancient pragmatic sanction of that house, concluded at Pavia in the year 1329, is likewise referred to therein, whereby that whole illustrious house has bound itself never to exchange nor otherwise alienate the least part of its possessions. Now as the peace of Teschen, together with all its separate acts, is under the guarantee of the king and the elector of Saxony, as principal contracting parties of that peace, likewise under the guarantee of the two mediating powers, the courts of Russia and France, and the whole empire; it follows, therefore, that no exchange of Bavaria whatever can any more take place without the consent and concurrence of the powers just mentioned; and especially not without the intervention of the king and all his co-estates of the empire, whose essential interest it is that this great and important duchy of Bavaria should remain with the house Palatine; because it must be striking to every body, that, independent of the geographical and political disproportion between the Austrian Netherlands and the whole of Bavaria, the transferring of so large and fine a country to the house of Austria, and thereby rounding as it were the Austrian monarchy (which already preponderates too much), would take away all balance of power in Germany; and the security, as well as the liberty, of all the states of the empire, would only depend upon the discretion of the house of Austria. It seems that this great and powerful house ought to be contented with its vast monarchy, and not to think any more of an acquisition so alarming, not only to Germany, but likewise to all Europe.

“ It should likewise remember, that, in the barrier treaty of 1715, it has promised to the maritime powers never to alienate any part of the Netherlands to any prince but of its own house; a stipulation which cannot be set aside without the consent of the contracting parties. The king cannot therefore but be persuaded by all that has been advanced, that the court of Vienna will not very soon, or perhaps never, give up the project of making, sooner or later, an acquisition of Bavaria, by some means or other, and that, according to the principles manifested still in its latter circular declaration, it reserves to itself yet the possibility and power thereof. His majesty thought he could not in this case do less for his own security, as well as for that of the whole empire, than to propose to his co-estates, to enter into an association conformable to all the fundamental constitutions of the empire, namely, the peace of Westphalia, and to the capitulations of the emperors, and founded upon the example of all centuries, tending only to preserve the present and legal constitution of the empire, to maintain every member thereof in the free and tranquil enjoyment of his rights, states, and possessions, and to oppose every arbitrary and illegal enterprize, contrary to the system of the empire. His majesty, having met with the same sentiments in the most serene electors of Saxony and of Brunswick Lunenburg, has just now concluded and signed a treaty of union with them; which treaty is not offensive against any person, nor any way derogatory to the dignity, rights, and prerogatives, of his majesty the emperor of the Romans, and which has absolutely nothing for its object, but to maintain the constitutional system

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of the empire, and the objects just mentioned; and which therefore cannot give the least uneasiness to the court of Vienna, if that court has the same views and intention for the preservation of the said system, as there is reason to expect, and as is indeed expected, from the greatness of soul, and loyalty of the head of the empire. It cannot be doubted that the king, as an elector and prince of the empire, and as one of the contracting parties, and guarantee of the peace of Westphalia and Teschen, has an incontestable right to conclude with his co-estates of the empire such a constitutional and inoffensive treaty.

The king having engaged in a war to prevent the exchange and all farther dismemberment of Bavaria (which war was put an end to by the peace of Teschen), his majesty has hereby acquired a right and a particular and permanent interest to oppose any exchange of Bavaria, present and future; and in doing this by such measures as are conformable to the laws of nations, and to those of the German empire, his majesty only fulfils his obligations and rights, without provoking the dissatisfaction or reproach of the court of Vienna, and without giving any just cause to attribute to him any offensive views or steps against that court. The king could not, therefore, but be in some measure affected and surprised, when informed that the court of Vienna exclaimed against this union in its declarations, publicly addressed to all the courts of Europe, and of the empire, endeavouring even to give to the said treaty an odious colour.

His majesty believes not to have given the least cause for such a proceeding; but rather to have merited more justice for his open, patriotic, and disinterested conduct, as

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well before as after the peace of Teschen, in what regards Bavaria and the house Palatine. His majesty will not imitate the manner adopted in the said declaration: he will take special care not to recriminate. He will satisfy himself with appealing to the testimony of the electors and princes of the empire, who will attest, that, without any suggestion or accusation whatever, he has confined himself to evince to them the inadmissibility and danger of any exchange of Bavaria, and to propose to them to enter into such a constitutional treaty, as may be laid before the whole world. To remove every doubt about the purity of the intentions of the king, and the justice of the steps he has taken, his majesty thinks it his duty to make the conclusion of this treaty, and the motives which occasioned it, known to the principal powers of Europe, who are any way concerned about the welfare of the German empire, and the preservation of its system. The king has done this by the present declaration, which he would not fail to communicate likewise to his Britannic majesty, as a mark of his confidence and attention, and of his desire to secure himself the suffrage of his Britannic majesty; though he, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, has himself already concurred in the conclusion of the treaty; and has thereby given indubitable proof how much his sentiments coincide with those of the king about the necessity of the said treaty, and the objects which gave occasion to it.

The king is particularly happy to have added these new ties to the friendship and intimacy which has already for so long a time subsisted between the two royal houses, and

to entertain with his Britannic majesty the same sentiments for the welfare of the German empire as their common country, and for the support of a system, which has an essential influence upon the happiness of the rest of Europe.

*Berlin, Aug. 23, 1785.*

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*Answer delivered by the Marquis of Carmarthen to Count Lufi, in consequence of the preceding Communication.*

The king has received with pleasure the communication which count Lufi has made, by order of his Prussian majesty, to lord Carmarthen, of the sentiments of his said majesty respecting the treaty signed at Berlin the 23d of July, in the concluding of which the king himself, in his electoral capacity, was pleased to concur.

The lively interest which his Prussian majesty never ceases to take for the maintenance of the Germanic constitution, and the preservation of the rights of every member of the empire, cannot but deserve the greatest praise from those powers who are true friends to the prosperity and well-being of that respectable confederation; and, at the same time that the court of London is eager to render this justice to the patriotic views of his Prussian majesty, it flatters itself that the measures of precaution, which the three electoral courts have thought proper to take, may never become necessary, by any attack, either direct or indirect, upon the acknowledged rights of the Germanic body; but that, for the future, the most solid harmony may be re-established, and the most sincere confidence for ever subsist, between the august chief and the



the illustrious members of the empire.

*St. James's, Sept. 9, 1785.*

*Letters between Captain Stanhope, of the Mercury Man of War, and Governor Bowdoin of Boston.*

*Mercury, Boston-harbour, Aug. 1, 1785.*

SIR,

I am sorry to be obliged to represent to your excellency, the continued insults and disgraceful indignities offered by hundreds in this town to me and my officers, which hitherto we have taken no notice of, nor of the illiberal and indecent language with which the newspapers have been filled; nor should I have troubled you now, had I not been pursued, and my life, as well as that of one of my officers, been endangered, by the violent rage of a mob, yesterday evening, without provocation of any sort.

I trust it is needless to recommend to your excellency, to adopt such measures as may discover the ringleaders, and bring them to public justice, as well as protect us from farther insult.

I have the honour to be  
your Excellency's  
most obedient humble servant.

*To his Excellency Governor Bowdoin.*

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston, Aug. 1, 1785.*

SIR,

Your letter of this date is now before me. It is a great misfortune that the subjects or citizens of different countries, which have been at enmity, cannot easily recover that degree of good humour which should induce them to treat each

other with proper decorum, when the governments, to which they respectively belong, have entered into a treaty of amity, and sheathed the sword. But you must have observed, that disturbances, arising from this source, too frequently happen, especially in populous sea-port towns.

If you have been insulted, and your life has been endangered, in manner as you have represented to me, I must inform you that our laws afford you ample satisfaction. Foreigners are entitled to the protection of the law as well as amenable to it, equally with any citizen of the United States, while they continue within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth.

Any learned practitioner in the law, if applied to, will direct you in the mode of legal process in the obtaining a redress of injury, if you have been injured; and the judiciary court will cause due enquiry to be made touching riotous and unlawful assemblies and their misdemeanors, and inflict legal punishment on such as, by verdict of a jury, may be found guilty.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient humble servant.

*To Captain Stanhope.*

*Mercury, Boston-harbour, Aug. 2, 1785.*

SIR,

When I had the honour of applying to your excellency to discountenance the disgraceful attacks made upon me and the officers of his Britannic majesty's ship Mercury, under my command, and to afford us your protection, it was upon your positive assurance to that effect, in their presence, I rested my hope. How much your conduct contradicts both that and my  
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expectation is too obvious either to satisfy me, or even do credit to yourself; for your excellency must excuse me when I remark, that I never received a letter so insulting to my senses, as your answer to my requisition of yesterday. I am however happy in finding a much better disposition in the first class of inhabitants, whose assistance I am glad to acknowledge as the more acceptable, after your apparent evasion from the substance of my letter; and however well informed your excellency may believe yourself, upon the laws and customs of nations in similar cases, allow me to assure you there is not one, no not even the ally of these States, that would not most severely reprobate, either the want of energy in government, or the disinclination of the governor, to correct such notorious insults to public characters, in which light only we can desire to be received.

I have the honour to be  
your Excellency's  
most obedient humble servant.

*To his Excellency Governor Bowdoin.*

Captain Stanhope,

Your letter, dated the second instant, was delivered to me by your lieutenant Mr. Nash, at four o'clock this afternoon.

I hereby let you know, that as the letter is conceived in terms of insolence and abuse, altogether unprovoked, I shall take such measures concerning it, as the dignity of my station, and a just regard to the honour of this commonwealth, connected with the honour of the United States in general, shall require.

*Boston, Aug. 3, 1785,  
6 o'clock, P. M.*

*Mercury, Nantasket-road, Aug. 5,  
1785, half past 12, A. M.*

Sir,

I am to acknowledge the honour of your excellency's letter, this moment received, and have to assure you, I shall most cheerfully submit to the worst consequences that can arise from our correspondence, which I do not conceive, on my part, to have been couched in terms of either insolence or abuse, which is more than I could venture to say of your's; and however exalted your excellency's station is, I know not of any more respectable than that I have the honour to fill.

I have the honour to be  
your Excellency's  
most obedient humble servant.

*To his Excellency Governor Bowdoin.*

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*Address of the Justices of the City  
and County of Philadelphia, to the  
Honourable Benjamin Franklin,  
LL. D.*

The justices of the city and county of Philadelphia, impressed with the most lively sense of your great and extraordinary services to the United States, and this state in particular, approach you with the highest veneration and respect. We are happy, Sir, in having it in our power sincerely to congratulate you upon your return to a city, whose inhabitants with pleasure recognize the numberless instances of your wisdom, patriotism, and benevolence. Our cordial aspirations are, that it may please God to dispense to you every felicity during the remainder of your days, and to make them subservient to the purposes of this,

this, and the other states of the union.

In behalf of the justices,  
PLUNKETT FLEESON, President.  
Sept. 17, 1785.

To which the Doctor returned the following answer.

Gentlemen,

I am very sensible of the honour done me by your kind congratulations on my safe return to our country.

To find it in the full enjoyment of peace and liberty, makes me esteem the day of my arrival among the happiest of my life.

That its present felicity in good laws, faithfully executed by a virtuous magistracy, may be long continued, is one of my most fervent prayers.

B. FRANKLIN.

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*Letter from the King of Prussia to the States-General, Sept. 17, 1785.*

High and mighty lords, and particularly good friends and neighbours, &c.

We, Frederick, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, margrave of Brandenburg, &c. &c. &c.

After having communicated to your high mightinesses our uneasiness and intention, by our ample letter of the 29th of February, of the last year, respecting the disagreeable situation for some time before of the lord hereditary stadtholder prince of Orange and Nassau; and having received on that head, on the part of your high mightinesses, by your answer of August 31, of the same year, assurances so agreeable respecting that affair, we did hope that these circumstances would not have taken place any more; but on the con-

trary, that the said lord hereditary stadtholder would have been left in the quiet exercise of his incontestable prerogatives, appertaining to his dignity of hereditary stadtholder.

But since we learn the contrary, and even some very unfavourable advices from some of the provinces of your high mightinesses, this has excited us to dispatch to the lords states of the province of Holland and West Friesland a letter, of which a copy is inclosed,

Being convinced of your high mightinesses' love of equity, and of your affection for the house of Orange and Nassau, which has merited it, in all the States of the United Provinces, we most earnestly pray your high mightinesses, by the present, as a neighbour and friend, to interpose in the present disagreeable events, and that you will address with zeal both the lords states of Holland and West Friesland, and the states of the other provinces, where necessary, in order that the lord hereditary stadtholder may peaceably enjoy the rights belonging to him hereditarily; that those taken from him may be restored, and that a perfect harmony may be re-established.

Thus we recommend by the present in the most serious manner to your high mightinesses, the welfare and interests of the lord hereditary stadtholder, of our dear niece, and of their family, which gives so much hopes; that your high mightinesses therefore will vouchsafe to take into deliberation, and make the lords of the respective states consider, that we cannot be indifferent respecting the cruel and unmerited fate of persons so nearly related to us; but, on the contrary, that we shall watch over the preservation of the welfare due to them, and to which we ought

to contribute by every possible means. To that effect we equally present our impartial mediation, in quality of friend and neighbour, and with the best intentions.

We hope to see in consequence, that our best wishes will be fulfilled in that respect; and in this expectation we remain at all times affectionate to your high mightinesses as a friend and neighbour.

Berlin, Sept. 18, FREDERICK,  
1785.

PINCKENSTEIN.  
And underneath HERTSBERG.

*Answer of the States of Holland and  
West Friesland to the foregoing  
Letter.*

Most high and most serene Lord  
and King,

We have received in due time the letter, dated the 18th of September last, with which your majesty has been pleased to favour us. It was with the liveliest satisfaction we found therein repeated assurances of your good will and friendship towards the republic, of which our province constitutes the principal part. We know too well how to prize them both not to set a proper value on such favourable dispositions, and in the mean time testify our gratitude in the most solemn manner, our most ardent wish being that the republic may long continue to enjoy so valuable a blessing; but the purer our desire is to cultivate them, the more sensibly were we affected at finding by your letter, that one of the principal motives that occasioned its being written, is grounded on the information given to your majesty, tending to insinuate, not only that we meant to deprive the prince of Orange of

a rights that might belong to his quality of hereditary stadtholder and captain-general; but also that, from the state of affairs in this province, it appeared, that the real intention was to wrest from the said prince successively the most essential and important privileges belonging to the stadtholdership, so as to leave him the bare title and mere shadow.

As far as such informations are confined to a vague and general statement of the real facts, it is hardly possible for us minutely to examine and enquire, whether without our knowledge and against our will any attempt has been made here or there, which might be hinted at by so undetermined an exposition; but of this we can assure your majesty, with that frank cordiality, vouched to by that love for justice which you are pleased to acknowledge in us, that, however sensible we are of the necessity that enforces the putting an effectual stop to several abuses and encroachments, which only tend to the detriment of the country; and although we cannot refuse our concurrence to redress such grievances; yet we never have consented, nor shall at any time suffer, that any regulation be adopted contrary to our legal and permanent constitution, or derogatory to the lawful rights of the hereditary stadtholder, or of any other person. We flatter ourselves, sire, that the sincere assurances we here give to your majesty will fully suffice to do away the unfavourable impressions, which may have been the consequences of erroneous, and, as it appears, entirely vague information, hoping that your majesty likewise will not consider, from what hath been said more particularly, as we conjecture from your letter, our resolution of the  
8th

8th of September as an act levelled against the acknowledged and incontestable rights of the said stadtholder, as we can most positively aver, that neither the contents nor meaning of the said resolution accord even in the least article with what hath been represented, or have any tendency thereto.

Nothing but our regard for your majesty could induce us to enter into these explanations; though, this consideration set aside, were it possible to discuss the subject, we should have stronger reasons to shew our concern at the thoughts which, to all appearance, have been suggested to your majesty, concerning the aforesaid resolve; as such thoughts tend to make it doubtful, whether we, who are beyond dispute invested with the sovereignty over this province, have a right, for our own safety, and in order to repress the civil commotions which our own eyes have witnessed, to authorise and empower the assembly of our deputies (whose duty and department it is to look to such matters, and at whose deliberations the prince of Orange has a right to assist) to call in the military garrisoned in this place, consisting mostly of our own guards, and to form such detachments as might restore public order and tranquillity.

We cannot therefore suspect the prince of having conveyed such information, to complain, as it were, to your majesty against us, since we must suppose in the prince too clear a knowledge of our constitution, and too great an attachment to the relations which it gives him to us, to imagine him capable of having taken a step, which, in our opinion, would give birth to a system tending, if once admitted, to leave us nothing more than the empty name, the very shadow of sovereignty.

With a monarch, who, like you, sire, duly estimates the rights inseparable from sovereign power, we should certainly forfeit all claim to that regard and esteem which your majesty is pleased to express for us, if, instead of watching with the utmost care over those prerogatives which incontestably belong to us, we were to suffer them to be weakened by any kind of arrangement relative to one or the other parts thereof. This reason gives us cause to rest assured that the prince of Orange will himself acknowledge our system of government, and be convinced that, as we again repeat it, we are incapable of failing in regard to him, in any part of that justice and equity by which we constantly endeavour to distinguish our government; having nothing more at heart than to multiply the salutary effects which a due and just discharge of the high offices entrusted to that prince, both in the republic at large and this province in particular, are calculated to produce for the good and welfare of the country and its inhabitants.

As to the rest, we beg leave to refer your majesty to the letter written with our consent by the states-general, on the 30th of August, 1784, to the contents of which we fully and readily subscribe. Permit us, sire, to recommend the republic and this province to your royal friendship. We have the honour to be, &c.

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*Resolutions of the City of London, in Common Hall, respecting the Shop Tax, Nov. 4, 1785.*

CLARK, Mayor.

In a Meeting or Assembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the several Companies of the City of London, in Common Hall  
(N 4)

Hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said City, on Friday the 4th Day of November, 1785.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the indispensable duty of every liveryman of this city to protect, by every constitutional exertion, the general interest of his fellow-citizens.

Resolved unanimously, That those interests are inseparably connected with, and entirely dependent upon, the trade of the metropolis.

Resolved unanimously, That every measure which tends to subvert this invaluable foundation of our trade and subsistence, is not only in the highest degree unwise and impolitic on the part of government, from whence it proceeds, but such as calls for the exercise of every legal endeavour; on the part of the citizens, to resist and oppose to the utmost.

Resolved unanimously, That the shop-tax is precisely such a measure as is described in the preceding resolution, and that therefore the opposition to it is a point in which all descriptions of men ought to unite, and with which party prejudices ought to have no concern; and that it is the duty of every conscientious citizen to join, as against an impost not only partial and inequitable in its principle, but in the highest degree dangerous and oppressive in its operation.

Resolved unanimously, That therefore we most earnestly recommend to our fellow-subjects at large strenuously to persevere in the exertion of every constitutional means for obtaining a repeal of that most oppressive act; and to unite in one firm, sober, and deliberate opinion, as to the necessity of the immediately adopting such measures as may afford a rational expectation of security to their trade, and a well-

grounded hope for the return of public prosperity.

[The above resolutions, and four more of thanks, were ordered to be signed by the town-clerk, and published in all the papers.]

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*Definitive Treaty of Peace between the Emperor of Germany and the States General, Nov. 8, 1785.*

I. There shall be perpetual peace, and a constant and sincere friendship between his imperial majesty; his heirs and successors, and their high mightinesses the states general of the united provinces, their estates, provinces, and countries, and their respective vassals and subjects.

II. The treaty concluded at Munster, January 30, 1648, shall be the basis of the present treaty; and all the stipulations of the said treaty of Munster shall be preserved, in as much as they shall not be affected by the present.

III. It shall be allowed hereafter, to the two contracting powers, to make such regulations as they shall think advisable for the commerce and customs of their respective states.

IV. The limits of Flanders shall remain the same as at the convention in the year 1664, and if any difficulty shall arise, owing to the obscurity of time, it shall be settled one month after the exchange of the ratification; by commissaries, named by each of the contracting parties, to adjust it. It is moreover agreed, that it shall be settled in a manner to be deemed reciprocally advantageous.

V. The high contracting powers reciprocally engage not to construct any forts, or erect any batteries whose shot will reach from the one

to



to the other; and to demolish those which are already constructed in that manner.

VI. Their high mightinesses shall cause to be regulated, in the most convenient manner, and to the satisfaction of the emperor, the flooding of the waters in his majesty's dominions in Flanders, and on the banks of the Maese, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the inundations. Their high mightinesses also consent, that to that end there shall be made use of, under a reasonable rent, the necessary land under their government. The sluices which shall be constructed for that purpose on the territories of the states general, shall remain under their sovereignty; and they shall not be constructed in any place which will obstruct a defence of their frontiers. The most convenient situations for the said sluices shall be respectively named in the space of one month after the exchange of the ratification by commissaries, who shall also agree for those which are to be under the government of both powers.

VII. Their high mightinesses acknowledge the full right of absolute and independent sovereignty of his imperial majesty over all the part of Scheldt, from Antwerp to the limits of the country of Saftingen, conformable to the line drawn in 1664. The states-general renounce, in consequence, the right of levying any tax or impost on that part of the Scheldt; also from interrupting, in any manner, the navigation and commerce of his imperial majesty's subjects. The rest of the river beyond the line, drawn from the sea, shall continue under the sovereignty of the states-general; also the canals of the Sas, the Swin, and the other neighbouring mouths of the sea, conformable to the treaty of Munster.

VIII. Their high mightinesses shall evacuate and demolish the forts of Kruischans, and of Frederick Henry, and shall cede the territories to his imperial majesty.

IX. Their high mightinesses, willing to give to the emperor a new proof of their desire to establish the most perfect intelligence between the two countries, consent to evacuate and submit to the discretion of his imperial majesty, the forts of Lillo and Liefkenschoek, with the fortifications in their present condition; the states-general reserving to themselves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition of all forts.

X. The fulfilling the two preceding articles shall take place six weeks after the exchange of the ratification.

XI. His imperial majesty renounces the pretensions he had formed upon the banks and villages of Bladel and Reusel.

XII. Their high mightinesses renounce, on their part, all pretensions on the village of Postel, it being understood that the revenues of the abbey of Postel, secularized by the states-general, cannot be reclaimed.

XIII. There shall be named, in the term of one month after the exchange of the ratification, commissaries to survey the limits of Brabant, and to agree on each part of the exchanges that can be made for their mutual advantage.

XIV. His imperial majesty renounces all the rights and pretensions which he had formed, or can form, in virtue of the treaty of 1763, upon the village of Maellricht, the county of Vroenhoven, the banks of St. Servas, and the country beyond the Maese.

XV. Their high mightinesses shall pay to his imperial majesty the sum of nine millions five hundred thou-

thousand florins, in the current money of Holland.

XVI. Their high mightinesses having declared their intentions to indemnify such of his imperial majesty's subjects who have suffered by the inundations, engage to pay to his imperial majesty, for that purpose, the sum of five hundred thousand florins.

XVII. The payments of the sums stipulated by the two preceding articles, shall be made in the manner following:—Three months after the ratification of the present treaty, the states-general will cause to be paid into the imperial treasury of Brussels, the sum of twelve hundred and fifty thousand Dutch florins; and every six months after, a like sum, till the whole is completed. These payments not to be stopped or suspended under any pretext whatsoever.

XVIII. Their high mightinesses cede to his imperial majesty the ban of Aulne, situated in the country of Dahlem, and its dependencies; the lordship of the ban of Blegny-le Trembleur, with St. Andre; the lordship of Teneur, lordship of Bom-baye; the city and castle of Dahlem, with its appurtenances and dependencies, except Oost and Cadier.

XIX. In exchange for the cessions in article XVIII. his imperial majesty cedes to their high mightinesses the lordships of Viex-Fauquemont, Schin on the Guele, Strucht, with their appurtenances and dependencies; the lordship of Schaefburgh, with its dependencies; the limits of Austrian Fauquemont, in which is situated the convent of St. Gertach, and the villages of Ob-bicht and Papenhoven, with their dependencies, situate in Austrian Gueldres. His majesty renounces all his pretensions to that part of the village of Schimmert, named

Le Bies, with that part of the district which has always furnished its contingent to their high mightinesses. His imperial majesty also renounces his pretensions on those parts of the heaths and lands demanded on the sides of Haerlem, on those of Ubach, Broutsen, and Simplevelt; reserving, nevertheless, that the subjects of his imperial majesty shall have free liberty of communication and passage through all toll-houses and other barriers on the great road which runs through the limits of the bar of Kerkeureadt, as the subjects of their high mightinesses shall likewise be allowed the same liberty through the rest of the road to the country of Ter Hyde.

XX. For the cession of the forts Lillo and Liefkenshoek, the emperor cedes all the rights he may have to the villages called of Redemption, except three, viz. Falais, Argenteau, and Hermal, which their high mightinesses, on their parts, give up, and engage not to raise the Redemption money, as his majesty also engages not to do in the stipulated villages.

XXI. It shall be free for the inhabitants of the countries reciprocally ceded, to quit them, or to stay, and they shall have the free exercise of their religion.

XXII. XXIII. Their high mightinesses give up to the emperor all their rights to the village of Berneau, in the country of Dahlem, which was not included in the partition of the country beyond the Maese in 1661, and a village in the country of Fauquemont, also not included in the said partition, is ceded to the republic.

XXIV. In a month's time after the ratification, commissioners shall be appointed to regulate the limits of the country beyond the Maese.

XXV. It

XXV. It is agreed, that the pecuniary debts between state and state are annulled, and what regards private people is to be settled by commissioners.

XXVI. In a month after the ratification, commissioners shall be appointed to fix the just contingent to be furnished in future by the states-general towards the amount attached to the ancient charges of Brabant, which commissioners shall be obliged to finish that work in one year, and in the mean time things are to remain upon their old footing.

XXVII. The two high contracting parties renounce, without any reserve, all farther pretensions that the one may have against the other.

XXVIII. His Christian majesty is requested by both parties to become guarantee to this treaty.

XXIX. This treaty shall be ratified by his imperial majesty and their high mightinesses, and exchanged in six weeks, if possible, from this day.

Signed,

(L. S.)

COMTE DE MERCY D'ARGENTEAU.

(L. S.)

ESTEVENON DE BERKENRODE.

(L. S.)

GERARD BRANSTEN.

And as plenipotentiary of his Christian majesty,

(L. S.)

COMTE DE VERGENNES.

To this definitive treaty a separate convention was added, containing nine articles concerning certain arrangements and conditions.

Article I. II. III, and IV. regard the rights to raise men in the places reciprocally ceded,

V. The officers and others on duty in the country of Dahlen shall

have pensions at the charge of the country.

VI. The major and the greffier of the town and high court of Dahlen, as also of the lordships ceded to his imperial majesty, who are not continued in their employments, shall receive a reasonable compensation, or have the liberty of selling their places, under the approbation of the government of the Netherlands, which shall also be observed on the part of their high mightinesses.

VII. The places which have been reciprocally ceded shall be delivered up without any expence to the country.

VIII. This regards the cessions with respect to which every thing is to be done, according to the treaty of partition of 1661.

IX. This is relating to the convention respecting the convent of St. Gerlach, belonging to the places ceded to their high mightinesses in the 16th article.

This convention to be added to the treaty, and to be of the same value.

Agreed the 8th of November, and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties and guarantee,

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*Treaty of Alliance between his most Christian Majesty and the States General, Nov. 8, 1785.*

I. There shall be a sincere and constant friendship and union between his Christian majesty, his heirs and successors, and the United Provinces of the Low Countries. For which purpose the high contracting parties will be most particularly careful that nothing shall occur in their respective estates to disturb the said harmony, and so far from

from committing any act of hostility, on any account whatever, that they will do every thing for the reciprocal support of their mutual honour and advantage, &c.

II. The Christian king and the states-general promise to contribute all in their power to their respective security, and to preserve themselves in tranquillity, peace, and neutrality, as also the actual possession of all their estates, domains, franchises, and liberties, and to protect each other from any hostile attack in all parts of the world; and in order the more positively to fix the extent of the guarantee with which his majesty has charged himself, it is expressly stipulated, that it shall comprehend the treaty of Munster of 1648, and of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, except the derogations which the said treaties have undergone, or may undergo in future.

III. In consequence of the above engagement, the contracting parties shall unite for the preservation of peace, and in case either of them are threatened with an attack, the other shall use his good offices to prevent hostilities.

IV. But if the said good offices shall prove ineffectual, his Christian majesty and their high mightinesses engage from this time to assist each other both by sea and land, for which purpose his Christian majesty shall furnish the states-general with 10,000 men infantry, 2000 men cavalry, 12 sail of the line, and six frigates; and their high mightinesses, in case of a marine war, or in case his majesty shall meet with any hostilities by sea, shall furnish six ships of the line and three frigates; and in case of an attack upon the French territory, the states-general shall furnish their contingent of troops in money, which shall be estimated by a separate arti-

cle or convention, unless they prefer furnishing them in kind; the estimate to be made on the footing of 5000 men infantry, and 1000 men cavalry.

V. The power which furnishes the succours, whether in ships or men, shall pay and support them, wherever they may be employed by the ally, and whether the ships or troops remain a long or a short time in the ports of the party requiring the succours, the said party is to furnish them with what they may want, at the same rate as if they belonged to them; nevertheless the said ships and troops are not, in any respect, to be maintained at the expence of the requiring party, although they are, during the whole war in which the said party may be engaged, to be entirely at their disposal, and under the command of their own chief, but in all operations to be entirely under command of the chief of the requiring party.

VI. The Christian king and the states-general engage to keep the ships and troops complete and well armed, insomuch that as soon as either of the powers may have furnished the required succours stipulated in the 4th article, they shall cause a number of ships and frigates to be armed equal to what they have furnished, to be ready to replace such as may be lost by the accidents of war or the sea.

VII. In case the stipulated succours shall be insufficient for the defence of the requiring party, and to procure a proper peace, they shall be augmented according to the necessities of the requiring party; nay, the contracting parties shall assist each other *with all their forces* if necessary; but it is agreed that at any rate the contingent of troops to be furnished by the states-general shall not exceed 20,000 men infantry,

try, and 4000 men cavalry, and the reserve made in the IVth article in favour of the states-general with regard to the land forces shall remain in force.

VIII. When a marine war shall be declared, in which neither of the contracting powers have any part, they shall mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the seas in conformity to the principle of *Pavillon Ami sauve Marchandise Ennemie*, excepting however all those exceptions contained in the XIXth and XXth articles of the treaty of commerce signed at Utrecht on the 11th of April 1713, between France and the United Provinces, which articles shall have the same force and value as if they were inserted word for word in the present treaty.

IX. If (which God forbid) either of the two contracting parties shall be engaged in a war, in which the other shall be obliged to take a direct part, they shall concert together the most effectual means of annoying the enemy, and oblige him to make peace; and neither of them shall have power to disarm, to make or receive proposals of peace or truce, without the consent of the other; and if a negociation shall be opened, it shall not be begun and followed by either of the parties, without the participation of the other, and they shall make each other acquainted with all that passes in the said negociation.

X. The two contracting parties, with a view efficaciously to fulfil the engagements of this treaty, agree to keep their forces at all times in a good state, and they shall have liberty to require of each other all the eclaireissement on that subject they think necessary; they shall communicate to each other the state of defence in which their military

are, and concert the properest means to provide for the same.

XI. The two parties shall faithfully communicate to each other the engagements which exist between them and other powers of Europe, which are to remain untouched, and they promise not to contract any future alliance or engagement, whatever, which shall be directly or indirectly contrary to the present treaty.

XII. The object of the present treaty having not only the security and tranquillity of the two contracting parties in view, but also the maintenance of general peace, his Christian majesty and their high mightinesses have reserved to themselves the liberty to request such other powers to join the said treaty as they may judge necessary.

XIII. In order the stronger to cement the good intelligence and union between the French and Dutch nations, it is agreed that the two high contracting parties shall enter into a treaty of commerce, that the subjects of the republic shall be treated in France, relative to trade and navigation, as the most favoured nation, and that the subjects of his Christian majesty shall be treated the same in the United Provinces.

XIV. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, in good and due form, shall be exchanged at Versailles between the high contracting parties in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, from the date of the signing of the present treaty.

In faith of which, we the underwritten ambassadors and plenipotentiaries have set our hands and seals to the present treaty.

Done at Fontainebleau, Nov. 10, 1785.

Signed,

Signed,  
(L. S.) GRAVIER COMTE DE  
VERGENNES.

(L. S.) LESTEVENON DE BER-  
KENRODE.

(L. S.) GERARD BRANSTEN.

### SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. In case the requiring party wishes to employ the succour demanded out of Europe, he is to give the other party the earliest notice, and at least a time of three months, that measures may be taken accordingly.

II. In consequence of the 4th article of the Treaty of Alliance, the two parties have agreed that 1000 men infantry shall be valued at 20,000 Dutch florins, and 1000 men cavalry at 30,000 florins per month.

III. By virtue of the contracted alliance, both parties shall, as much as possible, further their mutual prosperity and advantage, by rendering each other every assistance, both in counsel and succours, upon all occasions, and not agree to any treaties or negotiations which may be detrimental to each other, but shall give notice of any such negotiations, &c. as soon as they are proposed.

IV. It is expressly agreed, that the guarantee stipulated in the 2d article of the Treaty signed this day shall comprehend the arrangement made through the mediation of his Christian majesty between the emperor and the United Provinces.

V. These separate articles have the same force and value as if they were incorporated in the said Treaty of Alliance.

Signed this day. In faith of which, &c.

Signed as the Treaty.

*Memorial delivered, after the foregoing Treaties were signed, by Sir James Harris, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Court of London, in a Conference with the Hebdomadary President of the States-General.*

High and Mighty Lords,

The king cannot but express the most sincere wish, that the means pursued by your high mightinesses to conciliate the differences with the emperor, may secure a peace upon a lasting and permanent basis between the two powers.

His majesty takes with pleasure this opportunity, amidst the public tranquillity, to renew to your high mightinesses the strongest assurances of those sentiments of friendship and good-will towards the republic, which ever animated his majesty, as well as the British nation.

Such sentiments are equally founded on the remembrance of the essential assistance, which the two countries have formerly mutually afforded to each other, in order to secure their liberty, independence, and religious worship, as on the natural and permanent interest, which ought at all times to incline both nations to the most perfect friendship.

In fact, whether we attend to the evils, which, from the local situation of the two countries, must unavoidably, and in a very peculiar manner affect them during a war, to the great prejudice of their dearest concerns, both in political and commercial matters in the different parts of the world, or whether due attention be paid to the solidity, which a good understanding between the two powers might give to their respective settlements, to trade, and to the preservation of a general peace,



peace, it will clearly appear that prudence and sound policy must invite them to a closer union.

Yet, if your high mightinesses are of opinion, that, on account of the civil dissensions which, for some time, have unfortunately prevailed within the republic, to his majesty's great concern, the present time is ill suited to the settling of the mutual interests of both nations, an object ever present to his majesty, it is hoped, at least, that your high mightinesses, after such assurances from the king, and all his majesty's friendly dispositions towards the republic, will think it suitable to your wonted wisdom not to be drawn in to accept of any engagements which might, at any time, betray you into a system contrary to that rectitude which hath ever guided his majesty, or, by making you swerve from the solid basis of an independent neutrality, raise insuperable obstacles to the renewal of an alliance between the two powers, when time and circumstances may present it to your high mightinesses as a matter of necessity and mutual conveniency.

It is by the express command of his majesty, that the underwritten has the honour of suggesting to your high mightinesses these reflections, so salutary in their object, trusting that you will pay to them that attention which the importance of the matter requires.

(Signed) J. HARRIS.

*Proceedings of the Congress of America, on the Arrival of a British Consul General, Dec. 2, 1785.*

*By the United States in Congress assembled, Dec. 2, 1785.*

The secretary of the United States for the department of foreign affairs, to whom was referred his let-

ter, of the 24th of November, to his excellency the president, with J. Temple's commission, having reported, that John Temple, esq. had presented to the United States, in congress assembled, a commission in due form, bearing date the 5th day of February last, from his Britannic majesty, constituting and appointing him the consul-general of his said majesty to these States :

That there is as yet no commercial treaty or convention subsisting between his Britannic majesty and the United States, whereby either have a perfect right to establish consuls in the dominions of the other ; but that amicable negotiation for that and other reciprocal privileges are now depending :

That although the issue of those negotiations is as yet uncertain, it will nevertheless be proper for the United States, on this and every other occasion, to observe as great a degree of liberality as may consist with a due regard to their national honour and welfare : therefore,

Resolved, That the said John Temple, esq. be, and he hereby is, received and recognized as consul-general of his Britannic majesty throughout the United States, and that his commission be registered in the secretary's office.

Resolved, That all the privileges, pre-eminences, and authority, which the laws of nations and of the land give to a consul-general received by the United States from any nation with whom they have no commercial treaty or convention, are due to the said John Temple, and shall be enjoyed by him.

Resolved, That certified copies of the above resolutions be transmitted to the executives of the different States for their information.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec.

*Letter*

*Letter from the Hon. Warren Hastings, late Governor General of Bengal, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated July 9, and read Dec. 21, 1785, at a General Quarterly Court of the Proprietors.*

*Cheltenham, July 9, 1785.*

Honourable Sirs,

I have had the honour to receive from your secretary by your order, copies of an unanimous resolution of the general court of proprietors of the 7th of November 1782, and of another of your honourable court of the 28th of December last.

With a sense of gratitude equal to the zeal with which I have endeavoured to merit those sanctions for my past services, I humbly beg leave to offer to you, honourable Sirs, my warmest acknowledgments for both; and if I am not irregular in the request, may I beg, that you will be pleased to communicate the same sentiments to the court of proprietors, to whom I have no other means of access, but through the channel of your honourable court.

It is not possible for me by any mode of expression to convey either to your honourable court, or that of the proprietors, all the gratitude which I feel for those repeated pledges of your approbation, and I am still less satisfied on such an occasion as the present, on which any return that I can make will seem rather to be drawn from me as the necessary form of a reply to the thanks bestowed upon me, than to proceed from the generous and spontaneous impulse of a heart devoted to your service. But as at the time in which I parted from your service, no such motive could exist; and, as at that time I conveyed to your honourable court the effusions of a mind, filled with that

spirit which had ever animated it to its best exertions, allow me to appeal to those expressions as to the truest state of my feelings, and to conclude my letter by repeating, that "after a service of thirty-five years from its commencement, and almost thirteen of that time passed in the charge and exercise of the first nominal office of this government, I do not part from it with indifference—I owe to my ever honoured employers the service of my life, and would with the devotion of a heart, animated with the highest sense of gratitude, offer it even with life, if the service could be accepted, or could, when accepted, contribute to the advancement of their interests, in return for the unexampled instances which I have received of their generous support and protection."

Such professions are indeed easily made, and I know not how mine can be put to the test—but my conscience both avows them, and prompts me to declare, that no man ever served them with a zeal superior to my own, nor perhaps with equal.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, &c.

WARREN HASTINGS.

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*Extraordinary Petition addressed to the Queen of Portugal by the Chevalier Brunzi d'Entrecasteaux, formerly President of the Parliament of Provence, who fled from France to Portugal on Account of having murdered his Wife. See Public Occurrences, p. 56.*

Your majesty beholds at your feet a criminal imploring from your justice a punishment which to him will be a favour: he trembles while he lifts his mournful voice to your majesty:

majesty: his crime would even render him unworthy of such honour, did not his remorse efface what he must call the indignity he offers to you: this reflection alone induces him to request of your majesty a death which, while it punishes his crime, will put an end to his misery.

I am the Frenchman who came into your dominions under the borrowed name of the chevalier de Bar-ral, and was taken into custody by your orders. I will conceal nothing from your majesty. My name is Brunzi d'Entrecasteaux, of a noble family in Provence, born with a disposition inclined to virtue and honour; but the too great impetuosity of my temper has made me guilty of assassination.

Hurried away by a violent passion, and (may I add) by a sentiment of honour carried to excess, I found myself criminal at the moment I thought myself only virtuous. At the time, when with blushes I make this humiliating confession to your majesty, the stings of remorse grow sharper, the wounds of my heart bleed afresh, and the pain of them becomes more excruciating. I am sensible that this chastisement is not adequate to the enormity of my crime; all I request is, to obtain one capable of expiating it.

My father and mother married me when I was very young, being only eighteen years of age. I made one of those advantageous matches which parents inconsiderately accept, without adverting to what ought to be the first object of their attention, viz. whether there does not exist a natural aversion between the parties who are to be united for life? Another reason determined them to oblige me to contract this marriage: it was done (they said)

1785.

in order to secure me against the ill effects of the passions incident to youth. But they did not consider that mine were not yet awakened; this precaution, therefore, rather served to chain them down for a time, than to free me from their dominion. Restraint made them break out with greater violence, and the consequences were more fatal. The time soon came which gave birth to the strongest passion; a seducing object made me forget what I owed to my spouse; my heart, naturally susceptible, and hitherto unaccustomed to love, fell a prey to it in all its violence. The excellence of the object which inspired it, appeared to me a sufficient justification; she could not resist the vehemence with which I expressed my sentiments; the flame which consumed me soon penetrated to her heart: this was the epocha of all her misfortunes, and consequently of mine.

So powerful a passion, fostered by four years of the most familiar intercourse, had come to its greatest height, when my family discovered its object. This accident deprived my mistress of every hope of that happiness which she had a right to expect; and, in addition to her distress, she found herself on the point of losing her reputation, in consequence of the noise such an event would make. Filled with despair for having reduced her to a situation so dreadful, I resolved, as I could not extricate her, to share her misery. I proposed to her to elope with me, that being the more easy, as I was of an age which enabled me to dispose of my property, and it would have been no difficult matter to raise a sufficiency for our subsistence in some corner of the world where we should have found an asylum. But though she had ruined herself for me, she would not consent

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sent that I should ruin myself for her. My tears, my entreaties, were fruitless. She remained inflexible. Her refusal, while it heightened my admiration, threw me into despair. I saw no remedy for her misfortune, but what I could have given her had I been single. This idea caused my ruin. The frenzy of my passion having reduced me to the dreadful alternative of sacrificing the honour of the woman whom I adored, or the life of her who had been given me for a companion, I grew desperate, my reason abandoned me, and my hand became guilty. My strength fails me at the dreadful recollection, which oppresses and harrows up my soul. It is necessary (for I must give to truth the authenticity it requires) that I should still add to my shame, by confessing that I was the sole author of the atrocious crime; I was not seduced to the commission of it by the person for the love of whom it was perpetrated. Had she thought me capable of such a design, her virtue would have prevented my guilt.

This is the crime I confess to your majesty. I demand vengeance against myself: you will satisfy your justice by punishing me; and I shall bless your clemency, which will free me from the tortures of my remorse. The moment that I committed the crime, I was struck with its enormity, without thinking on any measures proper to be taken. My family, dreading the disgrace affixed to the punishment which I have but too well deserved, obliged me to abscond. I took flight, without knowing whither I should go, to drag out the remainder of so guilty a life. Scarcely had my mind recovered its powers, when it became its own tormentor. Every day presented to me stronger pictures of horror. The calm which some-

times succeeded these violent emotions, gave me pains of a different kind. My passion was not extinguished by the crime it had caused: on the contrary, it seemed to have acquired new strength, and filled up the intervals of my despair.

In this excruciating situation, I was several times tempted to put an end to my life; but (can your majesty believe it? Judge from this of the violence of my phrenzy) the love which had made me guilty, which doubled my misery, was the only obstacle which prevented me from suicide. The hope of once more seeing the object of my passion, did not extinguish my remorse, which I still felt in all its horror.

Such was the state of my mind on my arrival in your majesty's dominions, where being taken into custody by your orders, I could not be ignorant of the cause of my detention. I am now deprived of the only hope which supported me; I have nothing left but remorse and despair. The justice of France claims me. My family has had interest to obtain the commutation of my punishment into perpetual imprisonment: my mind cannot bear either of those prospects. Certainly I dread not death, for I request it of your majesty as a favour. But ignominy is to me intolerable, and that would attend me from the moment of my arrival in my own country; that would incessantly haunt me, and poison the last moments of my life. Alas! if I must die, let it not be in my own country. The second prospect suggests ideas still more dreadful. What can be worse than to live in perpetual imprisonment, a prey to my remorse, the stings of which become still more severe by the want of an object to dissipate my thoughts? And those torments, though long  
and

and horrible, would never efface my crime either in the sight of justice or of men: death, therefore, in whatever shape it may come, is a thousand times preferable. In this sentiment I cast myself at your majesty's feet, humbly supplicating that you will be pleased to make me undergo, in your dominions, the punishment I have but too well deserved.

My heart was not naturally vicious; a moment of phrenzy plunged it into the abyss where it is now sunk; yet, though not less guilty, nor less worthy of chastisement, if it cannot obtain pardon, it may deserve some pity. May your majesty, then, deign to listen to the voice of that pity, and spare me the shame of an execution in France, by putting me to death in Portugal. I know well that the prejudices of the French, even if I pay to justice the punishment to which I shall be condemned, will affix perpetual infamy to my memory. But surely when justice is once satisfied, no trace of the crime remains, and prejudice ought to rest contented. I dare to hope, therefore, that by petitioning for, and voluntarily offering myself to, the death I have deserved, I may deliver my soul from an ignominy for which it was not formed, but which it has notwithstanding incurred.

In my last moments I shall have the consolation of thinking that my name will no longer be held in horror; and when I bid a final adieu to the authors of my life, I shall be enabled to say to them, "Your son is still worthy of you; he has wiped off the shame with which he covered you; he has expiated the crime which he committed, and has regained a title to your compassion."

Should I have the good fortune to excite your majesty's pity, and

your clemency induce you to grant such a petition, your majesty cannot apprehend that your justice, which interests itself for every object, will be liable to the least impeachment of violating the rights of nations, by punishing, in your own dominions, the subject of another monarchy, for a crime committed in his native country. On the contrary, I flatter myself I shall be able to demonstrate to your majesty, that justice even requires my punishment at your hands. I am not guilty as a Frenchman; it is not that nation I have offended; I am guilty as a man, and owe to all mankind an expiation of my crime. Wherever there are men, and laws to govern them, I bear about the mark of disapprobation with which I am stigmatised: wherever my crime is known, my blood may be lawfully shed; and in this country it is known by my confession to your majesty. I am at once the accuser, the witness, and the criminal: what more is wanting but the sentence of condemnation, which I supplicate your majesty to pronounce?

I venture to entertain the greatest hopes of obtaining a request which enables your majesty to unite justice with mercy. If the torments of a soul distracted by the most violent emotions on the recollection of a crime repugnant to its very essence, can deserve any pity, it is a favour I entreat from your majesty's clemency, when I ask for death to put an end to my miseries, and expiate a crime at which human nature shudders. If, on the contrary, my guilt be too atrocious for any favour to be shewn, I call upon your justice, I inform against a criminal, and petition for his execution.

Had your majesty been engaged in war, before expiating my crime by the proper punishment, I would

have petitioned for liberty to shed my guilty blood in your service, that my death might not be entirely useless; but your majesty having the happiness to enjoy profound peace, every drop of my blood is due to justice. If I obtain that favour, I shall be indebted to your majesty for the recovery of my virtue, the preservation of my honour, and the end of my miseries. If, on the contrary, you judge that, considering the enormity of my crime, my blood ought not to pollute your dominions, nothing remains for me but despair. In either case I shall with my last breath offer up my prayers for the prosperity of your majesty's reign.

Waiting the decision which is to fix my fate, I am, with hope and fear, and with the most profound respect, your majesty's most humble and most obedient servant,

BRUNZI D'ENTRECASTEAUX.

*Letter from Mr. Raikes, of Gloucester, to a Gentleman of Bradford, in Yorkshire, giving an Account of the first Institution of Sunday Schools. See the last Article of Public Occurrences.*

*Gloucester, June 5, 1784.*

Dear Sir,

I have not had leisure to give you an earlier account of my little plan for attempting a reform of the rising generation of the lower class of people, by establishing schools, where poor children may be received upon the Sunday, and there engaged in learning to read, and to repeat their catechism, or any thing else that may be deemed proper to open their minds to a knowledge of their duty to God, their neighbour, and themselves.

The utility of an establishment of

this sort was first suggested to my mind by a group of little miserable wretches, whom I observed one day at play in the street, where many people employed in the pin manufactory reside. I was expressing my concern to an inhabitant, at their forlorn neglected state, and was told, that if I were to pass through that street upon Sundays, it would shock me indeed, to see crowds of children who were spending that sacred day in noise and riot, and in cursing and swearing; to the extreme annoyance of all sober decent people who reside there, or had occasion to pass that way. I immediately determined to make some little effort by way of trial, to prove whether it were possible to remedy the evil. Having found four persons of respectable character who had been accustomed to instruct children in reading, I engaged to pay the sum they required for receiving and instructing such children as I should send to them every Sunday. The children were to come soon after ten in the morning, and stay till twelve; they were then to go home to dinner, and return at one; and after reading a lesson they were to be employed in repeating the catechism till half after five, and then to be dismissed, with an injunction to retire home without making a noise; and by no means to play in the street. This was the general outline of the regulation. With regard to the parents, I went round to remonstrate with them on the melancholy consequences that must ensue from so fatal a neglect of their children's morals. They alledged, that their poverty rendered them incapable of cleaning and clothing their children fit to appear either at school or at church; but this objection was obviated by a remark, that if they were clad in a garb fit to



to appear in the streets, I should not think it improper for a school calculated to admit the poorest and most neglected; all that I required, were clean faces, clean hands, and their hair combed. In other respects they were to come as their circumstances would admit. In a little time the people perceived the advantage that was likely to arise. Many children began to shew talents for learning, and a desire to be taught. Little rewards were distributed among the most diligent. This excited an emulation. One or two worthy clergymen kindly lent their countenance and assistance, by going round to the schools on the Sunday afternoon, to hear the children say their catechism. This was of great consequence. Another clergyman hears them say their catechism once a quarter publicly in the church, and rewards their good behaviour with some little gratuity. They are frequently admonished to refrain from swearing; and certain boys, who are distinguished by their decent behaviour, are appointed to superintend the conduct of the rest, and make report of those that swear, call names, or interrupt the comfort of the other boys in their neighbourhood. When quarrels have arisen, the aggressor is compelled to ask pardon, and the offended is enjoined to forgive. The happiness that must arise to all from a kind, good-natured behaviour, is often inculcated. This mode of treatment has produced a wonderful change in the manners of these little savages. I cannot give a more striking instance than I received the other day from Mr. Church, a considerable manufacturer of hemp and flax, who employs great numbers of these children. I asked him whether he perceived any alteration in the poor

children he employed, since they had been restrained from their former profanation of the Lord's day; and, instead of spending it in idleness and mischief, had been taught to devote it to the improvement of their minds, and the learning that which hereafter might assist in opening their understandings to a sense of their duty. "Sir, says he, the change could not have been more extraordinary in my opinion, had they been transformed from the shape of wolves and tygers to that of men. In temper, disposition, and manners, they could hardly be said to differ from the brute creation. But since the establishment of the Sunday schools, they have seemed desirous to shew that they are not the ignorant illiterate creatures they were before. When they see a person whom they have looked up to as their superior, come and kindly instruct and admonish them, and sometimes reward them for good behaviour, it has inspired many with emulation to amend, who were deemed incapable of any such sensation. They are anxious to gain his friendship and good opinion; they have now one whom they wish to please, and as they know this to be effected only by decent and orderly conduct, they are striving to excel. In short, I never conceived that a reformation so singular could have been effected among the set of untutored beings I employed. They are also become more tractable and obedient, and less quarrelsome and revengeful."

From this little sketch of the reformation which has taken place among the poor children of this city, there is great reason to hope that a general establishment of Sunday schools, supported by the attention of a few active individuals, would in time make some change in the

morals of the lower class. At least it might in some measure prevent them from growing worse, which at present seems but too apparent.

I fear I have trespassed too far upon your patience in this recital; but I could not well comprise in narrower limits the information you required. I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,  
R. RAIKES.

*The Ninth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the Public Accounts of the Kingdom. See Public Papers, Vol. IV. p. 188.*

As soon as we had finished our examination into the manner of passing the accounts of the treasurer of the navy, in the office of the auditor of the imprest, we proceeded to those of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces; and required from the auditors of the imprest the last declared account of a paymaster-general of the forces, with the materials from whence that account was made up.

The paymaster-general passes every year two accounts in the office of the auditor; the one, as paymaster-general of the forces, the other, as treasurer and paymaster of Chelsea hospital; and therefore two accounts were returned to us, pursuant to this requisition: these were the final accounts of lord North and the late George Cooke, joint paymaster-general of the forces, for one year, ending the 24th of December 1767, and declared the 7th of September last.

The materials which accompanied the account of the paymaster-general, were, the pay-office book of account; the establishments; the regimental book of account;

the poundage book; a list of the deductions for the widows pensions; the imprest roll; the warrants, with such papers annexed to each as are referred to in that warrant; and the acquittances.

By inspecting these several books and papers, and from the examination of Joseph Hughes, esq. one of the deputy auditors in the office of lord Sondes; Charles Bembridge, esq. the accountant in the office of the paymaster-general of the forces; and Charles Harris, esq. one of the deputy auditors in the office of lord Mountb Stuart, we are made acquainted with the official forms, and with the steps that were taken relative to these accounts in both offices, and which have been usually taken relative to the army accounts, prior to the act of the last session of parliament, for the better regulation of the office of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

The materials from whence the account is composed, are all sent from the pay-office to the auditor; not at once, nor in any particular order, but from time to time, as is convenient to the pay-office.

The pay-office book of account, when completed, comprehends all the receipts and payments of the paymaster-general during the year, ranged under distinct heads of service; and at the end is added an abstract of the account, containing the heads, with the total of each head; and after the account is examined, and the balance struck, the paymaster-general signs his name at the foot of this abstract, and swears to the truth of the account, before a baron of the exchequer.

The establishments in this year, 1767, were five:—the guards, garrisons, and land forces in Great Britain,—the forces in the plantations—

tions—the forces in Minorca and Gibraltar—the Irish regiments in the pay of Great Britain—and the half-pay establishment: they contain the distribution of the sums granted by parliament for defraying the charge of the land forces, among the general and staff officers, the regiments, troops, companies, and garrisons, ascertaining the divisions, and the number of officers and men in each rank and division, with the quantum of their full pay, by the day and the year, and with the regulation of their subsistence, and of the fire and candle to be allowed to the guards and barracks in the garrisons.

The regimental book of account contains the sums allotted for the full pay, according to the establishments of the several regiments, troops, companies, and garrisons, in the pay of Great Britain during that year. Each sum is, in general, divided in this book into six parts, under the denominations of—the poundage—the hospital—the subsistence—the allowance to widows—the offreckonings—and, the clearings. After this book is examined, it is signed by the paymaster-general, and he swears to the truth of the accounts it contains, before the deputy auditors of the imprest.

The poundage account, is a list of the several officers, regiments, troops, companies, and services, liable to the deductions of the poundage and hospital; and opposite to each article is entered, in three distinct columns—the full yearly payment—the poundage upon that sum—and, the hospital: the articles are ranged under heads, denoting the services, of which an abstract is entered at the end, with the total of each deduction under each head.

This account is taken from the regimental book of account.

The list of the deductions for the widows pensions, is a collection of the several items composing the sum applicable to that service, extracted likewise from the regimental book of account.

The imprest roll, comprises the total sum imprested to the paymaster-general from the exchequer in that year.

The materials which are usually sent the first from the pay-office to the auditor, are, the book of account, with some of the vouchers. Neither the book nor the vouchers are ever sent complete at first; frequent additions are made afterwards to both. The auditor proceeds to the examination of the entries in the account as soon as he receives it; and when he has nearly finished them, he applies to the pay-office to complete the charge and discharge of the year.

In a complete account, the charge consists of—the imprest from the exchequer—sums received of various persons—profit by exchange—deductions—and surcharges; and is checked in the following manner:

The imprest charge, is the sum issued to the paymaster-general in that year from the exchequer, and corresponds with the imprest roll. The receipts are, from the treasury of Ireland; from preceding or succeeding paymasters-general; and balances from persons whose accounts are settled. The sum received from the treasury of Ireland, is checked by the certificate of the deputy vice-treasurer there: the sums received from the paymaster-general, are checked by the king's warrants directing them to make those payments, and by the accounts of the paymasters, in which

they have credit for those sums: the balances appear upon the stated accounts themselves, either in the office of the auditor, when they are passed by him, or annexed to the warrant which directs the payment, and is produced to him, when they are settled elsewhere. The profit by exchange, arises from the difference between the value at which the dollar is estimated by the contractor for remitting in England, and that at which it is issued by the deputy paymaster at Minorca and Gibraltar; as the estimated value is less than the value at which it is issued, a gain is produced, with which the paymaster-general charges himself: the sum of this profit is taken from an account made out by the accountant of the pay-office, and by him certified to the auditor.

The deductions are, sums taken out of the pay of the forces; they are—the poundage—the hospital—the allowance to widows—the duties of 1s. and of 6d. in the pound—and the stoppages for provisions delivered to the troops. He inserts these deductions in his charge, because he has a double credit for them in his discharges: they are included, and he is allowed them, in the sum he claims for the full pay of a regiment; whereas in settling the account of that regiment with the agent, he in fact does not pay them, but retains them in his hands: he is allowed them again upon having actually either paid them to the respective receivers or agents, or applied them to the services for which they were intended.

The poundage being in part, and the hospital altogether, applicable to the support of Chelsea hospital, the auditor leaves them out of the paymaster-general's account, as paymaster-general of the forces; but charges him with the whole of them

in his account as treasurer of that hospital.

The allowance to widows, being composed of deductions out of various allotments stated in the establishments, and forming likewise one of the divisions of the full pay of a regiment, troop, or company, in the regimental account book, is checked by that book, and also by a list made out at the pay-office, comprising every article of these deductions.

The one shilling and fixpenny duties, are deducted in the pay-office, from the pay of the officers, at the time they receive it; the amount of them appears from the receipts of the receivers of those duties.

The stoppages for provisions, are collected in the pay-office, from the accounts of the deputy paymasters; an account of the total of them is made out and delivered to the auditor, signed by the accountant.

The surcharges are, either—sums paid by the contractors for remitting to the deputy paymasters abroad—or, balances in the hands of deputies to preceding paymasters-general, applied by the paymaster-general in office—or, articles in the discharge disallowed by the auditor; unless he surcharged himself with the two first, the public would suffer by a double credit; for the remitters have credit in their accounts for what they pay to the deputies, and the preceding paymasters-general have credit in their final accounts, for the balances left in the hands of their deputies; and the paymaster-general in office has credit for the expenditure of both. The first of these surcharges is checked either by the accounts of the remitters, upon their being passed in the office, or by their certificates, before their accounts are passed:

passed : the other is checked by the account of that paymaster-general who is allowed it. The surcharge by the auditor is grounded upon the practice of the office : he does not strike out of the discharge the article he disallows, but surcharges the accountant with it.

The discharge consists of payments, either under the directions of establishments, or to paymasters-general, or for extraordinary services. The payments under the directions of the establishments are, the general and staff-officers, regiments, troops, and companies, garrisons, clothing the invalids, contingencies, reduced officers, and deductions.

The paymaster-general makes no payment (unless it be to a public accountant) without the authority of the royal sign manual, obtained either previous or subsequent to the payment ; and therefore the auditor, before he allows any payment, requires the production of such warrant, as the authority for the paymaster-general's making the payment ; and the acquittance of the party receiving, as the proof that he has actually made it. The acquittance may be, either the indorsement of the name of the person receiving on the warrant, or a separate receipt. The warrant and the acquittance together form the voucher. The warrant must be countersigned in some cases by the secretary at war, in others by three lords of the treasury, and in others by both : where the payment comes within the directions of an establishment, the counter signature of the secretary at war alone is sufficient ; where it is for any extraordinary service, other than a contingent expence not within the establishment, the warrant is countersigned by three lords of the treasury only ;

where it is for a contingent expence, not within the establishment, it must be countersigned by both : where the warrant mentions or refers to memorials, certificates, reports, lists, abstracts, or accounts, as necessary to or connected with the payment, the auditor requires the production of these instruments, or proper certificates that they have existed. Where a payment has been made pursuant to the warrant of a commander in chief, that warrant must be produced ; or, if that is not practicable, his certificate that he has granted such a warrant. But the auditor does not allow the payment upon the authority of that warrant only ; he requires also the royal sign manual ; which the paymaster general obtains by the following means :—he presents a memorial to the treasury, with a list annexed, containing the payments he has made for extraordinary services, pursuant to warrants of a commander in chief, praying them to obtain his majesty's warrant to the auditors of the imprest, directing them to pass and allow in his accounts the sums so paid ; this memorial is referred to the auditors, for them to report whether the prayer ought to be complied with : the auditors' report, that the payments in the list are included in the discharge of the paymaster-general, and that the king's warrant is necessary to authorize the allowance : upon this report the warrant is granted, and the payments allowed. Where either the warrant or acquittance is lost, the auditor has no discretionary power, in any case whatsoever, to admit other evidence in proof of the payment : to enable him to allow it, a special warrant from the king must be obtained for that purpose.

The steps for procuring this warrant



rant are these: the paymaster-general presents a memorial to the treasury, with a list annexed, praying them to procure the king's warrant to the auditors, directing them to allow the payments in the list, upon a suggestion that the vouchers for them have been lost or mislaid; this memorial being referred to the auditors, their report upon the propriety of granting the prayer is the ground for obtaining the warrant.

When an article is complicated, either involving a calculation, or comprehending many items, the auditor examines the computation and casting; where the payment comes within the direction of the establishment, he compares, and sees that the sum agrees with that direction. Applying these rules to the particular cases, he examines the articles in the discharge, and allows them upon the production of their correspondent vouchers.

The vouchers for the payments to the general and staff-officers are, the warrant, with the list annexed; and, the separate receipt of each officer.

The voucher for the payment of a regiment, troop, and company, is complicated: of the six parts, into which the sum allotted to a regiment is divided in the regimental account book, the three deductions of the poundage, hospital, and allowance to widows, is retained by the paymaster-general; the offreckonings are paid to the assignee of the colonel; the subsistence and clearings, to the agent. The subsistence and offreckonings are paid without any warrant previously obtained: the subsistence is issued in certain portions, at different times, to the agent, who gives his receipts for those portions as he receives them: the offreckonings are paid upon the production of the assign-

ment, and the indorsement of the agent and clothier. When the regiment is to be cleared, the secretary at war sends to the paymaster-general a warrant, directing him to make out a debenture complete for the pay of that regiment, agreeable to the number borne upon the establishment: this debenture being made out, the pay-master general receives another warrant, directing him to pay to the colonel the full sum allotted to that regiment in the establishment. Upon this authority, he pays the clearings to the agent; who returns to him the receipts for the subsistence, indorses the pay warrant, and signs his name in the regimental account book, under the state of that regiment.

This explains the business of the auditor, and the grounds on which he allows payments of this description: he sees that the gross sum agrees with the establishment; he examines the deductions of the poundage, hospital, and allowance to widows; he relies upon the agent that the subsistence and clearings, and upon the clothier that the offreckonings, are truly stated; he allows the whole upon the authority of the debenture warrant, the pay warrant indorsed by the agent, the receipt of the clothier, and the signature of the agent at the foot of the state in the regimental account book.

The like steps are taken by the auditor in his examination, and the like vouchers requisite for his allowance, of the payments of all the regiments, troops, companies, and garrisons, upon the establishments in Great Britain, at Minorca and Gibraltar, and in the plantations.

The clothing the invalids is intrusted to the paymaster-general of the forces; and is thus conducted; he



he presents a memorial to the treasury, desiring directions to contract for the clothing of the invalids, with an estimate of rates annexed. The treasury refer the memorial to the comptroller of the army accounts, directing him to consider the memorial and rates, and to inspect the patterns. Upon his certificate, that the patterns are approved, and that the clothing is answerable to the patterns; and upon the certificate of the agent to the invalids, that the clothing has been provided by the clothier, and sent to the regiments and companies; the secretary at war, pursuant to a warrant from the treasury, prepares the king's warrant, authorizing the payment of the sum allotted for the clothing to the agent. Hence it follows, that all these instruments, with the pay warrants indorsed by the agent and clothier, must be produced to the auditor.

The voucher for the allowance of a bill for contingencies, is the warrant indorsed by the agent, with the bill annexed: the truth of the account stated in the bill is certified upon honour, by the commanding officer, upon the bill itself.

The payment of the reduced officers is allowed upon the production of the half-pay establishment, with the pay warrant annexed; and the paymaster-general's account of the sums he has paid; and the receipt of each officer or his assigns, with a certificate of his being alive, and not otherwise provided for by government.

The auditor compares the several articles in the list of the deductions for the widows pensions, with their correspondent entries in the regimental book of account, and

allows the payment of the total sum contained in the list, to the paymaster of these pensions (who is an officer subject to account) upon his name appearing to be indorsed upon the list.

The accounts of the deductions of the one shilling and sixpenny duties, being certified by the ledger-keeper in the pay-office, the receipts of the receivers of these duties, as public officers subject to account, at the bottom of the accounts, are vouchers to the auditor for the payment to them of the amount of these duties.

The sums paid over to paymasters-general are proved by the warrants directing the payments, and by the accounts of these paymasters-general, in which they are charged with the sums.

The extraordinaries are various and extensive; but there is not much difference in the sort of voucher required by the auditor to warrant his allowance of the payment:—they are, in general, payments of specific sums for certain services; and, therefore, the warrant, either indorsed, or with a separate receipt, is the voucher for allowing the payment; to which must be added the production of such warrants, and of such accounts, lists, or other papers or instruments, as are alluded to in the warrants, or connected with the payments.

The auditor, having thus examined the articles in the pay-office account, with their correspondent vouchers, reduces the account into the official form of the exchequer, under the divisions of, the charge, and discharge: he does not range the articles, in either division, exactly under the same heads of service, nor in the same order, as they stand

stand in the pay-office account, but disposes them according to his own ideas.

The first article in the discharge, is the surplusage on the last declared account. In the account of a paymaster-general, the amount of his discharge usually exceeds that of his charge: the latter consists of what he has received in the year, and no more; but the former contains payments made both in that and in subsequent years. Extraordinary services incurred in any year, are not voted until the succeeding year; but many of them are paid in the year, and all payments of them, though made in subsequent years, are entered in the account of the year in which they are incurred. Such of them as are paid in that year, are paid either out of the vote of credit, or out of money voted for the ordinary services of the year but not applied, those services not having come in course of payment. When these extraordinaries are granted, the sum that has been thus borrowed from the ordinary service is replaced: hence, the sum paid in the year being greater than the sum received, leaves the paymaster-general in surplusage.

One material distinction between the account of the pay-office and that of the auditor, is under the head of extraordinaries: these payments are made either with, or without account; the warrant generally expresses which; if it is silent, the auditor himself uses his discretion, and judges from the nature of the service in which class he shall consider the payment. Where a sum is issued on account, the person to whom it is directed to be paid becomes the accountant; and where the payment is in dis-

charge of a bill drawn upon the treasury from abroad, the warrant directs the auditor to charge the drawer of the bill with the value, and in that case the drawer becomes the accountant.

In the pay-office account, no particular attention is paid, in any part of it, to this difference in the mode of issue; those who have received money subject to account, and those who have received without account, are inserted promiscuously among the other contingencies and extraordinaries: but in the official account of the exchequer, the auditor of the imprest collects together the names of all those who have received sums on account, and, unless they have either passed or settled their accounts before the paymaster-general's account of the year is made up, he sets them insuper, that is, he inserts them all together, with the sums received by each, in a list at the foot of the account, which is called the list of insupers. If any of these sub-accountants have passed their accounts in the auditor's office, or produced them to him settled elsewhere, before the account of the year in which they received these sums is made up, in that case they are omitted in the insuper list, but are inserted together in the discharge, under the head of payments to persons, for which they have accounted. The paymaster-general has credit in this account for the amount of the insuper list; and in his succeeding year's account he is charged in the first article with the same gross sum, described as depending upon sundry persons, and standing insuper upon them in the last account.

If any of these sub-accountants pass

pass or settle their accounts after the account of the year is made up, the auditor classes them together in the next year's account, and gives the pay-master-general credit for them in his discharge, and deducts the amount of them from the gross sum of insupers depending, entered at the foot of that succeeding year's account. Where any of them pass their accounts in the time of a succeeding paymaster, and receive balances from him, they are classed in his discharge under the head of money accounted for.

Where a person is once set insuper, he must continue subject to account until he is cleared by the auditor. He may be cleared, either by passing his account before the auditor, or by producing to him his account settled elsewhere; in either case, the auditor enters, in the margin of that account, in which he stands insuper, opposite to his name, the year in which he is cleared. Where he passes his account before the auditor, and a balance is due from him, the auditor certifies that balance to the treasury, and he is directed, by a king's warrant, to pay it either to the paymaster-general or into the exchequer; upon production to the auditor of that warrant, indorsed by the paymaster-general, where it is paid to him, or of a pay-office certificate, that it is so paid, or of the tally, where it is paid into the exchequer, the auditor writes at the bottom of the account, "Even and quit," and clears the insuper. If the account is settled elsewhere, and the accountant produces a warrant with the settled account annexed, directing him to pay the balance either to the paymaster-general or into the exchequer, with the indorsement or certificate in the one case, or the tally in the other, the auditor clears the

insuper. If, upon the account being passed or settled, the balance is due to the accountant, the warrant directing the paymaster-general to pay him that balance, indorsed by the accountant, being produced to the auditor by the paymaster-general, as his voucher for that payment, the insuper will be cleared; and these are the only means (unless by special warrant obtained for that particular purpose) by which a sub-accountant of this description can be cleared.

The official account, drawn up by the auditor, is neither signed nor sworn to by the paymaster-general; his attestation upon oath of the pay-office account (which comprehends all the receipts and payments of the year) and of the regimental account, is sufficient. Two parts of the official account are ingrossed; and it is declared, and passed through the exchequer offices in like manner as the accounts of the treasurer of the navy. The total charge upon the paymaster-general, in this account of the year 1767, amounted to 2,221,525l. 19s. 2d. and his total discharge to 1,881,141l. 17s. 7d.

The pay-office book of account includes not only the receipts and payments for the army services, but also those on account of Chelsea hospital: the auditor of the imprests separates the accounts of the paymaster-general of the forces from those of the paymaster and treasurer of Chelsea hospital, and forms them into two distinct accounts.

The account of the paymaster and treasurer of Chelsea hospital consists of the charge, and discharge: the charge is composed of the deductions of the poundage, and the one days pay stoppt from the pay of the forces, and of the poundage stoppt from the payment to the agents

agent for the out-pensioners: the discharge includes the payments of salaries, and for provisions, necessaries, and contingent expences of the hospital, and to the agent for the out-pensioners. Part only of the poundage is applied to the use of Chelsea hospital; the other part is expended in the payment of the exchequer fees and of various salaries; but all the payments out of this fund, of whatever kind, are included in this hospital account.

The vouchers for the salaries are, the establishment, and the king's warrants, either indorsed by, or with the separate receipts of, the parties. The vouchers for the provisions, necessaries, and contingent expences, are, the warrants of the commissioners for managing the affairs of the hospital, with the bills annexed, and, the receipts of the parties. The auditor examines the computations and castings, but forms no judgment upon the reasonableness or propriety of the articles; the allowance of the commissioners is decisive as to the consideration of the payment. The sum for the out-pensioners is a specific sum, voted by parliament for that purpose; and is paid, pursuant to the warrant of the commissioners, to the agent for those pensioners; who is a public accountant, and passes an annual account of the sum he receives before the auditor of the imprest. This hospital account is reduced into the official form; it is declared, and passes through the exchequer offices in like manner as that of the paymaster-general of the forces.

Among the subjects that have occurred to us in the progress of this enquiry, there are many which furnish matter of observation.

The pay of the army is the first in order that presents itself to us. By means of the examinations a-

bove-mentioned, and of the inspection of the establishment, and regimental account books; together with the examinations of Charles Marsh, esq. an assistant clerk in the war-office, and of James Meyrick, esq. an agent to several regiments, we have been enabled to trace this extensive branch of the public expenditure through its various mazes.

The establishment under the royal sign manual, with the regulation of the subsistence, and the warrants directing the deductions, annexed thereto, is the instrument that regulates the pay of the army: it contains the distribution of the whole sum voted by parliament for defraying the charge of the land forces, in certain portions, among the several regiments, troops, companies, and garrisons: the portion to which we shall confine our attention, is that which is allotted to a marching regiment of foot. This portion is divided into five parts: the pay and four allowances. The first, is the full pay of the officers and private men; by the day and the year: the second, is the allowance to widows: the third, to the colonel, and for clothing lost by deserters: the fourth, to the captain, and for recruiting, &c.: the fifth, to the agent. The allowance for widows is a sum equal to the pay of two private men: the other three compose together a sum equal to the pay of four private men; these are called warrant men: and the sum is thus distributed: first, the allowance to the colonel consists of two parts; the subsistence of one man, which is for his own use; and the gross offreckonings of the four men, which fall into, and form a part of, the division called the offreckonings. Secondly, the allowance to the captain is the subsistence of two men: this is not for his own,

own use, but for the purpose of recruiting; and, therefore, is placed by the agent to the non-effective fund. Thirdly, the allowance to the agent, is the subsistence of one man; and is for his own use.

We endeavoured to trace these divisions in the establishment to their origin; and learned, from the report of the committee of the house of commons, appointed to consider the state of his majesty's land forces and marines in the year 1746, that these allowances were first added to the establishment in the year 1717. This led us to the war-office for such documents as were to be found there, and could throw light upon the subject. They transmitted to us copies of two establishments of a regiment of foot; the first, dated the 25th December 1716, which contained only the pay of the officers and men; the second, dated the 15th of August 1717, in which, besides the pay, was inserted the allowance for widows, consisting of the pay of one private man only. We received, likewise, from them copies of two letters from Mr. Pulteney, the then secretary at war; the one to the commissary general of the musters, dated 11th August 1716; the other to the earl of Lincoln, the then paymaster-general of the forces, dated the 1st of February 1716-17, together with a copy of the distribution alluded to in that letter, and of the king's warrant to the paymaster-general of the forces, dated the 15th of July 1717. We may collect from these papers, that, previous to this period, these allowances were existing, but in a different shape. Five fictitious men in each company had been passed upon the musters, and their pay had been applied in these allowances. The warrant of the 15th of July 1717, discontinues the five

fictitious men upon the muster-rolls, but continues their pay, and subjoins it to the pay of the regiment, at the foot of the establishment, disposing it in the four divisions above-mentioned; in which it has continued ever since. The allowance for widows, included in the pay upon the old establishment, was the pay of one private man only; but in the new one, it was increased to the pay of two. Besides these warrant men, each company has one, two, or three non-effectives, according to the number of which the company consists, called contingent men; whose subsistence is paid to the captain, for the purpose of keeping the arms in repair, and of defraying other contingent expenses of the company.

The paymaster-general, whose province it is to issue all these sums, is obliged to make a division of his issues different from that in the establishment: he must attend not only to the divisions he finds there, but also to the regulation of the subsistence, to the fund appropriated for the clothing the non-commissioned officers and private men, and to the warrants directing the deductions. Hence he forms a division of his own, engrafted upon the divisions and regulations in the establishment: it consists of six parts—the subsistence, the allowance for widows (these two he takes from the establishment), the poundage, the hospital, the offreckonings, and, the clearings. The last four are consequential to, and formed out of, the establishment, with the regulations and the warrants taken together. Under some one or other of these heads he issues in portions, at different times, the whole sum (except the allowance for widows, and unless there are respites) allotted to the regiment. Under the head of sub,



subistence, he issues the subistence either of the whole regiment, or of the effectives only, if so directed by the secretary at war; the subistence of the one warrant man, which belongs to the colonel; the subistence of the two warrant men, which is the allowance to the captain for recruiting, &c. and, the subistence of the remaining warrant man, which is the allowance to the agent. Under the head of allowance to widows, he issues to the paymaster of the widows pensions so much as he requires for that service; the remainder either continues in his hands, as a saving, until parliament directs its application, or is applied by him, in the mean time, towards the payment of the extraordinaries. The deductions of the poundage and hospital, he applies to the support of Chelsea hospital, and to such other purposes as he is directed by the king's warrants to apply them. Under the head of offreckonings, he issues to the assignee of the colonel, a sum which is the difference between the full pay and the subistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men, and of the four warrant men, and of the contingent men, deducting from that sum the poundage, hospital, and agency, upon their full pay. Under the head of clearings, he issues sums of three denominations; first, the commissioned officers arrears, that is, the difference between their full pay and subistence, deducting the poundage on their full pay, and the hospital; secondly, so much of the subistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men, as have not been issued under the head of subistence; thirdly, the agency, that is, 2d. in the pound upon the full pay of the regiment. Where the poundage is directed to be returned to the non-

commissioned officers and private men, he issues it under the head of returned poundage. Three of these divisions, the subistence, the clearings, and the returned poundage, are issued to the agent; who disposes of them in this manner: the subistence of the commissioned officers he pays to them, including that of one of the warrant men to the colonel: the subistence of the non-commissioned officers and effective private men he pays to the regimental paymaster: he places to the non-effective fund, the non-effective subistence, including that of two of the warrant men: the subistence of the remaining warrant man he retains to his own use. Of the clearings, he pays to each officer his share of the arrears: he places the non-issued subistence to the non-effective account; and retains the agency to his own use. The returned poundage he pays to the regimental paymaster without deduction. The assignee of the colonel applies the nett offreckonings to the payment of the bills, and all other expences attending the clothing: the surplus he places to the credit of the colonel. The regimental paymaster detains out of the subistence of the serjeants 2d. and of the corporals 1d $\frac{1}{2}$ . and of the private men 1d. a week; which is equally divided between him and the surgeon; but this deduction is returned to them again.

From hence we may collect the articles of which the actual pay received by the officers and men is composed. The colonel has his own subistence, that of one warrant man, his arrears, and the saving from the clothing of his regiment. The captain has his own subistence, that of one, two, or three, contingent men, according to the establishment of his regiment, and



and his arrears. The other commissioned officers have their subsistence and arrears. The non-commissioned officers and private men have their subsistence, and the allowance to the regimental paymaster and surgeon returned back to them. The private men receive back likewise their poundage.

We have been considering the pay of a marching regiment of foot only. In other corps, the divisions, allowances, and deductions, are different. In the establishment of a regiment of dragoons, the allowance for widows is not so much as the one day's pay of two private men; and it is entirely omitted in the establishment of the invalids. In many cases, the pay, or parts of the pay, are exempt from the poundage and hospital: the poundage is returned to none but the private men of the foot-guards and marching regiments, and to the effectives only. The cavalry have an allowance of grass money; which in time of peace, is paid out of the allowance for keeping the horses; and in time of war, is an article in the contingent account of the regiment.

The clothing of the invalids is not committed to the colonel or commanding officer, but to the paymaster-general of the forces.

This description of the pay of the army, shews it to be apportioned and issued in a manner complicated and intricate. It is so compounded and decompounded, that, without a very curious and minute investigation, it is hardly possible for an officer to know, whether he receives in any year all that he is entitled to for his service.

It is not our intention to convey any opinion upon the quantum of the pay of the army. We do not mean either to increase or diminish

what any one person, in the scale of military rank, receives at this day as the compensation for his service: we call in question the propriety of no one article of advantage that may accrue to him under the present system of payment: it is not within our province, nor are we competent to decide upon military merit, or to settle the stipends for military services. The object of our regulations is the mode of payment only, and the rendering that mode more simple and intelligible, more uniform and equal.

In the regulation of an office, it is prudent to keep as near as possible to the forms in use: the less they are departed from, the less adverse will the officers be to admit the improvement.

The establishment which pursues the estimate for the army services, presented to the house of commons, and is the instrument that contains the distribution of the sum granted for those services, originates in the war-office; and the authority for every payment made by the paymaster-general, pursuant to that establishment, passes through the same office: consequently every alteration in the mode of payment must take its rise there likewise.

The first source of perplexity in the present mode of paying the army is found in the establishment: the sum therein allotted for the regiment, is distributed among the several ranks, as if it were the actual pay of the persons in such ranks, and in many of the warrants directing the disposition of that sum, it is styled the pay of the forces; whereas, not a person therein described does in fact receive, either by the day or the year, the sum affixed as the pay of his rank.

The services to which the sum allotted for a regiment is at present applied,

applied, are these: the subsistence and arrears of the officers—the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers—the subsistence and returned poundage of the private men—the clothing of the non-commissioned officers and private men—the recruiting fund—and, the agency. These are services that immediately concern the regiment: the rest are more remote, and relate to the military service in general; as, the relief of the widows, Chelsea hospital, and the other miscellaneous services paid out of the poundage.

The establishment of a regiment would become more simple and intelligible, if it were relieved from all these services, except the pay of the officers and private men; and if the divisions of the sums therein stated were made conformable to the actual pay of the several ranks. To effect this, the fictitious men, both contingent and warrant men, must be suppressed; the allowance to widows, and the deductions of the poundage and hospital, must be abolished; separate specific funds, formed upon estimate, must be substituted for the clothing, the recruiting service, widows, Chelsea hospital, and the other miscellaneous services now paid out of the poundage; and distinct accounts must be kept of the expenditure of each.

As it is not our intention to propose any variation in the quantum of the pay actually received by any person in the establishment; so neither do we mean to alter the quantum of the subsistence, but to keep it as it is now, distinct from the full pay. There may be very good reasons for the present practice of retaining a certain portion of the pay for some time, to be issued afterwards at a proper season. The establishment, freed from the provision for the services above men-

tioned, will consist of the subsistence and arrears only; the pay will continue to be issued under these two denominations, and the account of the full pay of a regiment, in the regimental account-book in the pay-office, will be comprized in the same two divisions only. But the calculation of the pay in the establishment must be varied: it is at present made upon an even integral sum by the day and the year; for instance, the calculation for a marching regiment in the establishment of the year 1767 is this: forty-seven men, at 8d. each, is by the day 11. 7rs. 4d. 5 and for 365 days, 571l. 16s. 8d. The full pay of a private man, at 8d. a day, is 12l. 3s. 4d. by the year: this sum being subject to the deductions of the poundage, and one day's pay, which amount to 12s. 10d. is reduced thereby to 11l. 10s. 6d.; a proportional deduction from 8d. the day's pay, will reduce it to 7½d. and 114 three hundred sixty-fifth parts of a farthing; a fractional sum very inconvenient for multiples, and perplexing to the calculation. If the calculation in the establishment be made upon the subsistence as it is now regulated, and which is an even sum, and a third column be added for the arrears, that is, for what remains due to them for their full year's pay, over and above their subsistence (the greatest part of which is now included in one sum in the clearings) the total of the column of arrears, added at the bottom to the total of the subsistence, will be the sum allotted for the year's pay of that regiment. The arrears of the commissioned officers (the colonel and captains excepted) will consist of the same sums as are now calculated in the clearings, and paid to them by the agents; and the arrears of the

the private men will be the returned poundage, as it is now calculated, and issued under that head, provided and so long as it shall be his majesty's pleasure to continue this bounty to them.

The abolition of the poundage will cause a variation in the calculation of the half-pay establishment. The sum to be paid to each officer is at present calculated by the day; and to the half-pay list is annexed a warrant, directing a deduction of 6d. in the pound to be made from the payments: the reduced officers are paid every six months, and at that time this deduction is made. As we have no intention to alter the quantum of the sum paid to any person upon this list, if the present mode of calculating be continued, and the poundage be deducted, the day's pay must be reduced in the proportion that six pence bears to one pound, that is, one fortieth part; which will confuse the calculation in a manner similar to that above mentioned, relative to the full establishment.

No reason occurs to us, why the calculation may not be made by the half year, instead of by the day; especially as we find, at the end of this establishment, that the half-pay of the officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse-guards reduced, is calculated, not by the day, but for 365 days.

By abolishing the contingent and warrant men, we do not mean to take away the advantages of the colonel, captain, and agent, derived from their pay: the colonel has the subsistence of one, and the agent of another, of the warrant men; the captain has the subsistence of the contingent men. No reason occurs, why these sums of subsistence should not be added to the subsistence of the colonel and captain

in the establishment; and why the agent should not be inserted in it, instead of being placed among the allowances, with his agency entered in the column of arrears: this will cause no variation in the mode of issue; for these sums of subsistence are now issued with the regimental subsistence, and the agency is a part of the clearings.

Where the pay of the officers is subject to the 1s. and 6d. duties, the paymaster-general detains them out of their pay in his office, and pays them to the receivers; but, as we propose that all officers should receive the entire sums which will be allotted to them for their pay in the establishment, without deduction, under the heads of subsistence and arrears, their actual pay continuing the same, these duties must be paid out of the fund to be created to satisfy those services, to which the poundage is at present applicable.

The small deductions of 1d. a week from the subsistence of each of the private men, of 1½d. from the corporal, and of 2d. from the serjeant, are equally divided between the regimental paymaster and the surgeon, but are repaid, by the king's bounty, out of the extraordinaries. As the surgeon is now upon the establishment, this emolument of his may be added either to his subsistence or arrears; and the regimental paymaster may be put upon the establishment, and his share entered in the like manner.

The other services that have hitherto been provided for out of the gross sum allotted for a regiment, and for which we propose specific funds, are, the clothing of the non-commissioned officers and private men, and the recruiting service; together with those to which this sum has been contributory, the re-

lief of officers widows, Chelsea hospital, and certain miscellaneous services.

The fund for the clothing is the nett offreckonings, that is the difference between the subsistence of the non-commissioned officers and private men and their full pay, after deducting the poundage, hospital, and agency upon their full pay. Though the total sum allotted for a regiment is directed by the pay-warrant to be paid to the colonel, and his agent indorses it; yet this clothing fund is not applied by the colonel himself: the paymaster general is directed by the mutiny act to pay the offreckonings to such person only as has a regular assignment of them; and, therefore, the colonel always assigns them, either to the clothier or to his own agent: the assignee receives them of the paymaster-general, and thereout defrays the cost and all the expences attending the clothing; and for the residue he accounts to the colonel.

We learn from Robert Quarne, esq. chief clerk in that branch of the office of the comptroller of the army accounts that relates to the clothing, in what manner this service is conducted. The clothing this part of the army is entrusted to the management of a certain number of general officers, called the clothing board, chosen annually by the board of general officers. This clothing board is governed by instructions issued in the sixth year of the reign of queen Anne. Upon a certain day appointed by the board, the clothiers produce to them patterns of the several species of clothing: after examination, those that are approved of are sealed with the seals of three of the board, and with the office seal, and delivered to the clothiers. After the clothing is made up, it is reviewed by one of

the board, appointed for that purpose, taking care that no one reviews the clothing of his own regiment. Upon the certificate of the reviewing general, that he has found the clothing agreeable to the patterns, the clothing board join to the colonel's assignment their certificate to the paymaster-general, that the clothing has been viewed and approved, and desiring him to pay to the assignee the sum mentioned in the assignment.

The offreckonings being calculated upon the full establishment, including the non-effectives, contingent, and warrant men, and clothing being procured for the effectives only, a surplus must accrue from this fund to the colonel; and the more defective the regiment, the greater will be that surplus, and therefore different in different regiments.

We do not mean to convey the most distant idea, that we have the least reason to imagine any undue advantage has been taken of this mode of clothing the army by any person whatsoever; but we are well grounded in suggesting a reform, where an usage is open to abuse.

The principles upon which our regulations proceed, lead us to reduce this vague emolument to certainty and equality. From the produce of a given number of years, an average may be obtained of the profit accruing to the colonel from the clothing; a compensation for which may be made a part of his pay, and increase either his subsistence or his arrears in the establishment, or both, in such proportions as may be consistent with the regulations in use. A specific fund upon estimate may be voted annually for clothing every corps that composes the army, without exception; and the clothing board may go one  
step

step farther than they do at present: as they pass their judgment upon the quality of the patterns, they are equally competent to judge of the price, and may therefore contract for the clothing of every corps; and when the contract is completed, they may, after inspection and approbation, direct the paymaster-general to pay the clothier the price specified in the contract, as they do now the sum mentioned in the assignment. One distinct account will then be kept in the pay-office, of the clothing of the whole army, as there is now of the clothing of the militia, for which a specific sum is granted by parliament; and to which, as well as to the clothing of the invalids, the regulations we have above suggested may, with equal propriety, be extended.

The next to be provided for is the recruiting service: the fund at present applicable to that purpose, is compounded of the subsistence of the non-effectives and of two of the warrant men. the disposition of it is regulated by his majesty's warrant, dated the 19th of February 1766. Should it be thought expedient, as it seems reasonable, to issue the subsistence, not upon the full establishment, but according to muster, and to abolish the warrant men, this fund will be extinguished; and to supply its place, a specific fund must be created, and voted annually upon estimate, for the purpose of recruiting the army; and a distinct account kept in the pay-office of the issues under this head of service.

The warrant that regulates this recruiting fund directs, that the remaining balance upon the non-effective account of a marching regiment, after setting apart a certain sum, shall be divided every year a-

mong the captains, provided it shall not exceed twenty pounds to each. If their interest in this fund has been productive, they are not to be deprived of it because the fund is abolished: their arrears should be increased in the establishment, by a sum equal to their average receipt out of this fund, for a given number of years.

Every regiment and corps in the army will have an interest in, and its share of, the two funds for the clothing and recruiting: such shares, when paid, will not be placed in the pay-office, to the separate account of the regiment or corps, but to the general account of the service: what is issued to the agent will be charged by him to the account of the corps to which it belongs: the accounts of these funds will resemble the account of the contingent fund, as it is now kept in the pay-office. One distinct sum for contingencies upon account, is inserted in the establishment: a payment out of that fund is made to most of the regiments and corps in the service; but every payment is placed to one account only, under the head of contingencies.

The sum that has hitherto been allotted for this service, is 20,000*l*. and if it has exceeded that sum, the over-payments have been carried to the account of the extraordinaries, because not provided for in the establishment. As the probable contingencies may be easily estimated, a sufficient sum should be provided for that service. that the account may be preserved entire.

The first of the services provided for by contributions from the pay of the regiments and corps, is the relief of the widows: this service has no connection with the pay of a regiment. The propriety is apparent, of substituting one separate fund



fund for this distinct service, in the place of a fund composed of many articles, subtracted from as many different sums granted principally for other purposes.

The other two contributions are, the poundage, and the one day's pay : these are blended together into one fund, and applied for the support of Chelsea hospital ; the payment of the returned poundage, and of certain fees and salaries.

Chelsea hospital is another of those distinct services that requires to be provided for by a separate fund : one branch of it, the support of the out-pensioners, is at this time a specific voted service : a similar independent fund should be established, to defray the expences of the other branch of this charity.

If the returned poundage be inserted in the establishment, the fees and salaries will be the only services remaining ; and may be annually provided for in like manner by a separate estimated sum ; in which may be included a provision for the payment of the 1s. and 6d. duties, and for any other contingent expence, that concerns the whole army, and may have escaped our attention or inquiry.

The number of independent funds proposed to be established by these regulations, are five : the clothing, the recruiting, the widows, Chelsea hospital, and, the miscellaneous services. In classing the services, with a view to determine how many separate funds it may be necessary to create, the number as well as nature of the services should be attended to. It is inconvenient either to multiply funds unnecessarily, or to incumber one fund with too many, or with heterogeneous and unconnected services.

The accounts of all the funds for specific services, in the pay-office,

should be balanced every year, and as soon as possible after the expiration of the year, and the state of them transmitted to the war-office before the grants of parliament for the ensuing year are voted, that the secretary at war may be the better enabled to form his estimates for the future services.

Our regulations have been applied to the circumstances of a marching regiment of foot : in other of the army corps, as in the guards, the cavalry, the invalids, the militia, and the marines, these circumstances vary ; but, probably, not so materially as to prevent the same regulations from being easily reconciled and made conformable to such distinctions.

The general principle we have had in view is, that the establishment should contain the real full pay of every person named or described therein, and nothing more ; and that every other service, or class of services, relative to the army, should be provided for by its own distinct fund.

The advantages that are intended to be derived from the regulations proposed are these : to render the army establishment simple and intelligible—to reduce the actual pay of each officer and private man throughout the army to a certainty, and in similar ranks to an equality ; each will know the reward of his service, and the ground on which he may claim it—to relieve the office that keeps the accounts, and the office that passes them, and the agent, from much unnecessary trouble ; no unimportant consideration in the present state of the army accounts. The computing the offreckonings, a branch so extensive as to give a title to one of the officers in the pay-office, will be at an end, and the officer become unnecessary.—

There



There will be no computations and castings of the allowances to widows; poundage and hospital to form, enter, examine, and compare. The amount of the fund for the allowance to widows, in this year 1767, was 15,604l. 17s. 2d.; the number of articles that composed it was sixty-four: the poundage was 52,304l.; and the number of articles 492: the hospital was 2,637l. 5s. 7d. and the number of articles 359; and in time of war the number of articles is very much increased. The account of every distinct service, or class of services, will be reduced to a simple debtor and creditor account; and the public will every year be made acquainted with the amount of their expence for each service, and be the better able to judge where to retrench.

Another effect which these regulations tend to produce, ought particularly to be mentioned: if the estimates for these services be confined to the probable demands of the year, and the sums granted for them are applied, as they ought to be, as soon as the services are incurred, the fund of voted services remaining unapplied, out of which the extraordinaries have hitherto been paid, will be greatly diminished, if not

totally exhausted, and estimates for the extraordinaries will then become indispensable.

We were pursuing our enquiry, and proceeding in our observations upon various branches that grow out of the subject matter before us, the result of which we intended should have formed a part of this Report; when, finding from the votes of the house of commons, that the pay-office of the army was one of the subjects of present deliberation, we thought it our duty to complete our enquiry into that office, and to submit our proceedings, with such observations as had occurred to us, upon the manner of conducting the pay of the army, that the legislature might be possessed of such information as has been disclosed to us relative to the office of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

|                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| T. ANGUISH,      | (L. S.) |
| A. PIGGOTT,      | (L. S.) |
| RICH. NEAVE,     | (L. S.) |
| SAM. BEACHCROFT, | (L. S.) |
| GEO. DRUMMOND,   | (L. S.) |

*Office of Accounts,  
Surrey Street,  
29th March, 1783.*

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1785.

## N A V Y.

FEBRUARY 3.

FOR 18,000 men, including 3,620 marines for sea-service for 1785, at 4l. per man per month

£. s. d.  
936,000 0 0

MARCH 7.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers

675,307 17 2

Towards the building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war, in his majesty's yards, and other extra works, exclusive of wear and tear in ordinary for 1785

940,000 0 0

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2,551,307 17 2

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## A R M Y.

FEBRUARY 17.

For 18,053 effective men, commissioned and non-commissioned officers included, to be employed in the year 1785 for guards, garrisons, &c. in Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, &c.

655,963 4 3

For forces and garrisons in the plantations and at Gibraltar

222,021 4 4

For the difference between the charge of the British and Irish establishment, of six battalions of foot at Gibraltar, in North America, and the West Indies

6,355 15 8

For the pay of one regiment of light dragoons and five battalions of foot in the East Indies

6,968 9 9

For full pay for 365 days, to reduced and supernumerary officers

25,784 8 9½

For general and staff-officers for 1785

6,236 10 6

For the allowance to the paymaster-general, secretary at war, commissary-general of the musters, judge advocate-general, comptrollers of the army accounts, their deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of exchequer fees, to be paid by the paymaster-general, and on account of poundage to be returned to the infantry for 1785

74,221 14 5

For five battalions of Hanoverians from June 25, 1784, to the respective times of their return

8,904 6 6

For

# P U B L I C P A P E R S. (233)

|   |           |    |    |
|---|-----------|----|----|
| For the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital,<br>and the expences of the said Hospital for 1781 —  | £.        | s. | d. |
| APRIL 18.   | 191,226   | 0  | 5½ |
| For army extraordinaries, &c. from Dec. 25, 1783,<br>to Dec. 25, 1784, not provided for by parliament   | 683,116   | 8  | 3  |
| APRIL 25.   |           |    |    |
| For subsidies due to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel,<br>and to the reigning duke of Brunswick for 1785   | 69,291    | 9  | 6  |
| To make good a deficiency in the sum voted for a<br>subsidy to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for 1784   | 50,989    | 2  | 7  |
| For pensions to the widows of commissioned offi-<br>cers, &c. for 1785 — — —  | 13,027    | 7  | 6  |
| MAY 5.  |           |    |    |
| For the charge of several battalions of foot, for<br>different periods in 1784 — — —  | 7,737     | 18 | 1½ |
| Upon account of the reduced officers of the army<br>and marines for 1785 — — —  | 197,703   | 7  | 10 |
| For the allowances to the officers and private gen-<br>tlemen of the two troops of horse-guards reduced,<br>and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops<br>of horse-guards for 1785 — — — | 335       | 15 | 4  |
| Upon account of the commissioned officers of the<br>British American forces for 1785 — — —  | 57,800    | 1  | 11 |
| To make good a deficiency on the sum granted up-<br>on that account in 1783 — — —   | 736       | 11 | 6  |
| To ditto for 1784 — — —   | 4,308     | 11 | 3  |
| Upon account of several officers late in the service<br>of the states-general for 1785 — — —  | 3,535     | 0  | 6  |
|   | <hr/>     |    |    |
|   | 2,286,263 | 9  | 0½ |

## O R D N A N C E.

|  |         |    |    |
|--|---------|----|----|
| MARCH 14.  |         |    |    |
| For the expence of services performed by the of-<br>fice of ordnance for land service, and not provided<br>for by parliament in 1784 — — — | 42,035  | 13 | 8  |
| For the office of ordnance for land service for 1785   | 350,820 | 1  | 9  |
|  | <hr/>   |    |    |
|  | 392,855 | 15 | 5½ |

## MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

|   |           |   |       |
|---|-----------|---|-------|
| FEBRUARY 21.  |           |   |       |
| To discharge exchequer bills made out by virtue of<br>an act of last session — — —                      | 1,500,000 | 0 | 0     |
| MARCH 11.   |           |   |       |
| To the Levant Company — — —   | 3,000     | 0 | 0     |
| APRIL 7.  |           |   |       |
| To discharge a farther sum raised by exchequer<br>bills, by virtue of another act of last session — — — | 1,000,000 | 0 | 0     |
|   |           |   |       |
|   |           |   | APRIL |

APRIL 25.

Upon account, towards completing the road from Ballantrae in Ayreshire, to Seranrae in Galloway, North Britain — — — —

£. s. d.  
800 0 0

MAY 9.

To reimburse general James Murray, late governor and vice-admiral of Minorca, the sum of 5000l. paid to him by Mr. James Sutherland, pursuant to a verdict of the court of exchequer in 1783, and the costs in that suit — — — —

5,489 17 0

JUNE 6.

For the salaries of the civil officers of East Florida, from the 24th of June 1784, to the 24th of June 1785 — — — —

2,950 0 0

To make good a sum issued to Thomas Cotton, esq. to discharge bills drawn on the commissioners of the treasury by John Parr, esq. governor of Nova Scotia, and other services — — — —

8,395 2 5

For the civil establishment of Nova Scotia, from the 1st of January 1785, to the 1st of January 1786

3,976 17 6

For ditto of the island of St. John in America, from the 1st of January 1785, to Jan. 1, 1786 —

1,900 0 0

For ditto of the island of Cape Breton, from June 24, 1785, to June 24, 1786 — — — —

2,550 0 0

For ditto of the Bahama islands, in addition to the salaries now paid to the public officers out of the duty, fund, and other incidental charges attending the same, from Jan. 1, 1785, to Jan. 1, 1786 —

2,370 0 0

For ditto of the province of New Brunswick in America, from June 24, 1785, to June 24, 1786

6,356 17 0

For the salary of the chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers islands, from June 24, 1785, to June 24, 1786; and to discharge the arrears of salaries due to the attorney-general of the said islands, from July 19, 1778, to the 18th of April 1783 — — — —

1,592 1 10

To make good a sum issued for the relief of sundry American civil officers and others, who have suffered on account of their attachment to his majesty's government — — — —

36,819 19 0

JUNE 14.

To make good the sums charged on the 4½ per cent. in Barbadoes and the Leeward islands, which remained unsatisfied on the 5th of April 1785 — — — —

56,113 13 6½

JUNE 21.

For present relief to such of the American loyalists as have given satisfactory proofs of their losses to the commissioners appointed by an act of the 23d of his present majesty, empowering them to enquire into the losses and services of the American loyalists, to be paid in a proportion of 40 per cent. to such of the said

said persons as bore arms and rendered services in America; and of 30 per cent. to such others as were resident in America during the war — — — — — £. s. d. 150,000 0 0

To Mr. Henry Philips, on his making a discovery, for the use of the public, of the composition of his powder for destroying insects — — — — — 1,000 0 0

JUNE 23.

To make a compensation to the commissioners of the public accounts — — — — — 9,000 0 0

To make good money issued in pursuance of addresses — — — — — 7,066 18 3

To make good the sums paid to the secretaries of the commissioners of the public accounts, and to the commissioners for inquiring into the losses of the American loyalists — — — — — 3,200 0 0

To make good the expence of confining and employing convicts on the river Thames — — — — — 13,578 14 4

To Mr. Timothy Cunningham, as a final compensation for compiling a General Index to the Journals of the house of commons, from the year 1547 to 1660 — — — — — 3,000 0 0

Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house, for the year 1785 — — — — — 25,000 0 0

For support of the African forts and settlements, — — — — — 13,000 0 0

2,857,160 0 10½

# DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 28.

To make good deficiency of fund for paying annuities granted by act 31 Geo. II. towards the supply for 1758 — — — — — 12,087 7 8½

To make good ditto for the year 1778 — — — — — 159,620 1 9½

To make good ditto for the year 1779 — — — — — 122,730 4 8

To make good ditto for the year 1780 — — — — — 158,551 4 11

To make good ditto for the year 1782 — — — — — 114,214 4 3½

To make good ditto for the year 1783 — — — — — 617,466 10 0

To make good ditto for the year 1784 — — — — — 24,044 0 0

1,208,713 13 4½

Navy — — — — — 2,551,307 17 2

Army — — — — — 2,286,263 9 9½

Ordnance — — — — — 392,855 15 5

Miscellaneous Services — — — — — 2,857,160 0 10½

Deficiencies — — — — — 1,208,713 13 4½

9,296,300 15 10½

*WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies granted to his Majesty for the Year 1785.*

|  | £.        | s. | d.  |
|--|-----------|----|-----|
| Land tax   | 2,000,000 | 0  | 0   |
| Malt duty  | 750,000   | 0  | 0   |
| APRIL 7.   |           |    |     |
| Exchequer bills.   | 2,500,000 | 0  | 0   |
| APRIL 25.  |           |    |     |
| To be applied out of the sinking fund  | 702,539   | 16 | 11  |
| APRIL 28.  |           |    |     |
| That the amount of stoppages, respites, and other monies remaining in the hands of the paymaster-general, be applied towards defraying the army extraordinary, incurred from the 25th of December, 1783, to the 25th of December, 1784; and not provided for by parliament | 231,578   | 18 | 2   |
| MAY 10.  |           |    |     |
| To be farther raised by exchequer bills  | 1,000,000 | 0  | 0   |
| Overplus of grants for the year 1784   | 66,161    | 3  | 5½  |
| To be applied out of the sinking fund  | 2,297,460 | 3  | 10½ |
| JUNE 23.   |           |    |     |
| To be raised by way of lottery, to consist of 50,000 tickets, at 13l. each   | 650,000   |    |     |
| To be distributed into prizes  | 500,000   |    |     |
|  | 150,000   | 0  | 0   |
| JUNE 28.   |           |    |     |
| Remaining in the exchequer for the disposal of parliament  | 238,928   | 16 | 3   |
|  | 9,936,668 | 17 | 10½ |
|  | 9,296,000 | 15 | 10½ |
| Excess of Ways and Means   | 640,368   | 1  | 11½ |

The charge of the pay and clothing of the militia for this year was voted to be paid out of the produce of the land tax.

The navy, victualling, and transport bills, dated on or before the 30th of June, 1783, with the interest due thereon to the 5th of July, 1785, were in this session funded at the rate of 111l. 8s. 6d. stock, bearing 5 per cent. interest for every hundred pound arising from the principal and interest of the said bills: and navy, &c. bills made out between the 30th of June, 1783, and the 1st of January, 1785, with the interest due thereon, were funded on the like terms, except that from these was deducted a sum at the rate of five shillings per cent. on the amount of the principal and interest for every month between the first day of July, 1783, and the day on which such bills were made out. The stock so created is irredeemable until twenty five millions of the public debt, either of three or four per cent. annuities shall be redeemed or paid off.

Ord.



Ordinance debentures, dated on or before the 31st of December, 1783, bearing interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum, from the expiration of fifteen months from their date, were likewise funded, at the rate of 111l. 8s. od. stock bearing 5 per cent. interest for every hundred pound, and irredeemable in like manner with the navy bills. The interest of the navy and ordnance debt thus funded, with some other services, amounting to 413,000l. were to be provided for by the following

NEW TAXES.

|                 |   |   |   |   | £.      |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Male servants   | — | — | — | — | 35,000  |
| Female servants | — | — | — | — | 140,000 |
| Shops           | — | — | — | — | 100,000 |
| Attornies       | — | — | — | — | 20,000  |
| Post-horses     | — | — | — | — | 50,000  |
| Gloves          | — | — | — | — | 50,000  |
| Pawnbrokers     | — | — | — | — | 15,000  |
| Salt            | — | — | — | — | 12,000  |
|                 |   |   |   |   | <hr/>   |
|                 |   |   |   |   | 422,000 |
|                 |   |   |   |   | <hr/>   |

*Public Acts passed in the Second Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain.*

*March 8, 1785.*

An act for continuing the duties on malt, &c. for 1785.

An act for regulating the marine forces.

An act respecting the intercourse between the United States of America and the island of Newfoundland.

*March 24.*

An act for raising the land tax for 1785.

The mutiny act.

*April 6.*

An act respecting the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and America.

*April 25.*

An act for raising a sum of money by exchequer bills for 1785.

Another act for the same purpose.

An act for defraying the charge of the militia for 1785.

*May 13.*

An act to repeal the duties imposed last session on cotton stuffs, &c.

An act respecting the importation of goods from Tobago.

An act to appoint commissioners to enquire into the fees and other emoluments of certain public offices, and to examine and report concerning any abuses, &c.

An act to appoint commissioners of the land-tax.

An act to enable the session at the Old Bailey to continue to be holden, notwithstanding the essoign day of term may happen during the session.

An act to repeal so much of an act of the last session as relates to the distillation, &c. of corn spirits in the Highlands of Scotland.

*June*

*June 13.*

An act for raising a sum of money by exchequer bills for 1785.

An act for funding the navy bills and ordnance debentures.

An act for laying duties on shops.

An act for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy.

An act to regulate the sale of the lands, &c. of crown debtors, &c.

An act respecting the prize money to be paid to the garrison of Gibraltar for destroying the Spanish floating batteries.

An act for preventing frauds in the wool manufactory in certain counties.

*July 4.*

An act for transferring to another fund the annuity of 9000l. paid to the duke of Gloucester.

An act for granting duties on male and female servants.

An act for laying duties on gloves, &c. and licencing the sellers thereof.

An act for licencing coachmakers, and laying duties on carriages built for sale.

An act for licencing pawnbrokers.

An act respecting the licencing of persons letting horses, &c. and the duties on stage-coaches, &c.

An act for transferring certain duties from the commissioners of excise and stamps to the commissioners of taxes.

An act respecting the duties on certificates to persons qualified to kill game.

An act for better securing the duties on coal, culm, and cinders.

An act for better examining and auditing the public accounts.

An act for regulating insurances on ships, goods, &c.

An act relating to the transportation, &c. of felons in Scotland.

An act regulating the imprison-

ment of debtors under prosecution in the courts of conscience in London and the bills of mortality, and to abolish the fees paid by them to gaolers, &c.

An act respecting the manufacture and importation of cordage for shipping.

*July 10.*

An act for granting a sum of money out of the sinking fund, and for other purposes relative to the supplies for 1785.

An act for raising a sum of money by lottery.

An act respecting the duties on bricks and tiles.

An act respecting the duties upon, and the importation of, Florence wine and oil; also respecting the exportation of wheat, &c. to our sugar colonies; the drawback on the exportation of snuff; the permission to land British plantation rum or spirits before payment of the excise duties; the premiums upon the importation of pitch, &c. from East Florida; the bounty upon the exportation of silk gauzes; and the drawback upon the exportation of raw silk.

An act respecting the duties imposed last session upon printed linens, &c. and for laying duties on printed cotton stuffs, muslins, fustians, velvets, and velverets.

An act respecting the duties on gold and silver plate.

An act for further postponing the payment of two millions to the Bank.

An act to exempt the mail coaches from the payment of turnpike tolls.

An act respecting the laws relative to salt, rock salt, foul salt for manure, Glauber or Epsom salts, &c.

An act respecting party-walls, and for the more effectual preventing mischiefs by fire; and for extending

ing the provisions of this act, so far as relates to manufactories of pitch, &c. throughout England.

An act for encouraging the pilchard fishery.

An act to authorize certain great officers of state to pay bounties granted by his majesty to persons in low and indigent circumstances.

An act for the farther encouragement of the British fisheries.

An act to prohibit the exportation to foreign parts of tools, &c. employed in our iron and steel manufactories, and to prevent the seducing the workman to go abroad.

*July 25.*

An act for continuing the com-

missioners for examining the public accounts.

An act to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of hay.

An act to enable the city of London to pull down the Poultry and Wood-street compters, and to rebuild the same elsewhere.

*August 2.*

An act imposing duties on medicines.

An act imposing duties on hawkers and pedlars.

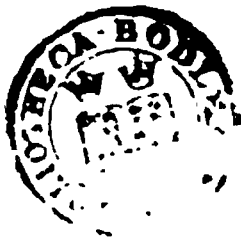
An act imposing duties on attornies.

An act to limit the durations of polls and scrutinies in the elections of members of parliament.

# PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1785.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down to that Month.

|      | Bank<br>Stock | 3 per<br>c. red. | 3ditt.<br>conf. | 4 p. c.<br>conf. | 5 p. c.     | Long<br>Ann. | Short<br>Ann. | India<br>Stock | India<br>Ann. | India<br>bonds   | Old<br>Ann. | New<br>Ann. | Navy<br>Bills. | Excheq.<br>Bills. | Lottery<br>Tickets. |
|------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Jan. | 112½<br>117½  | 55½<br>57        | 56½<br>58½      | 71<br>74         | 87½<br>89½  | 17½<br>17½   | 12½<br>12½    | 133½<br>137½   | 52½<br>54½    | 4s. dif.<br>1    | 54½<br>56½  | 55½<br>55   | 16½<br>14½     | 4s. dif.<br>1     |                     |
| Feb. | 115<br>117    | 56½<br>57½       | 55½<br>56½      | 72½<br>73½       | 88½<br>89½  | 17<br>17½    | 12<br>12½     | 130½<br>135    | 53½<br>54½    | 3<br>par         | 55½<br>56½  | 54½<br>55½  | 14½<br>13½     | 3<br>par          |                     |
| Mar. | 115<br>116½   | 56½<br>56½       | 54½<br>55½      | 73½<br>74        | 88<br>88½   | 16½<br>17    | 11½<br>12     | 131½<br>13½    | 54½<br>54½    | 4<br>2           | 55<br>53½   | 54½<br>54½  | 15½<br>14½     | 3<br>par          |                     |
| Apr. | 113½<br>119½  | 55½<br>57½       | 55½<br>57½      | 73<br>74½        | 88<br>91½   | 16½<br>17½   | 11½<br>12½    | 131½<br>133½   | 52½<br>53½    | 4<br>1           | 56½<br>56½  | 54½<br>57½  | 16<br>11½      | 3<br>2            |                     |
| May  | 116<br>117½   | 57½<br>58½       | 57½<br>59½      | 73½<br>74½       | 91½<br>93   | 17½<br>18    | 12½<br>12½    | 133½<br>134    | 53½<br>54½    | 5<br>1           | 56<br>57½   | 56½<br>57½  | 10<br>6½       |                   |                     |
| June | 116½<br>118½  | 56½<br>57½       | 56½<br>57½      | 73½<br>74½       | 91½<br>92½  | 17½<br>17½   | 12½<br>12½    | 133½<br>136½   | 53<br>53½     | 5 pr.<br>1 dif.  | 55½<br>57   | 57½<br>56½  | 7½<br>7½       | 6s. pr.<br>3 par  | 13 2 6              |
| July | 118½<br>120½  | 57½<br>59        | 56½<br>58½      | 74<br>76         | 89½<br>92½  | 17½<br>18    | 12½<br>12½    | 132½<br>136½   | 53½<br>54½    | 9 pr.<br>par     | 56½<br>57½  | 56½<br>57   | 7½<br>6½       | 8s. pr.<br>3 pr.  | 13 4 0<br>13 11 0   |
| Aug. | 119½<br>123½  | 58½<br>59½       | 57½<br>58½      | 75½<br>76½       | 91½<br>93½  | 17½<br>18    | 12½<br>12½    | 133½<br>136½   | 55<br>55½     | 19 pr.<br>10 pr. | 56½<br>57½  | 56½<br>57½  | 5½<br>4½       | 17 pr.<br>8 pr.   | 13 12 0<br>13 19 0  |
| Sep. | 122½<br>124½  | 59½<br>59½       | 58½<br>60       | 79½<br>79        | 93½<br>96½  | 18½<br>18½   | 12½<br>12½    | 139½<br>141½   | 57½<br>57½    | 23 pr.<br>17 pr. | 58<br>59½   | 57½<br>58½  | 4½<br>3½       | 18 pr.<br>8 pr.   | 13 17 0<br>13 18 0  |
| Oct. | 125½<br>133   | 63½<br>65½       | 59½<br>65½      | 79½<br>85½       | 96½<br>109½ | 18½<br>20    | 12½<br>13½    | 146<br>150     | 61½<br>61½    | 37 pr.<br>13 pr. | 63<br>63½   | 58½<br>64   | 4½<br>2½       | 14 pr.<br>5 pr.   | 13 17 9<br>14 18 0  |
| Nov. | 130½<br>140½  | 64½<br>70        | 65½<br>71       | 83<br>88         | 103<br>106½ | 20<br>21½    | 13½<br>14     | 150<br>156½    | 62½<br>65½    | 40 pr.<br>37 pr. | 62½<br>67½  | 63½<br>69   | 2½<br>2½       | 24 pr.<br>18 pr.  | 14 15 0<br>14 19 0  |
| Dec. | 138½<br>141½  | 68½<br>71½       | 69½<br>73½      | 87½<br>90½       | 105½<br>109 | 21<br>21½    | 13½<br>14½    | 155½<br>162    | 64½<br>66½    | 46 pr.<br>38 pr. | 67½<br>68½  | 68½<br>69½  | 2½<br>2½       | 12 pr.<br>5 pr.   | 14 11 0<br>14 19 0  |



**B I O G R A P H I C A L**  
**A N E C D O T E S**  
**A N D**  
**C H A R A C T E R S.**

JACOB KAYDON

W E T O D L L

1771

W E T O D L L



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# BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

The principal Circumstances of the LIFE of BOETHIUS.

[Extracted from the Account of him prefixed to Mr. RIDPATH's Translation of the Consolation of Philosophy.]

**A**NICIUS Manlius Severinus Boethius was descended from an ancient and noble family. Many of his ancestors were senators and consuls of Rome. He was born at Rome, in the 455th year of the Christian era, 46 years after the taking of that city by Alarick I. king of the Goths. Boethius Severinus, his father, was prefect of the palace to Valentinian III. and, by the command of that emperor, was put to death in the same year which gave birth to his illustrious son. Though deprived of the care of an excellent parent, the young Boethius had the happiness of falling under the tuition of worthy relations, who gave him a good education, and inspired him with an early taste for philosophy and the belles lettres. They sent him to Athens, where these studies still flourished. He resided eighteen years in that celebrated seminary, where, animated by a noble emulation, he distinguished himself among his fellow-students, and made a surprising progress in every branch of literature. But philosophy and mathematics were his darling studies; Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy, his favourite authors. He

studied their writings with the utmost attention, and became master of all the treasures of science contained in them.

In this manner did Boethius employ his youth. His progress in virtue, in the mean time, kept pace with his advancement in knowledge; for he was no less remarkable for probity and humanity, than for his fine genius and extensive erudition. Upon his return to Rome, he soon attracted the public attention. He was considered as a person born to promote the happiness of society. The most distinguished men in the city sought his friendship, perceiving that his merit would soon advance him to the first employments of the state. His alliance was wished for by persons the most respectable. But Elpis, descended from one of the most considerable families of Messina, was the lady on whom Boethius fixed his choice. His choice was fortunate; for in Elpis there were united all the accomplishments of the head and heart. She had a fine taste in literature, particularly in poetry, and was a shining example of every virtue; so that she must have been a delightful companion to this emi-

nant philosopher and statesman. She bore him two sons, Patritius and Hypatius.

“ To the happiness of possessing a lady of such uncommon merit, Boethius soon had the satisfaction of obtaining the highest honour his country could bestow. He was made consul in the year 487, at the age of 32. Odoacer, king of the Heruli, reigned at that time in Italy, who, after having put to death Orestes, and deposed his son Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, assumed the title of king of that country. Two years after Boethius's advancement to the dignity of consul, Theodorick, king of the Goths, invaded Italy; and, having conquered Odoacer and put him to death, he in a short time made himself master of that country, and fixed the seat of his government at Ravenna, as Odoacer and several of the later western emperors had done before him. The Romans and the inhabitants of Italy were pleased with the government of Theodorick, because he wisely ruled them by the same laws, the same polity, and the same magistrates they were accustomed to, under the emperors. In the eighth year of this prince's reign, Boethius had the singular felicity of beholding his two sons, Patritius and Hypatius, raised to the consular dignity. During their continuance in office, Theodorick came to Rome, where he had been long expected, and was received by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Boethius made him an eloquent panegyrick in the senate; which the king answered in the most obliging terms, declaring that he should ever have the greatest respect for that august assembly, and would never encroach upon any of their privileges.

“ Boethius was advanced a second time to the dignity of consul, in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Theodorick. Power and honour could not have been conferred upon a person more worthy of them: for he was both an excellent magistrate and statesman, as he faithfully and assiduously executed the duties of his office; and employed, upon every occasion, the great influence he had at court, in protecting the innocent, relieving the needy, and in procuring the redress of such grievances as gave just cause of complaint. The care of public affairs did not however engross his whole attention. This year, as he informs us himself, he wrote his *Commentary upon the Predicaments, or the Ten Categories of Aristotle*. In imitation of Cato, Cicero, and Brutus, he devoted the whole of his time to the service of the commonwealth, and to the cultivation of the sciences. He published a variety of writings, in which he treated upon almost every branch of literature. I shall mention the principal of them. Besides the *Commentary upon Aristotle's Categories*, noticed above, Boethius wrote an *Explanation of that philosopher's Topics*, in eight books; another, of his *Sophisms*, in two books; and *Commentaries upon many other parts of his writings*. He translated the whole of *Plato's works*: he wrote a *Commentary*, in six books, upon *Cicero's Topics*; he commented also upon *Porphyrus's writings*: he published a *Discourse on Rhetoric*, in one book; a *Treatise on Arithmetic*, in two books; and another, in five books, upon *Music*: he wrote three books upon *Geometry*, the last of which is lost: he translated *Euclid*; and wrote a *Treatise upon the Quadrature of the Circle*; nei-  
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ther of which performances are now remaining : he published also translations of Ptolomy of Alexandria's works ; and of the writings of the celebrated Archimedes : and, to conclude this imperfect list of his learned labours, he published several treatises upon theological and metaphysical subjects, which are still preserved.

“ The acuteness of understanding and profound erudition displayed in such a diversity of works, upon all subjects, acquired Boethius a great reputation, not only among his countrymen, but with foreigners. Gondebald king of the Burgundians, who had married a daughter of Theodorick, came to Ravenna, on a visit to his father-in-law, and thence went to Rome, not only with a view to see the beauties of that famous city, but that he might have the pleasure of conversing with our illustrious philosopher. Boethius, sensible of the great honour conferred upon him by this prince, did every thing in his power to amuse and entertain him. He showed him several curious mechanical works of his own invention, which Gondebald greatly admired ; but what chiefly struck him, were two watches or time-keepers ; one of which pointed out the sun's diurnal and annual motion in the ecliptic, upon a moveable sphere ; and the other indicated the hours of the day, by the expedient of water dropping out of one vessel into another. So fond was Gondebald of these pieces of mechanism, that upon his return to his own country, he dispatched ambassadors to Theodorick, praying that he would procure for him the two wonderful time-keepers he had seen at Rome.

“ Boethius was held in high esteem by Theodorick, who was a prince of great capacity, and go-

verned hitherto with much prudence, equity, and moderation. But these eminent virtues he afterwards sullied by flagrant acts of cruelty and injustice. During the course of these transactions, Boethius lost his beloved wife Elpis, the faithful partner of his domestic cares, his pleasures, and his studies. To comfort himself under this affliction (for the wise man comforts himself under every event) he married a second time ; and had the uncommon felicity of being again equally happy in his choice. The lady, whom he chose for his consort was Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, one of the most respectable men in Rome for birth, learning, and probity. This lady bore him two sons, Symmachus and Boethius ; who, as we are informed in the second book of the Consolation, were conspicuous in their youth for very eminent talents.

“ Boethius was a third time elected consul, along with Symmachus, his father-in-law, in the 30th year of Theodorick's reign. Neither ambition nor interest prompted him, in the decline of life, to undertake that high office : he had no other view but to promote the good of the state, and to protect those worthy citizens whose suffrages had advanced him to that dignity. This was his last consulship : during the course of it he had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of king Theodorick. Boethius had been hitherto remarkably fortunate ; he had lived long in health, affluence, and splendor ; had attained to every honour he could expect : and had preserved invariably the esteem and affection of his fellow-citizens. During the course of almost forty years, for capacity and probity, he was undoubtedly the most distinguished character in

Rome. His uncommon merit, however, and his great influence, did not prevent his ruin; they were probably the causes of it. King Theodorick was an Arian; and Boethius, who was a Catholic, unfortunately published about this time a book upon the Unity of the Trinity, in opposition to the three famous sects of Arians, Nestorians, and Eutychians. This treatise was universally read, and created our author a great many enemies at court; who insinuated to the prince, that Boethius wanted not only to destroy Arianism, but to effectuate a change of government, and deliver Italy from the dominion of the Goths; and that, from his great credit and influence, he was the most likely person to bring about such a revolution.—Whilst his enemies were thus busied at Ravenna, they employed emissaries to sow the seeds of discontent at Rome, and to excite factious people openly to oppose him in the exercise of his office as consul. Boethius, in the mean while, wanting no other reward than a sense of his integrity, laboured both by his eloquence and his authority to defeat their wicked attempts; and persisted resolutely in his endeavours to promote the public welfare, by supporting the oppressed, and bringing offenders to justice. But his integrity and steadiness tended only to hasten his fall. King Theodorick, corrupted probably by a long series of good fortune, began now to take off the mask. This prince, though an Arian, had hitherto preserved sentiments of moderation and equity with regard to the Catholics; but fearing, perhaps, that they had a view of overturning his government, he began now to treat them with severity.

“Boethius was one of the first

that fell a victim to his rigour. He had continued long in favour with his prince, and was more beloved by him than any other person: but neither the remembrance of former affection, nor the absolute certainty the king had of his innocence, prevented him from prosecuting our philosopher, upon the evidence of three abandoned profligates, infamous for all manner of crimes. The offences laid to his charge, as we are informed in the first book of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, were, “That he wished to preserve the senate and its authority: that he hindered an informer from producing proofs, which would have convicted that assembly of treason: and that he formed a scheme for the restoration of the Roman liberty.” In proof of the last article, the above mentioned profligates produced letters forged by themselves, which they falsely averred were written by Boethius. For these supposed crimes, as we learn from the same authority, he was, unheard and undefended, at the distance of five hundred miles, proscribed and condemned to death.—Theodorick, conscious that his severity would be universally blamed, did not at this time carry his sentence fully into execution; but contented himself with confiscating Boethius’s effects, with banishing him to Pavia, and confining him to prison.

“Soon after this, Justin, the catholic emperor of the East, finding himself thoroughly established upon the throne, published an edict against the Arians, depriving them of all their churches. Theodorick was highly offended at this edict. He obliged pope John I. together with four of the principal senators of Rome (one of whom was Symmachus, father-in-law to Boethius)

to go on an embassy to Constantinople; and commanded them to threaten that he would abolish the Catholic religion throughout Italy, if the emperor did not immediately revoke his edict against the Arians. John was received at Constantinople with extraordinary pomp, and treated with profound respect. He tried to compromise matters betwixt the two princes: but so far was he from inducing the emperor to revoke his edict, that, in compliance with the tenor of it, he reconciled many of the Arian churches to the Catholic faith. Theodorick was so incensed at his conduct, and of his associates in this affair, that upon their return he threw them all into prison at Ravenna. Boethius, though entirely innocent of what was done at Constantinople, was at the same time ordered into stricter confinement at Pavia; the king having probably come to the resolution of proceeding to extremities against him.

“ Though confined in a doleful prison, and deserted by all the world—though deprived of his library, and stript of all his possessions—our illustrious philosopher preserved so much vigour and composure of mind, that he wrote, in five books, his excellent treatise of the Consolation of Philosophy. To this treatise our author is more indebted for his fame, than to all his other learned performances. Few books have been more popular: it has gone through a multitude of editions; has been commented upon by many eminent men; has been translated into a great variety of languages; and has been universally acknowledged a work replete with erudition and instruction, and executed with much delicacy and good taste. When we consider the distressed si-

tuation of our author when he wrote it, we are filled with wonder that he was capable of composing a performance of so much real genius and merit.

“ But the fatal moment was now fast approaching, which put a period to the miseries of Boethius. As a prelude to this, pope John was furnished to death in prison; and soon afterwards Theodorick ordered Symmachus, and the three other senators that were sent to Constantinople on the embassy before mentioned, to be beheaded. To complete his cruelty, he commanded the same punishment to be inflicted on Boethius, in his prison at Pavia; on the 23d of October 526, in the 71st year of his age. His body was interred by the inhabitants of Pavia, in the church of St. Augustine, near to the steps of the chancel; where his monument is still to be seen.

“ King Theodorick, as we are informed by Procopius, regretted these acts of violence, and did not long survive them. Some months afterwards, when the head of a great fish was served up to him at supper, he imagined he beheld the head of Symmachus fiercely threatening him. Terrified with this apparition, he rose from table, and went to bed in an agony; and after bitterly deploring to his physician his cruelty in respect to Symmachus and Boethius, he became delirious, and in a few days expired. Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theodorick, who upon the decease of her father governed Italy with singular prudence and justice, as tuteess to her son Athalarick, lamented the fate of this eminent man, and expressed the utmost respect for his memory. To make all the atonement in her power for the injuries  
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her father had done him, she caused his statues, which had been overthrown at Rome during his perse-

cution, to be again erected, and all his possessions to be restored to his heirs."

### ANECDOTES concerning the celebrated EULER.

[Taken from the Account of M. Fuss's Eulogy of M. LEONARD EULER, given in the Appendix to the Seventy-third Volume of the Monthly Review.]:

**W**E have here the learned and grateful disciple, paying a just tribute to the memory of one of the greatest philosophers, and best of men, that science, religion, and virtue have exhibited in any age; in order, to shew of what intellectual and moral improvement human nature is susceptible.

“Leonard Euler, professor of mathematics, member of the Imperial Academy of Petersburg, ancient-director of the Royal Academy of Berlin, and fellow of the Royal Society of London, as also correspondent member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, was born at Basil, April 15th, 1707, of reputable parents. The years of his infancy were passed in a rural retreat, where the examples of pious and virtuous parents contributed, no doubt, to form in him that amiable simplicity of character, and uncommon purity of sentiments and manners, which were manifested during the whole course of his life.

“Though the studies of his father were chiefly directed toward branches of knowledge that had a more immediate relation to his clerical profession, yet he had applied himself, with success, to the mathematics, under the celebrated James Bernoulli; and, though he

designed his son for the ministry, he initiated him into this science, among the other instructions of his early education.

When young Euler was sent to the university of Basil, he attended, regularly, the different professors. As his memory was prodigious, he performed his academical tasks with uncommon rapidity, and all the time he gained by this was consecrated to geometry, which soon became his favourite study. The early progress he made in this science, only added new ardour to his application; and thus he obtained a distinguished place in the attention and esteem of professor John Bernoulli, who was, at that time, one of the first mathematicians in Europe. Euler became his favourite pupil. He was struck with a kind of astonishment at the aspiring genius and rapid progress of the young mathematician; and as his own occupations would not admit of his giving the ardent pupil so much of his time as Euler desired, he appointed one day in the week for removing the difficulties which his disciples had met with in perusing the works of the most profound mathematicians.

In 1723, M. Euler took his degree as master of arts, and delivered on that occasion a Latin discourse, in which he drew a comparison be-



tween the philosophy of Newton and the Cartesian system, which was received with the greatest applause. He afterwards, at his father's desire, applied himself to the study of theology, and the Oriental languages. Though these studies were foreign to his predominant propensity, his success was considerable even in this line; however, with his father's consent, he returned to geometry, as his principal object. He continued to avail himself of the counsels and instructions of M. Bernoulli; he contracted an intimate friendship with his two sons, Nicholas and Daniel, and it was in consequence of these connections, that he became afterwards the principal ornament of the Academy of Petersburg.

"The project of erecting this academy had been formed by Peter the Great. It was executed by Catherine I.; and the two young Bernoullis, being invited to Petersburg in 1725, promised Euler, who was desirous of following them, that they would use their utmost endeavours to procure for him an advantageous settlement in that city. In the mean time, by their advice, he applied himself, with ardour, to the study of physiology, to which he made a happy application of his mathematical knowledge; and he attended carefully, for this purpose, the medical lectures of the most eminent professors of Basil.

"This study, however, did not wholly engross his time: it did not even relax the activity of his vast and comprehensive mind in the cultivation of other branches of natural science. For while he was keenly engaged in physiological researches, he composed a Dissertation on the Nature and Propagation of Sound, and an answer to a prize-

question concerning the *massing of ships*, to which the Academy of Sciences adjudged the accessit, or second rank, in the year 1727. From this latter discourse, and other circumstances, it appears, that Euler had early embarked in the curious and important study of navigation, which he afterwards enriched with so many valuable discoveries.

"M. Euler's merit would have given him an easy admission to honourable preferment, either in the magistracy or university of his native city; if both civil and academical honours had not been there distributed by lot. The lot being against him in a certain promotion, he left his country, set out for Petersburg, and was made joint professor with his countrymen, Messrs. Hermann and Daniel Bernoulli, in the university of that city.

"At his first setting out in this new career, he enriched the academical collection with many memoirs, which excited a noble emulation between him and M. D. Bernoulli; and this emulation always continued without either degenerating into a selfish jealousy, or producing the least alteration in their friendship. It was at this time that he carried to new degrees of perfection the integral calculus, invented the calculation of sinusses, reduced analytical operations to a greater simplicity, and thus was enabled to throw new light on all the parts of mathematical science.

"In 1730, he was promoted to the professorship of natural philosophy; and in 1733 he succeeded his friend D. Bernoulli in the mathematical chair. In 1735, a problem was proposed by the Academy, which required expedition, and for the solution of which several eminent mathematicians had demanded the

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space of some months. The problem was solved by Euler in three days,—to the great astonishment of the Academy; but the violent and laborious efforts it cost him threw him into a fever, which endangered his life, and deprived him of the use of his right eye.

“The Academy of Sciences at Paris, which, in 1738, had adjudged the prize to his *Memoir* concerning the Nature and Properties of Fire, proposed, for the year 1740, the important subject of the sea-tides, a problem whose solution required the most arduous calculations, and comprehended the theory of the solar system. Euler’s discourse on this question was judged a master-piece of analysis and geometry; and it was more honourable for him to share the academical prize with such illustrious competitors as Colin Maclaurin and Daniel Bernoulli, than to have carried it away from rivals of less magnitude. Rarely, if ever, did such a brilliant competition adorn the annals of the Academy; and no subject, perhaps, proposed by that learned body, was ever treated with such accuracy of investigation and force of genius, as that which here displayed the philosophical powers of these three extraordinary men. We shall not follow the learned eulogist in his remarks on the particular merit of Euler’s discourse. It has been long accessible to the perusal of those, who have a taste and a capacity to relish and comprehend investigations of this kind: but we cannot omit a circumstance, which, beside the confirmation that experience has given to the researches of Euler, is a very strong presumption in their favour; and that circumstance is the remarkable conformity between his memoir and that of Bernoulli, though they set

out from different principles. The one adopted the Cartesian vortices, which the other rejected; and yet they arrived at the same conclusion: they even met together often in the course of their investigations; of which, one example, among others, is their determination of the tide in the frigid zone. Thus, observes our panegyrist, does truth seem, at times, to multiply itself, that it may shed its light upon its genuine votaries, in whatever path they pursue it.

“In the year 1741, M. Euler was invited to Berlin, to augment the lustre of the academy, that was there rising into fame, under the auspicious protection of the present king of Prussia; for whom the muses and the sciences have prepared a wreath, which will bloom unfaded to the latest ages. He enriched the last volume of the *Miscellanies* (*Melanges*) of Berlin with five *Memoirs*, which make an eminent, perhaps the principal, figure in that collection. These were followed, with an astonishing rapidity, by a great number of important researches, which are scattered through the *Memoirs* of the Prussian Academy; of which a volume has been regularly published every year, since its establishment in 1744.

“The labours of Euler will appear more especially astonishing, when it is considered, that, while he was enriching the Academy of Berlin with a prodigious number of memoirs, on the deepest parts of mathematical science, containing always some new points of view, often sublime truths, and sometimes discoveries of great importance, he did not discontinue his philosophical contributions to the Academy of Petersburg, which granted him a pension in 1742, and whose memoirs

moirs display the marvellous fecundity of Euler's genius.

"It was with much difficulty that this great man obtained, in 1766, permission from the king of Prussia to return to Petersburg, where he desired to pass the rest of his days. Soon after his return, which was graciously rewarded by the munificence of Catherine II. he was seized with a violent disorder, which terminated in the total loss of his sight. A cataract, formed in his left eye, which had been essentially damaged by a too ardent application to study, deprived him entirely of the use of that organ. It was in this distressing situation, that he dictated to his servant, who had been a tailor's apprentice, and was absolutely devoid of mathematical knowledge, his Elements of Algebra; which, by their intrinsical merit, in point of perspicuity and method, and the unhappy circumstances in which they were composed, have equally excited applause and astonishment. This work, though purely elementary, discovers the palpable characteristics of an inventive genius; and it is here alone that we meet with a complete theory of the analysis of Diophantes.

"About this time, M. Euler was honoured by the Academy of Sciences at Paris with the place of one of the foreign members of that learned body; and, after this, the academical prize was adjudged to three of his memoirs, concerning the inequalities in the motions of the planets. The two prize-questions, proposed by the same Academy, for 1770 and 1772, were designed to obtain from the labours of astronomers a more perfect theory of the moon. M. Euler, assisted by his eldest son, was a competitor for these prizes, and obtained them both. In this last me-

moir, he reserved for farther consideration, several inequalities of the moon's motion, which he could not determine in his first theory, on account of the complicated calculations in which the method he then employed had engaged him. He had the courage afterward to review his whole theory, with the assistance of his son, and Mess. Krafft and Lexell, and to pursue his researches, until he had constructed the new tables, which appeared, together with the great work, in 1772. Instead of confining himself, as before, to the fruitless integration of three differential equations of the second degree, which are furnished by mathematical principles, he reduced them to the three ordinates, which determine the place of the moon: he divided into classes all the inequalities of that planet, as far as they depend either upon the mean elongation of the sun and moon, or upon the excentricity, or the parallax, or the inclination of the lunar orbit. All these means of investigation, employed with such art and dexterity, as could only be expected from an analytical genius of the first order, were attended with the greatest success; and it is impossible to observe, without admiration, and a kind of astonishment, such immense calculations on the one hand, and on the other, the ingenious methods employed by this great man to abridge them, and to facilitate their application to the real motion of the moon. But this admiration will become astonishment, when we consider at what period, and in what circumstances, all this was effectuated by M. Euler. It was when he was totally blind, and consequently obliged to arrange all his computations by the sole powers of his memory and his genius. It was when he was em-

barrasted in his domestic circumstances, by a dreadful fire, that had consumed a great part of his substance, and forced him to quit a ruined house, of which every corner was known to him by habit, which, in some measure, supplied the place of sight. It was in these circumstances that Euler composed a work, which, alone, was sufficient to render his name immortal. The heroic patience and tranquillity of mind which he displayed here needs no description: and he derived them not only from the love of science, but from the power of religion. His philosophy was too genuine and sublime to stop its analysis at mechanical causes: it led him to that divine philosophy of religion, which ennobles human nature, and can alone form a habit of true magnanimity and patience in suffering.

“Sometime after this, the famous Wentzel, by couching the cataract, restored Mr. Euler’s sight; but the satisfaction and joy that this successful operation produced, were of short duration. Some instances of negligence, on the part of his surgeons, and his own impatience to use an organ, whose cure was not completely finished, deprived him of his sight a second time; and this relapse was accompanied with tormenting pain. He, however, with the assistance of his sons, and of Messrs. Kraft and Lexell, continued his labours: neither the loss of his sight, nor the infirmities of an advanced age, could damp the ardour of his genius. He had engaged to furnish the Academy of Peterburgh with as many memoirs as would be sufficient to complete its acts for twenty years after his death. In the space of seven years, he transmitted to the academy, by Mr. Goltwin, above seventy me-

moirs, and above two hundred more, which were revised and completed by the author of this eulogy. Such of these memoirs as were of ancient date were separated from the rest, and form a collection that was published in the year 1783, under the title of *Analytical Works*. There is not one of these pieces, observes our eulogist, which does not contain some new discovery, or some ingenious view, that may lead to the successful investigation of truths yet unknown. They contain the happiest integrations, the most refined and sublime analytical processes, deep researches concerning the nature and properties of numbers, an ingenious demonstration of several theorems of Fermat; the solution of many difficult problems relative to the equilibrium and motion of solid, flexible, and elastic bodies, and explanations of several seeming paradoxes. No part of the theory of the motion of the celestial bodies, of their mutual action, and their anomalies, however abstract and difficult, was overlooked, or left unimproved, by Mr. Euler. There is not one branch of mathematical science that has not been benefited by his labours: no geometrician ever before embraced so many objects at the same time: none, perhaps, ever equalled him, either in the number of his publications, or in the multitude and variety of his discoveries. His name will live as long as the sciences subsist: it will go down to the latest ages with the immortal names of Descartes, Galilei, Newton, Leibnitz, and other illustrious men, whose genius and virtues have ennobled humanity: it will shine with an un fading lustre, when many names, which have been raised to fame by the frivolous part of mankind, in our times

times shall be buried in oblivion,"—So speaks our eulogist, and we have neither the courage nor the inclination to contradict him.

"Euler's knowledge was more universal than could be well expected in one, who had pursued, with such unremitting ardour, mathematics and astronomy, as his favourite studies. He had made a very considerable progress in medical, botanical, and chemical science. What was still more extraordinary, he was an excellent scholar, and possessed what is generally called erudition, in a very high degree. He had read, with attention and taste, the most eminent writers of ancient Rome: he was perfectly acquainted with mathematical literature, and the ancient history of that science. The civil and literary history of all ages and all nations was familiar to him; and foreigners, who were only acquainted with his works, were astonished to find in the conversation of a man, whose long life seemed solely occupied in mathematical and physical researches and discoveries, such an extensive acquaintance with the most interesting branches of literature. In this respect, no doubt, he was much indebted to a very uncommon memory, which seemed to retain every idea that was conveyed to it, either from reading or meditation. He could repeat the *Æneid* of Virgil, from the beginning to the end, without hesitation, and indicate the first and the last line of every page of the edition he used. Many other examples of his extraordinary memory are mentioned in this eulogy.

"Several attacks of a vertigo, in the beginning of September, 1783, which did not prevent his calculating the motions of the aerostatical globes, were, nevertheless, the fore-

runners of his mild and happy passage from this scene to a better. While he was amusing himself at tea, with one of his grand-children, he was struck with an apoplexy, which terminated his illustrious career, at the age of 76.

"His constitution was uncommonly strong and vigorous: his health was good, and the evening of his long life was calm and serene, sweetened by the fame that follows genius, the public esteem and respect that are never withheld from exemplary virtue, and several domestic comforts, which he was capable of feeling, and therefore deserved to enjoy. His temper was even, mild, and cheerful; to which were added, a certain roughness, mixed with simplicity and good humour, and a happy and pleasant knack of telling a story, which rendered his conversation agreeable. The great activity of his mind was necessarily connected with a proportion of vivacity and quickness, which rendered him susceptible of warmth and irritation. His anger, however, was never any thing more than a transitory flash; and he knew no such thing as permanent ill-will toward any human being. His probity and integrity were pure and incorruptible; and the honest indignation with which he inveighed against every instance of perfidy and injustice, was singularly remarkable. His piety was rational and sincere: his devotion was fervent: he was intimately persuaded of the truth of Christianity—felt its importance to the dignity and happiness of human nature—and looked upon its detractors and opposers as the most pernicious enemies of man. His philanthropy was great, and if ever he felt the emotions of aversion and indignation, it was only when he con-



contemplated the malignant frenzy of the professed abettors and apostles of Atheism. We shall not contend with such as may look upon this as an infirmity; for we never felt any thing in our occasional visits to Bedlam, but sentiments of pity, and that kind of dejection that arises from the humiliating view of a disordered nature.

M. Euler had by his first marriage thirteen children, of whom eight died in infancy or early youth. The other five, of which three are sons, highly eminent in their respective professions, augmented his family with thirty-eight grand-children, of whom twenty-six are still living. 'It was a most pleasing and affecting spectacle,' says our eulogist, 'to see the venerable old man, sitting (deprived of sight) like a patriarch in the midst of his numerous family, all zealous in rendering the evening of his life serene and pleasing, by every tender office

and mark of attention, that the warmest filial affection could suggest.' We cordially join the worthy writer in the contemplation of this respectable domestic scene; and when we combine the sublime researches of this great luminary of science, with the serene piety of his setting rays, and consider the life of the philosopher in one point of view with the death of the just, we see, we feel here, an indication of immortality, which confounds the puny sophistry of the sceptic; and we behold, in Euler, the sun setting only to rise again with a purer lustre.

— Ille postquam se lumine vero  
implevit, stellasque vagas miratur et astra  
Fixa polis, videt quanta sub nocte jaceret  
Hæc nostra dies.

At the end of this instructive and interesting account of M. Euler, we find a complete list of his works, which fills 51 pages.

### Some Account of Sir JOHN FORTESCUE.

[From the Fifth Volume of Dr. HENRY's History of Great Britain.]

**S**IR John Fortescue was the great ornament of his honourable profession, and one of the most learned and best men of the age in which he flourished. Being the third son of sir Henry Fortescue, lord chief-justice of Ireland, he was early intended for the law; and at a proper age entered a student in Lincoln's-inn, where he soon became famous for his superior knowledge, both of the civil and common law. When he was reader in that society, his lectures were attended by crowded audiences, and received with great ap-

plause. He was made a serjeant at law, A. D. 1430; appointed king's serjeant; A. D. 1441; and raised to the high office of chief-justice of the King's-bench, A. D. 1442, in which he presided many years with great wisdom, dignity, and uprightness. As the chief-justice was steady in his loyalty to his sovereign, Henry VI. he shared in his misfortunes, and was attainted for high treason by the first parliament of Edward IV. 1461, after he had fled into Scotland with his unfortunate master. It was probably there that he was created lord chan-



chancellor of England, an office which he never had an opportunity of exercising. Having retired into France, A. D. 1463, with queen Margaret, and her son Edward, prince of Wales, he remained there several years, assisting them with his councils, and superintending the education of that hopeful young prince. It was for his instruction, to give him clear and just ideas of the constitution of England, as a limited and legal, and not an absolute monarchy, that he composed his admirable little treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*; which, for the excellence of its method, the solidity of its matter, and the justness of its views, excels every work on that subject, in so small a compass, and must endear the memory of this great and good man to every friend of our happy constitution. This excellent treatise, after remaining too long in obscurity, was printed, and hath passed through several editions. Sir John Fortescue accompanied queen Margaret and prince Edward in their last unfortunate expedition into England, and was taken prisoner, after the defeat of their army, at Tewksbury, May 4, A. D. 1471. Though Edward IV. made rather a cruel use of his victory, he spared the life of this venerable sage; and, after some time, restored him to his liberty, and probably to his estate, and received him into favour. Sir John, like a wise and good man, acquiesced in the decision of providence in the fatal contest between the houses of York

and Lancaster; and considering the last of these houses as now extinct, he frankly acknowledged the title of Edward IV. to the crown, and wrote in defence of that title. But he still retained the same political principles, and particularly his zealous attachment to a limited and legal government, in opposition to absolute monarchy. This is evident from his excellent treatise, on the difference between an absolute and limited monarchy, which, after remaining long in MS. was published by an honourable descendant of the author, A. D. 1714. This treatise is written in English, was designed for the use of Edward IV. and is valuable as a specimen of the English of those times; but much more valuable on account of the many curious particulars it contains concerning the constitution of England, and the condition of its inhabitants. I heartily subscribe to the character given of this treatise by a very good judge of literary merit. "Take it altogether, and it will appear to be a work which affords as full evidence of the learning, wisdom, uprightness, public spirit, and loyal gratitude of its author, as any that is extant in our's or in any modern language." This learned judge composed several other works, which are still extant in MS. and some which are probably lost; and, after a long, active, and virtuous life, chequered with prosperity and adversity, he paid the last debt to nature in the ninetieth year of his age."

# The LITERARY CHARACTER of JAMES the FIRST, King of Scotland.

[ From the same Work. ]

**JAMES I.** king of Scotland was not only the most learned king, but one of the most learned men, of the age in which he flourished. This ingenious and amiable prince fell into the hands of the enemies of his country in his tender youth, when he was flying from the snares of his unnatural, ambitious uncle, who governed his dominions, and was suspected of designs against his life. The king of England knew the value of the prize he had obtained, and kept it with the most anxious care. The prince was conducted to the Tower of London immediately after he was seized, April 12, A. D. 1405, and there kept a close prisoner till June 10, A. D. 1407, when he was removed to the castle of Nottingham, from whence he was brought back to the Tower, March 1, A. D. 1414, and there confined till August 3, in the same year, when he was conveyed to the castle of Windsor, where he was detained till the summer of A. D. 1417; when Henry V. for political reasons, carried him with him into France in his second expedition. In all these fortresses, his confinement, from his own account of it, was so severe and strict, that he was not so much as permitted to take the air.

Quare as in ward full oft I wold bewaile  
My dedely lyf, full of peyne and penance,  
Saing zyt thus, quhat have I gilt to faile  
My fredome in this world, and my pleasure?  
Sin every weight has thereof suffisance.

Bewailing in my chamber thus allone,  
Dispyred of all joye and remedye,  
For-tirit of my thot, and wo-begone,

And to the wyndow gas I walk in hys,  
To see the world, and folk that went for-  
bye,  
As for the tyme, though I of mirthid  
fude  
Myt have no heed, to luke it did me  
gude.

King James was about thirteen years of age when he lost his liberty, and was kept in this uncomfortable close confinement till he was about twenty-five. In this melancholy situation, so unsuitable to his age and rank, books were his chief companions, and study his greatest pleasure. He rose early in the morning, immediately applied to reading, to divert him from painful reflections on his misfortunes, and continued his studies, with little interruption, till late at night.

The long dayes and the nightis eke,  
I wold bewaile my fortune in this wyse,  
For quhich agane distresse comfort me  
seke,  
My custum was on mornis for to rise  
Airly at day, O happy exercise!  
For slep for craft in erth myt I no more;  
For quhich, as tho' could I no better wyse,  
I take a booke to rede upon a quhile;  
Myn eyne gan to smart for studying;  
My boke I forhet, and at my hede it laid.

James being naturally sensible, ingenious, and fond of knowledge; and having received a good education in his early youth, under the direction of Walter Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's; by this close application to study, became an universal scholar, an excellent poet, and exquisite musician. That he wrote as well as read much, we have his own testimony, and that of all our historians who lived near his time. Bowmaker, the continuator of Fordun, who was his contemporary,

## ACCOUNT of JOHN TIPTOFT, Earl of WORCESTER. [17]

temporary, and personally acquainted with him, spends ten chapters in his praises, and in lamentations on his death; and, amongst other things, says, that his knowledge of the Scriptures, of law, and philosophy, was incredible. Hector Boyse tells us, that Henry IV. and V. furnished their royal prisoner with the best teachers in all the arts and sciences; and that, by their assistance, he made great proficiency in every part of learning, and the fine arts; that he became a perfect master in grammar, rhetoric, poetry, music, and all the secrets of natural philosophy, and was inferior to none in divinity and law. He observes further, that the poems he composed in his native tongue were so beautiful, that you might easily perceive he was born a poet; but that

his Latin poems were not so faultless; for though they abounded in the most sublime sentiments, their language was not so pure, owing to the rudeness of the times in which he lived. From one of his English poems, which hath been lately rescued from oblivion, and presented to the public, by the laudable industry of its learned editor, it plainly appears, that its royal author was possessed of a great variety of learning, as well as of a genuine spirit of poetry; and if his other works had been preserved, it is probable we should have had still stronger evidences of his erudition. But the works of James I. have been as unfortunate as their author; and all his Latin, and many of his English compositions, are, it is to be feared, irrecoverably lost."

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## ACCOUNT of JOHN TIPTOFT, Earl of WORCESTER.

[ From the same Work. ]

"**J**OHN Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, who flourished in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. was greatly distinguished among the nobility of his time, by his genius and love of learning. He succeeded to the great estates of his family, by the death of his father John lord Tiptoft, 21st Henry VI. when he was about sixteen years of age; and, six years after, was honoured by that monarch with the higher title of earl of Worcester. This accomplished nobleman was, by the same prince, constituted lord high treasurer of England, when he was only twenty-five years of age. The earl of Worcester very early discovered a taste for learning, and at a proper

1785.

age prosecuted his studies at Baliol college in Oxford; where, as his contemporary and fellow-student, John Rous of Warwick, tells us, he was much admired for his rapid progress in literature. In the twenty-seventh year of his age, he was commissioned, with some other noblemen, to guard the narrow seas, and performed that service with honour to himself, and advantage to his country. But in the midst of all these honourable toils and offices, his love of learning continued unabated; and he resolved to travel for his improvement. Having visited the Holy Land, he returned to Italy, and settled at Padua, where Lodovico Carbo, Guarinus, and John l'hrea,

B an

an Englishman, were then very famous for their learning, and attracted great crowds of students. Our illustrious stranger was treated with great respect at Padua, and much admired by all the men of letters, for the knowledge he already possessed, and his ardour in adding to his stores. His countryman, John Phrea, dedicated two books, which he then published, to the earl of Worcester; and in these dedications he bestowed the highest praises on his patron, for his genius, learning, and many virtues; and, amongst other things, says, "Those superior beings, whose office it is to be the guardians of our isle of Britain, knowing you to be a wise and good man, an enemy to faction, and a friend of peace, warned you to abandon a country which they had abandoned, that you might not be stained by mixing with impious and factious men." While he resided at Padua, which was about three years, during the heat of the civil wars in England, he visited Rome, and delivered an oration before pope Pius II. (*Aeneas Silvius*), and his cardinals, which drew tears of joy from his holiness, and made him say aloud, "Behold the only prince of our times, who, for virtue and eloquence, may be justly compared to the most excellent emperors of Greece and Rome." Such a compliment from an Italian to an Englishman must have been extorted by the force of truth.

"The earl of Worcester was a great collector of books; and while he resided in Italy, he expended much money in literary purchases. "The earl of Worcester (says *Laurentius Carbo*), captivated by the charms of the Muses, hath remained three years in Italy, and now resides at Padua, for the sake of study, and detained by the civilities

of the Venetians; who being exceedingly fond of books, hath plundered, if I may so speak, our Italian libraries to enrich England. After his return home, he made a present of books to the university library of Oxford, which had cost him five hundred marks: a great sum in those times.

"As soon as the earl received intelligence that the civil war was ended, by the elevation of Edward IV. to the throne, he returned to England, submitted to that prince, was received into his favour, and raised by him to several places of power and trust. In the second year of that reign, he was made treasurer of the exchequer, and in the next year, chancellor of Ireland for life. He was soon after constituted lord-deputy of Ireland, under the duke of Clarence, and at last made lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, and constable of England. In a word, he was loaded with favours; and hardly a year passed in which he did not receive some valuable grant or great office.

"But this prosperity was not of long duration. A new revolution took place. Edward IV. was obliged to abandon his kingdom with great precipitation, to save his life. The earl of Worcester was not so fortunate as to escape; but after he had concealed himself a few days, he was discovered on a high tree in the forest of Waybrig, conducted to London, condemned at Westminster, and beheaded on Tower-hill, October 15, A. D. 1470, in the 42d year of his age. He was accused of cruelty in the government of Ireland; but his greatest crime, and that for which he suffered, was his steady loyalty to his rightful sovereign and generous benefactor, Edward IV. "O good blessed Lord God! (saith *Caxton*),

what

what grete losse was it of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed lord the earl Worcester! What worship had he at Rome, in the presence of our holy fader the pope, and in all other places unto his deth! The axe then did at one blow cut off more learning than was in the heads of all the surviving nobility." Caxton was his contemporary; and being also a zealous Yorkist, could not but be well acquainted with him.

"This earl translated the orations of Publius Cornelius, and

Caius Flaminius, rivals for the love of Lucretia; and his translation (says Leland) was so neat, elegant, and expressive, that it equalled the beauty of the original. He translated also into English, Cicero De Amicitia, and his treatise De Senectute; and these translations were printed by Caxton, A. D. 1481. His famous oration before the pope and cardinals, and most of his original works, are lost, a few letters and small pieces only remaining in MSS."

### ACCOUNT of the DEATH and CHARACTER of Dr. ARTHUR ASHLEY SYKES.

[From Dr. DISNEY's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of that Gentleman.]

"**D**R. Sykes had been many years greatly afflicted with the gout and stone, but had received much relief from the pains of the latter disorder, for fifteen or sixteen years before his death, by the medicine purchased by parliament of Mrs. Stephens, for the public use. And upon the whole he enjoyed a general state of good health and spirits, until he was seized with a stroke of the palsy, while attending the funeral of a friend, on Monday evening, November the 15th, 1756. The change in his countenance, and the faltering in his speech, being instantly perceived by the rest of the company, who attended on the same occasion, he was prevailed upon to return to his own house, in Cavendish-square, without waiting the interment of the corpse. He survived this presage of his own dissolution little more than a week; and died at two o'clock in the after-

noon of Tuesday the 23d of the same month, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was buried, near the pulpit in the parish church of St. James's, Westminster, on the 30th of November; when Dr. Gregory Sharpe, who succeeded him in King-street chapel, and was afterwards master of the Temple, and who had long been in habits of friendship with the deceased, officiated upon the occasion.

"Dr. Sykes had been married many years, to Mrs. Elizabeth Williams, a widow lady, and a native of Bristol, but had no children by her. He left the whole of his fortune, which was considerable, to her for life; and afterwards to his brother, the Rev. George Sykes; who gave the bulk of it to the family of their patron, Robert Bristow, esq. whose grandson, a minor, is now the owner of it.

"Mrs. Sykes survived her husband upwards of six years, and died

in January, 1763, and was buried near him, on the 31st of that month.

“ In private life, Dr. Sykes was of easy, gentle, and obliging manners, naturally cheerful and good tempered, modest and unassuming, unfouled by controversy, not proud of, or confident in his learning. He was strictly just in all his concerns with others, faithful in his engagements, humane to the poor; singularly exact in all his appointments, and punctual in his payments.

“ His manner and delivery in the pulpit, were very generally approved, and admired. His sermons were rather plain than elegant; but they were always clear and intelligible, though sometimes argumentative. He was always careful in the choice of his substitute, when he was necessarily absent from town, where he chiefly resided, except during some part of every summer, which he constantly spent at Rayleigh, and his occasional residence at Winchester and Salisbury. And he never wanted the ready assistance of some of the highest order of the clergy. A person now living, who himself regularly attended public worship in King-street chapel, remembers to have heard three bishops preach for him, on three successive Sundays.

“ It is very observable, that Dr. Sykes applied himself early in life, to the study of the Scriptures; and he pursued it with equal application and success, to a good old age. He was also well versed in the writings of the fathers, and the early philosophers; and added to these acquirements, he was happy in a quick discernment, and a solid judgment. In all his various political debates, and literary controversies, he always conducted him-

self with temper and good manners towards his adversaries; inasmuch, that it will be difficult to find one single instance, wherein he exceeded the bounds of decorum and civility. Few men have laboured more unweariedly to serve the best interests of Christianity and protestantism; for while he defended the truth and evidences of our common faith, he displayed the same zeal for the sacred right of private judgment, without which the revealed will of God would cease either to lead us into a reasonable faith, or influence a rational conduct. He was warmly attached to the civil liberties of his country, to the principles of the Revolution, and the protestant succession.

“ In his person, our author is said to have been rather low of stature, and something inclined to corpulency; to have been slightly marked with the small-pox, and of a fresh complexion. His countenance is also said to have been a faithful mirror of his mind, pleasant and good tempered. There is a portrait of him, taken when he was between forty and fifty years of age, painted by Wills. It was given by Mrs. Sykes, his widow, to Robert Bristow, esq. and I am informed, it is now in that family.

“ What has already been said, in the preceding pages, should seem to preclude any particular display of our author's abilities as a scholar, and a divine; his works will speak his just praise. His honest love and ardent zeal for truth are apparent, and have already been occasionally noticed, and appear the leading features of his character. “ Whatever my abilities are,” says he to Mr. Whiston, “ which I freely acknowledge to be not great, yet be they more or less, truth I love, and truth I constantly search



search after, and make truth the study of my life; and I hope nothing will ever have influence enough to make me swerve from that." And elsewhere he writes, "How well I have succeeded in my design, the reader is now to judge. Perhaps it may be thought that I have mistaken the meaning of some passages of Scripture. All that I can say for myself is this only; that in the explication of so many, it is well if I have not. However, I have sincerely endeavoured to follow truth, being very little solicitous where it led me: and if I have failed, yet this I am sure of, that my intentions were good and upright." And Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his Review of the Controversy about the Meaning of the Demoniacs, bears his testimony to the amiable and ingenuous disposition of his friend; "If I may guess," says he, "at the inquirer's temper, I believe he had, at any time, rather embrace the truth, let who will teach it, than continue in an error with the multitude."

"In confirmation of this excellent part of our author's character, I am happy to be able to produce the evidence of the eminently learned and liberal minded Dr. Jortin, from the information of a most respectable clergyman in the established church, whose situation in this great city, derives peculiar honour and credit to his noble patrons. In a mixed company, where Dr. Jortin was present, and at a time when certain of Dr. Sykes's publications were the subject of conversation, it was observed by some gentleman (who probably inherited his own principles and opinions in the same quiet undisturbed way, that he had succeeded to the paternal inheritance of his family), that in whatever debate Dr. Sykes

was engaged he was sure to be on the wrong side. To this Dr. Jortin replied, that "without entering into the particular question then before the company, this he was well assured of, that Dr. Sykes was deserving of much praise; for even if he was so frequently in the wrong, as the gentleman had observed, it must be remembered, that no man took more pains to be in the right." And this good opinion of Dr. Jortin seems to have been reciprocal on the part of Dr. Sykes, who in his letter to Dr. Birch, in July, 1753, writes;—"As to my friend Mr. Jortin, he is already so far in the mire, that he cannot retire backwards, consequently he must go on: I heartily wish him all success, and hope he will at length receive, what he ought to have had many years ago, an encouragement suitable to his learning, and real merits."

"Dr. Sykes's sentiments respecting the person of Jesus Christ are well known to have agreed with those of Dr. Clarke; and one of his tracts was expressly written in defence of his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. In the use of this word (trinity), I cannot but think that these learned men misrepresented themselves; and while they rejected the doctrine which is generally understood by the word "trinity," they would have done well to have waved the frequent and indiscriminate use of the term. Dr. Sykes, in one place, speaks of "the ever blessed trinity;" and in another, he says, "the doctrine of the trinity, when considered as it lies in the New Testament, is not any absolute mysterious notion, but only a doctrine holding forth that which the baptismal creed likewise contains." And again, "the scripture doctrine of the trinity stands unshaken;"

unshaken." The learned Mr. Jackson, of Rossington, also speaks of being "brought he trusts into the true knowledge of Jesus Christ his God and saviour," and again thanks Dr. Clarke "for his very learned and judicious book of the scripture doctrine of the trinity," to which he adds, "by God's grace, he owed the then present settlement of his mind in the true faith of the ever blessed trinity."

"And even so lately as the last year, 1784, the learned Mr. Taylor, author of the Apology of Benjamin Ben Mordecai, though he reprobates the phrase (trinity), citing at the same time, the disapprobation of Luther and Calvin to the very name, continues the use of it, under the general idea, that "so long as that word is understood in a sense agreeable to the unity of Jehovah, and the fundamental principles of christianity, it can furnish no argument against the truth of that religion." All this is very plausible, and the practice would be more excusable, if every man, or every reader reasoned accurately, and considered things abstractedly; but since this is not the case, the use of the word "trinity," by those who are well understood not to believe the full import of it, in its common signification, is using equivocal language, and such as will mislead many readers. It certainly tends more to edification, to use plain and determinate words; and to speak to the understandings of men in language that shall help, and not confound, or mislead their apprehensions.

"It is most probable that Dr. Sykes left several manuscripts behind him; but I have been particularly informed, by a learned gentleman in the neighbourhood of Winchester, of some valuable pa-

pers "upon the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, by way of dialogue, after the manner of Cicero; very well done, and fairly written ready for the press; very candid, and equal to any thing he has written." Dr. Sykes has also been said to have left some manuscript remarks on Mr. Peirce's ordination sermon. His own sermons are very credibly reported to have been sold.

"Dr. Sykes's engagement in the several successive controversies of his time, has attracted the notice of some observers, and who, on that account, have affected to underrate his eminent worth, and no less eminent learning, and the value of his writings. But these persons should consider, that in the accommodation and application of his learning and abilities to the different demands and exigencies of the times, he rendered a very essential and permanent service to the cause of truth and liberty. For, notwithstanding the disrespect which is occasionally shewn towards religious controversy, by little and illiberal minds, it is to such controversies as engaged the pens of Clarke, Hoadley, and Sykes, that we owe much of what is most valuable and dear to us. An affected disparagement of the several controversies which have respected religious liberty, and the improved knowledge of the Scriptures, generally indicates an indifference to the nature and obligations of religion itself; or bespeaks a total ignorance of the blessings we derive and enjoy from free inquiry and debate, by means of the press; or is the effect of a lamentable prejudice against every desire and attempt to bring all professing Christians to abide by the plain and artless gospel of Christ. Or, when such

such aversion to controversy is held by well meaning and more candid minds, it is no other than their declaring their earnest desire to establish the end, while at the same time they inconsistently and peremptorily protest against the only means which can effect it.

“ The late Mr. Hollis, who was himself an active and greatly distinguished friend of liberty, bore his testimony to Dr. Sykes’s writings, by repeatedly advertizing in the year 1766, his two tracts against popery, originally published in the year 1746, and reprinted 1763. And further, by collecting, as he states in his diary, “ a complete set

of the late learned excellent Dr. Sykes’s works, to bind and send to Harvard college, in America, for honourable preservation of his memory.” “ A collection, add the editors of the Memoirs, the more necessary, as well as the more valuable, as some of the doctor’s tracts were become exceeding scarce.” This testimony of Mr. Hollis, and of his biographers, will bring more reputation to the writings of Dr. Sykes, than it was in the power of the committee of convocation in 1717, to withhold, or take away, by indirect reflection or threat, when they openly assailed the then bishop of Bangor.”

Some ACCOUNT of the LIFE and WRITINGS of the late Professor GREGORY, M. D. F. R. S. By Dr. JOHNSTONE, of Worcester.

[From the second Volume of the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of MANCHESTER.

“ **J**OHN Gregory, M. D. F. R. S. fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, and professor of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, born at Aberdeen in 1725, was third son of James Gregory, M. D. professor of medicine in King’s College, Aberdeen, and of Anne, daughter of the rev. George Chalmers, principal of King’s College there. The family of Dr. Gregory is of great antiquity in Scotland, and has for more than a century past produced a succession of gentlemen of the first distinction in the learned world. James Gregory, professor of mathematics, first at St. Andrews, and afterwards at Edinburgh, the doctor’s grandfather, was one of the most eminent mathematicians of the last age, the age of mathematics. He invented the reflecting tele-

scope, improved by sir Isaac Newton. His *Optica Promota*, and other mathematical works, are still in high esteem.

“ David Gregory of Oxford, another of the family, the doctor’s cousin, published an excellent and complete Treatise of Astronomy, founded upon the principles, and explanatory of the doctrine, of sir Isaac Newton. James Gregory, M. D. the doctor’s eldest brother, succeeded their father as professor of medicine in King’s College, Aberdeen : and the doctor, of whom we write, has left a son, who now holds the office of professor of the Institutions of Medicine in the university of Edinburgh, made vacant by the election of Dr. Cullen to be sole professor of practice, after his father’s death. It seems to be the destiny of this family, to enlarge

science, and instruct mankind; and we hope, it will long hold this honourable distinction.

“ Though Dr. Gregory’s father died when his son was very young, his education was carefully and successfully conducted by able and skilful persons, who were attached to his father and family, as well as to the duty they owed to their pupil. In such a happy situation for improvement, Dr. Gregory made a rapid progress in his studies. At Aberdeen, he became thoroughly acquainted with the learned languages, and with his own; here he finished his course of philosophy, and his mathematical studies; for like the rest of his ancestors, he was deeply versed in mathematical knowledge. And in this admirable school, where abstract science itself has undergone a signal reformation, and has learned to speak the language of common sense, and to adorn itself with the graces of taste and eloquence, Dr. Gregory cultivated an elegant and just taste, clearness and beauty of expression, with precision of judgment, and extensive knowledge. With the circle of science, he possessed a great share of common sense, and of the knowledge of men. This he displays in his writings; and evidently carried into his profession a spirit congenial to that of the Gerards and Beatties, gentlemen, with whom he lived in the closest habits of friendship.

“ Having finished at Aberdeen his course of study in languages, arts, and philosophy, in 1742 he went to Edinburgh, to prosecute the study of medicine.

“ Having attended the excellent courses of the late Dr. Alexander Monro, the celebrated professor, and father of anatomy there—of Dr. Alston, on the materia medica,

and botany—of Dr. Plummer, on chemistry—of Dr. Sinclair, the elegant and favourite scholar of Boerhaave, on the institution of medicine—of the sagacious Rutherford, on the practice of medicine—he went to Leyden in 1745, and to Paris in 1746, for farther improvement.

“ While at Leyden, he received a spontaneous mark of the esteem in which he was held by those among whom, and by whom, he had been educated, in having the degree of doctor of physic conferred upon him by the university of Aberdeen; and when he returned there from Paris, he was appointed professor of philosophy in King’s College. He held this professorship for three or four years, and during that time he gave lectures, or rather a complete course, according to the method of education in that university, on the following important branches of knowledge. 1. Mathematics. 2. Natural and experimental philosophy. 3. Ethics, and moral philosophy.

“ In 1754 he went to London, where he was chosen fellow of the Royal Society, and cultivated the acquaintance, and fixed the esteem and friendship, of some of the most distinguished literati there. Edward Montagu, esq. an eminent mathematician, and worthy man, maintained a firm friendship for the doctor, founded on the similarity of their manners and studies. His lady, Mrs. Montagu, and George lord Lyttelton, were of the number of his friends; and it is not improbable but he would have continued in London, and practised there in his profession, if the death of his brother James Gregory, M. D. and professor of physic in King’s College, Aberdeen, in 1756, had not occasioned his being recalled to his native

native university, to fill the chair of professor of physic, vacant by his brother's death. His occupations in physic now began to be active: he gave a course of lectures in physic, and practised in his profession, with universal applause.

“ In 1766, on the mournful occasion of the death of Dr. Robert Whytt, the ingenious professor of the theory of physic at Edinburgh, Dr. Gregory was called to succeed him, as his majesty's first physician in Scotland; and, about the same time, he was chosen to fill the chair of professor of the practice of physic, which was just resigned by Dr. Rutherford; the trustees of that university being ever attentive to support the high reputation of the celebrated school of physic there, by drawing to it, from every quarter, physicians of the most approved talents and qualifications in the several branches of medicine they are appointed to teach. Dr. Gregory gave three successive courses of practical lectures. Afterwards, by agreement with his ingenious colleague, Dr. Cullen, they lectured alternate sessions, on the practice and institutions of medicine, with just and universal approbation, till the time of Dr. Gregory's death.

“ The doctor having attained the first dignities of his profession in his native country, and the most important medical station in the university, far from relaxing from that attention to the duties of his profession which had raised him, endeavoured to merit the rank he held in it, and in the public esteem, by still greater exertions of labour and assiduity. It was during this time of business and occupation, that he prepared and published his *Practical Syllabus for the Use of Students*, which, if it had been finished, would have proved a very useful book of

practice; and likewise, those admired lectures on the duties, office, and studies of a physician.

“ Dr. Gregory, for many years before his death, felt the approach of disease, and apprehended, from an hereditary and cruel gout, the premature death, which, indeed, too soon put a period to his life and usefulness. In this anxious expectation, he had prepared that admirable proof of paternal solicitude and sensibility, “ *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters.*” But for some days, and even that preceding his death, he had been as well as usual; at midnight, he was left in good spirits by Dr. Johnstone, late physician in Worcester, at that time his clinical clerk; yet, at nine o'clock in the morning of the tenth of February, 1773, he was found dead in his bed.

“ Dr. Gregory was tall in person, and remarkable for the sweetness of his disposition and countenance, as well as for the ease and openness of his manners. He was an universal and elegant scholar, an experienced, learned, sagacious, and humane physician—A professor, who had the happy talent of interesting his pupils, and of directing their attention to subjects of importance, and of explaining difficulties with simplicity and clearness. He entered with great warmth into the interests and conduct of his hearers, and gave such as deserved it every encouragement and assistance in his power: open, frank, social, and undisguised in his life and manners, sincere in his friendships, a tender husband and father; an unaffected, cheerful, candid, benevolent man—a faithful Christian. Dr. Gregory's unexpected death, in the height of his usefulness, and with appearances which afforded hopes of its continuance for a much longer



longer period, was universally lamented as a public, no less than a private loss; and science, genius, and worth, will long weep over his grave.

“ Dr. Gregory married in 1752, Elizabeth, daughter of William lord Forbes: he lost this amiable lady in 1761: she left the doctor three sons and three daughters, viz. James Gregory, M. D. now professor of medicine in Edinburgh—Dorothea—Anne—Elizabeth—William, student of Balliol College, Oxford, and now in orders:—John—all now living, except Elizabeth, who died in 1771.

“ His works.

“ I. Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World.

“ This work was first read to a private literary society at Aberdeen, and without the most distant view to publication. Many hints are thrown out in it on subjects of consequence, with less formality, and more freedom, than if publication had been originally intended. The size of the book may have suffered by this circumstance; but the value of the matter has probably been increased, by a greater degree of originality, and of variety. The author indulges himself in the privileges of an essayist; he touches many interesting subjects, but with a masterly, a bold, yet a judicious hand. This work, like another of great fame, may be called a chain, the links of which are very numerous, and yet all connected together. We know the author the better for the rapid judgment he passes, and cannot help admiring the goodness of his heart, and the benevolence of his views, which have an obvious direction to raise the genius, and to mend the heart; and we concur with him in think-

ing that, “ That view of human nature may be the safest, which considers it as formed for every thing that is good and great, and sets no bounds to its capacity and power; but looks on its present attainments as trifling, and of no account.”

“ The comparative anatomy of brute animals has (as observed by our author) been the source of most useful discoveries in the anatomy of the human body; but the comparative animal œconomy of mankind, and of other animals—comparative views of their states and manner of life, have been little regarded. Instinct is a principle common to us, and the whole animal world: to animals, as far as it extends, it is an infallible guide. In man, reason is but a weak principle, and an unsafe guide, when compared to instinct. Of this, curious instances are mentioned. In the bringing forth, and in the nursing of their young, the advantages of brute instinct over the customs which have been taken up by rational beings, are placed in a strong light. Numbers of mothers, as well as infants, die by the management of preposterous art in child-bearing, and afterwards, by mothers omitting the duty of nursing. A natural duty and obligation, which contributes no less to the safety, health, and beauty of mothers, than it does to preserve the lives and health of their offspring.

“ The recent improvements which have been made in the art of midwifery, and in the methods of nursing children, are owing to the observations of nature, and the imitation of its instinctive propensities.

“ In this first discourse, our author proposes many improvements of the health and faculties of the human



human race, by deserting a luxurious and artificial, and following a natural course of life. In this manly way of thinking, he is constantly assisted by keeping in view the natural history of animals, and the manners of savage nations, which resemble them, in following their instinctive propensities.

“ In the succeeding discourses, in which he treats with great perspicuity, taste, and discernment, of the superior faculties which distinguish man from the rest of the animal creation, and of the sciences and arts founded upon them, he diverges from this comparative view, and loses sight of the inferior part of the creation, until he arrives at the following conclusion of this entertaining and ingenious work.

“ The advantages which arise to mankind from those faculties which distinguish them from the rest of the animal world, do not seem correspondent to what might be reasonably expected from a proper exertion of these faculties, not even among the few who have the greatest abilities, and the greatest leisure to improve them. The capital error seems to consist, in such men confining their attentions chiefly to inquiries, that are either of little importance, or the materials of which lie in their own minds. The bulk of mankind are made to act, not to reason, for which they have neither abilities, nor leisure. They who possess that deep, clear, and comprehensive understanding which constitutes a truly philosophical genius, seem born to an ascendancy and empire over the minds and affairs of mankind, if they would but assume it. It cannot be expected, that they should possess all those powers and talents which are requisite in the several useful and elegant arts of life; but it is they

alone, who are fitted to direct and regulate the application.”

“ The author put his name to the second edition of this work; many additions are also joined to it; and it is dedicated to George lord Lyttelton, who always professed a high esteem for the author and his writings. This work, in fine, if the author had left no other, must convince every one, that, as a man of science, he possessed extensive knowledge, exquisite taste and judgment, and great liberality of mind and thought; and that, as handsomely said by our instructive poet, Mr. Hayley, in quoting this engaging little volume, in his *Essay on Writing History*, “ He united the noblest affections of the heart to great elegance of mind; and is justly ranked amongst the most amiable of moral writers.”

“ II. Observations on the Duties and Offices of a Physician, and on the Method of prosecuting Enquiries in Philosophy.

“ This work was first published in 1770, by one, who heard the professor deliver them in lectures; but they were acknowledged, and republished in a more correct form, by the author, in 1772. In the first lecture, the professor, in representing what the character of a physician ought to be, displays the most noble and generous sentiments on that subject; and all that knew him allow, that no one bore a more exact resemblance to the fine picture which he here draws, than himself.

“ The true dignity of physic is to be maintained by the superior learning and abilities of those who profess it, by the liberal sentiments of gentlemen, and by that openness and candour which disdain all artifice, which invite a free inquiry, and which, by this means, boldly bid

bid defiance to all that illiberal ridicule and abuse, which medicine has been so much exposed to.

“ In the second lecture, he shews the method of prosecuting inquiries in philosophy, with an obvious direction to medicine, as one of its principal branches.

“ III. The next work published by professor Gregory is intitled, *Elements of the Practice of Physic for the Use of Students*, 1772, republished 1774.

“ The doctor intended this work as a text book, to be illustrated by his lectures on the practice of physic; but he died before he had finished it, and before he had finished the first course of lectures, which he gave on that text. It is written with great perspicuity and simplicity: the author has intentionally avoided systematical arrangement, perhaps from an opinion, that the art of medicine was yet in too imperfect a state, to admit of any perfect systematical form. However this may be, the work evidently displays the author's great fitness to teach that art. A truly practical genius appears conspicuously in that part of the book, which is thrown into interrogations. Into these, our sagacious author has thrown every thing which had importance to require peculiar attention, as well as those things, which are still matters of doubt and uncertainty, in the practice of medicine.

“ The doctor's death happened while he was lecturing on the pleurisy. His son, Dr. James Gregory, finished that course of lectures, to the general satisfaction of the university; and he therein gave ample proof of his fitness for the station of professor of medicine, which he now fills with great honour to himself, and to the university—*Non deficit alter aureus.*

“ This gentleman published in 1774, a small tract of his father's, entitled “*A Father's Legacy to his Daughters:*” which was written solely for their use (about eight years before the author died) with the tenderest affection, and deepest concern for their happiness. This work is a most amiable display of the piety and goodness of his heart, and his consummate knowledge of human nature, and of the world. It manifests such solicitude for their welfare, as strongly recommends the advice which he gives. He speaks of the female sex in the most honourable terms, and labours to increase its estimation, whilst he plainly, yet genteely and tenderly, points out the errors into which young ladies are prone to fall. It is particularly observable, in what high and honourable terms he speaks of the Holy Scriptures, of Christian worship, and faithful ministers; how warmly he recommends to his daughters the serious and devout worship of God, in public and private. He dwells largely on that temper and behaviour, which were particularly suited to their education, rank, and circumstances; and recommends that gentleness, benevolence, and modesty, which adorn the character of the ladies, and do particular honour to their sex. His advices, with regard to love, courtship, and marriage, are peculiarly wise, and interesting to them. They shew what careful observation he had made on female domestic conduct, and on the different effects of possessing or wanting the virtues and qualities which he recommends. There is something peculiarly curious, animated, and useful, in his directions to them, how to judge of, and manifest an honourable passion in, and towards the other sex, and in the very accurate and useful distinction

stinction which he makes between true and false delicacy. Nothing can be more striking and affecting, nothing more likely to give his paternal advices their desired effect, than the respectful and affectionate manner in which he mentions his lady their mother, and the irreparable loss which he and they sustained by her early death. In short, in this tract, the professor shines with peculiar lustre, as a husband and father, and it is admirably adapted to promote domestic happiness. It is much to be wished, that this tract was reprinted in a cheaper form, that it might be more generally read and regarded. And also, that the doctor's works were reprinted together.

" Adieu, ye lays, that fancy's flowers adorn,  
The soft amusement of the vacant mind!

He sleeps in dust, and all the Muses mourn;  
He, whom each virtue fired, each grace refined,  
Friend! teacher! pattern! darling of mankind!  
He sleeps in dust!—Ah! how should I pursue  
My theme!—To heart-consuming grief resigned,  
Here on his recent grave I fix my view;  
And pour my bitter tears—Ye flowery lays adieu!  
Art thou, my Gregory, for ever fled!  
And am I left to unavailing woe!  
When fortune's storms assail this weary head,  
Where cares long since have shed untimely snow,  
Ah! now for comfort whither shall I go!  
No more thy soothing voice my anguish cheers:  
Thy placid eyes with smiles no longer glow,  
My hopes to cherish, and allay my fears.—  
'Tis meet that I should mourn—Flow forth afresh my tears!"

Beattie's Minstrel.

MEMOIRS of the late Dr. BELL, M. D. addressed to the Presidents and Members of the Literary and Philosophical Society of MANCHESTER. By Dr. CURRIE, of LIVERPOOL.

[From the same Work.]

" GENTLEMEN,  
" **T**HE respect which you have expressed for our late member, Dr. George Bell, by the resolutions of the Society, which occasion this address, cannot fail to be highly pleasing to all those who honour his memory. To me this attention is particularly grateful; and I should not have been so slow in executing the task which you assigned me, had not long continued sickness deprived me of the power. Now that my strength is in some measure restored, I embrace the earliest opportunity of presenting the translation which you have re-

quested; and more fully to comply with your wishes, I shall prefix a short history of the life of my much lamented friend.

" Dr. Bell was born at his father's estate, in the county of Dumfries, in the autumn of the year 1755. He was the younger son of Richard Bell of Greenhill, by miss Carruthers of Dormont; and, by both sides of the house, was descended of families which claim high antiquity in that country, though little known to fame. The rudiments of his education he received at home, and he was very early distinguished by the quickness of

of his apprehension, and the general brilliancy of his parts. While he was yet very young, he had the misfortune to lose his father, who died at Bath in the year 1766. This loss was, however, in a great measure supplied by the care of his mother, who yet survives to be a blessing to her friends; and by the counsel and example of his brother, who, though very young, already displayed an uncommon degree of prudence and virtue. By them, Dr. Bell was placed at the public school of Annan, then conducted by the rev. Mr. Wright, in whose house he resided. Here he continued several years, and made a rapid progress in classical literature. In the year 1769, Mr. Wright being appointed minister of the parish of New-Abbey, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, gave up public teaching; but Dr. Bell was continued some time longer in his family, as a private pupil. Under the care of this excellent scholar, he had great advantages. At the time he left him, which was before the completion of his fifteenth year, he had obtained a perfect acquaintance with the Roman classics, a competent knowledge of Greek, he was initiated in the French language, was well skilled in geography, history, and the elements of mathematics, and had commenced a critic in the English belles lettres.

“ In the autumn of the year 1770, he was sent to the university of Glasgow, where he continued for one session, in the pursuits of general study. In the latter end of 1771, he was removed to Edinburgh, and began his professional studies under the care and direction of his friend and relation Mr. Benjamin Bell, whose name is now well known in the medical world. At

this university he continued till the summer of the year 1777, when he obtained the degree of doctor of medicine, and published the Inaugural Dissertation, to which you are about to give a place in your records. During this long period, Dr. Bell had time to apply himself, not only to the various branches of medicine, but to the different departments of philosophy and polite literature, necessary to a plan of liberal and general education. As his application was great, his acquirements were very considerable; and he was so happy as to attract the notice of several persons eminent for science and learning. Of this number, was the present learned professor of botany in Edinburgh, Dr. Hope, who early discovered his acute and enterprising genius, and distinguished him by his patronage and counsel. Of this number likewise was the celebrated Dr. Cullen, who honoured him with his particular friendship, and introduced him to the late lord Kames, in a manner which was extremely flattering. His lordship, when engaged in the composition of the work, which he afterwards published under the title of, *The Gentleman Farmer*; applied to Dr. Cullen for information on some subjects connected with the philosophy of vegetation. The learned professor, being deeply engaged with other subjects, referred him to Dr. Bell, then in his twentieth year, whom, on that occasion, he introduced to his lordship. An acquaintance, thus begun, was matured into intimacy, and Dr. Bell spent a considerable part of one or two autumn vacations at the country seat of this venerable old man, in the south of Scotland. Lord Kames mentioned him with honour, in the work to which I have alluded, and entertained a particular regard

regard for him to the end of his life. When he made the tour of France, the letters of introduction, which he procured from this illustrious philosopher, were of the greatest service; and he was likewise much indebted to his friendship, when he afterwards settled as a physician at Berwick on Tweed.

“ While Dr. Bell was pursuing his studies at Edinburgh, his elder brother, to whose most affectionate care he was highly indebted, met an untimely and unexpected fate. In the autumn of the year 1776, he perished in bathing in the river Kirtle, near the bottom of his own garden. This admirable young man was bred to the Scotch law. His talents and his virtues made his life most honourable, and his early death most deeply lamented.

“ Soon after his graduation, Dr. Bell removed from Edinburgh to London, with the view of completing his education, and after a winter's residence there, he passed over into France. At this time, he relaxed from the severity of his studies, and mingled more than might, from his former habits, have been expected, in the scenes of gaiety and pleasure with which Paris abounds.

“ In the latter end of the year 1778, he returned to Scotland. Some part of that, and the succeeding winter, he spent in Edinburgh, and, during the rest of his time, he in general lived with his mother and sisters at his paternal estate. While there, besides the gratis exercise of his profession among his friends and neighbours, he was much engaged in the study of the French and Roman classics, and, particularly, of the works of Virgil, of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer. In this interval, he composed two MSS. volumes of criticism on the *Æneid*.

“ In the spring of the year 1780, he settled, as a physician, at Berwick on Tweed, with very general and powerful recommendations; and, in less than a year, he fell into the first practice in that quarter. But, it having been represented to him, that he might have a larger field for the exercise of his professional talents at Manchester, he removed thither in the month of March, 1781.

“ It is not necessary to detail the incidents of the remaining part of his life. On this subject you cannot want information. He was admitted as a member into your Society, soon after his arrival in Manchester, and he continued such till his death. During this period, you all, probably, knew him, and it becomes you, better than me, to estimate the degree of regard and esteem, with which he was honoured. It only remains, that I give a short account of the concluding scene, to which, by the privilege of friendship, I was a mournful witness, and on which I reflect, with mingled sensations of pain and pleasure, which I forbear to describe.

“ On the 20th of last January, he was seized with the symptoms of a fever, which, from the first, he apprehended would prove fatal. He requested the advice of his friends Dr. Manwaring and Dr. Percival, and they attended him, through the whole illness, with the utmost kindness and assiduity. But, notwithstanding every assistance which medicine could bring, the disease proceeded with most unfavourable omens. He clearly foresaw his approaching fate, and prepared for the moment of dissolution with unshaken fortitude. On the eighth day he became delirious; and from this time forward he possessed his reason, by intervals only. A vigorous

rous constitution supported him, under a violent disease, till the evening of the fourteenth day, when, after having sustained many severe conflicts, his strength became utterly exhausted, and he expired without a struggle. In this manner was terminated the life of a man, who had virtues to procure the love, and talents to command the respect, of his fellow-creatures; and who, by an affecting, though not uncommon, dispensation of Providence, was cut off in the beginning of his career.

“ Dr. Bell was endued by nature with a firm undaunted mind, a vigorous understanding, and a feeling heart. All his impressions were strong, and his convictions deeply rooted. From these, and from these only, he spoke and acted. He was utterly free from every species of dissimulation or deceit. His conduct was always direct, and his purpose evident. His deliberations were more swayed by what he himself thought right, than by what was likely to be thought right by others; and when his determination was once made, he was not easily diverted from it, either by fear or favour. His adherence to truth was strict and uniform, even from his early youth. His spirit was too elevated to submit to falsehood, from whatever source it might be supposed to arise, whether from the suggestions of vanity, the impressions of fear, or the dictates of malice. His humanity was pure and unaffected. No man did a kind action with less consciousness of merit, or less purpose of gaining applause. His passions were warm, his affections strong, his sense of honour nice, his spirit, when provoked, high and indignant. In the more intimate relations of life, he was greatly beloved; in many of

the qualities necessary for friendship, he has seldom been equalled. Through the whole of his conduct there appeared a strain of manly sincerity. From his cradle to his grave, he, perhaps, never, on any one occasion, sacrificed reality to appearances, or courted applause from others, which was not justified by the approbation of his own heart.

“ These high endowments do not often appear without their kindred defects. A fearless temper, and an open heart, are seldom strictly allied to prudence, and are apt to inspire a contempt of appearances, which may have serious consequences in the business of life. That this was instanced in Dr. Bell, those who loved him best are forced to allow. He was not always sufficiently attentive to the decorum of manners: he was too much disposed to break through those restraints, which a necessary ceremony has imposed on the intercourse of society. Free from affectation himself, he was quick in discerning it in others; and he seldom allowed any thing which bore its resemblance, to pass unnoticed, even in those for whom he entertained the highest esteem. The consequence which vanity often assumes, and which benevolence sees and admits, he was too much inclined to expose. This bias of mind appeared before he was eight years of age. At that time, the uncommon liveliness of his temper, and quickness of his apprehension, made him universally admired, as a child of extraordinary talents. Every folly of his imagination was encouraged, and the disposition to which I have alluded, grew up into a habit, which great tenderness of heart and strength of judgment could never effectually overcome. The features of his character were indeed



indeed strongly marked throughout, from his early youth. When yet a boy, he had the same independence of spirit and originality of mind, which marked his riper years.

“ Failings, such as his, have their most unfavourable effects in general intercourse. In the eye of friendship they appear of little account, when weighed against a liberal, cultivated, and vigorous mind, and a temper brave, generous, and sincere.

“ Dr. Bell acquired knowledge with remarkable facility; but he did not communicate it with equal ease. This was chiefly owing to early habits of verbal and grammatical criticism, in which he had greatly indulged. He was extremely nice in his choice of words; he would use no expressions that were not exactly fitted to his ideas, and, in his dislike of every thing strained or affected, he had declared war against some of the natural ornaments of speech. His reading was extensive, and his learning various. In every thing which related to his profession, he was minutely informed. His education had afforded him every opportunity of improvement; his application was great, and his acquirements were proportionably valuable. In classical literature he had few equals; and, in historical and philosophical knowledge, he had not many superiors.

“ The qualities of Dr. Bell's mind required a state of action. He was eminently fitted for situations of difficulty or danger; and had his lot been cast differently, the enthusiasm of his spirit, and the strength of his faculties, might have enrolled his name in the list of those which go down, to future ages, with honour and applause. It was his misfortune, that his situation did not always present objects of sufficient

importance to excite his attention, and call forth his faculties; and that, like many other men of genius, he was often unable to originate those literary exertions, which sometimes bring fame, and which generally bring happiness. His spirits indeed were not equal. He was often lively, cheerful, and familiar, and sometimes grave, inattentive, and reserved. Circumstances, which it would be painful and improper to relate, contributed to throw some degree of gloom over his latter days. But he was naturally subject, at times, to those ebblings of the mind, as an admired writer expresses himself, which generally accompany great sensibility; a state, from which the transition is sometimes more easy to levity and mirth, than to the sober exercises of reason.

“ It is common to expect, even in the more minute parts of the conduct of men of allowed superiority of talents, some marks of intention and design, by which such superiority might be indicated. But this is, I think, an error. The characteristic of genius is simplicity. A lofty spirit submits, with difficulty, to restraint or disguise; and the higher emotions of the mind are seldom compatible with a nice attention to little things. It is, however, to be lamented, that men of great endowments are often deficient in that self-command, which should give regularity to conduct, and steadiness to exertion. But let us not too hastily condemn them. The powers of genius impose the severest task on the judgment. The imagination, in which they reside, must always be strong; the sensibility by which they are attended, must often be wayward. To restrain, to excite, and to direct, the exertions of a mind so constituted,

According to the dictates of reason, must frequently produce a most painful warfare: and, if to succeed in such contests be not always given to the strong, let the weak rejoice, that they are seldom called to the encounter.

“ Years and experience would, most probably, have remedied, in a great measure, the defects in Dr. Bell’s character; and, as he became more fully known, it may be presumed, that he would have acquired a degree of reputation suited to his great integrity and abilities. Yet it cannot be denied, that a temper so open, and a conduct so little affected by the opinions or prejudices of others, were not perfectly calculated for success in a world, in which the most honest heart must often be veiled, and the loftiest spirit must sometimes bend.

“ Such, gentlemen, was the

man, whose memory you wish to preserve in the records of your society. I knew him better than any person living, and I loved him more than I shall attempt to express. I have not, however, dealt in unmixed eulogy, which sometimes may amuse the living, but which can never characterise the dead. It belonged to him I have attempted to commemorate, to be as jealous of undeserved praise, as of undeserved censure; and I have endeavoured to delineate his character, in such a manner, as his magnanimous spirit would have approved. I have not, knowingly, extenuated his faults; and you will not believe, I have set down ought in malice. What would it avail me to deviate from the truth? The voice of censure cannot pierce the grave, nor flattery soothe the ear of death.”

### Some ACCOUNT of the late Dr. RANDOLPH.

[From the Preface to his View of our blessed SAVIOUR’S Ministry.]

“ **D**R. Thomas Randolph, late archdeacon of Oxford, &c. was son of Herbert Randolph, esq. recorder of the city of Canterbury; the eldest by his second marriage. He was born August 30, 1701. He received his school education at the king’s school in Canterbury, then in great repute, under the Rev. Mr. Jones. At the early age of fourteen, being then a good proficient in classical learning, he was elected into a county scholarship in Corpus Christi college, Oxford. Thus he entered upon a course of academical studies under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Smith, in which, as well in his whole conduct, he acquitted himself to

his own credit, and to the satisfaction of those who were set over him; having in view throughout the sacred profession, to which he had been destined from his early youth. He proceeded regularly through the degree of B. A. to that of M. A. In the year 1724 he was ordained deacon, and in the following year priest. At the same time he entered upon the duty of his profession, and undertook a cure at such a moderate distance from the university, as that he might discharge the duties of it, and not be obliged to give up his residence, and the farther prosecution of his studies there. This course of life he continued for a few years, and then

then returned to a more strict residence at the university; nor was he intent on his own improvement only, but occasionally took part in the education of others, and in the government of his college, in which he succeeded to a fellowship in the year 1723. He took the degree of B. D. in the year 1730, and that of D. D. in 1735. In the meantime he began to be distinguished in the university as an able divine. His character in this respect introduced him to the notice of archbishop Potter, then bishop of Oxford, and regius professor of divinity: who soon after his own translation to Canterbury, collated him to the united vicarages of Petham and Waltham in Kent. The archbishop shortly after recommended him to Dr. Rye, regius professor of divinity, as a fit person to act as his deputy; who appointed him accordingly. This appointment will appear the more honourable, if we remind the reader, that the divinity disputations were at that time in great repute, and were esteemed a trial of the skill and learning of the senior part of the university. It was also hoped, that by means of a reputation acquired in the divinity chair, whilst acting as deputy, his friends might be enabled to hold him forth to the world, as a proper candidate for the professorship itself when it should become vacant: nor when that occasion happened did they fail to urge his pretensions; but in this instance a more powerful competitor prevailed. He retired therefore to his living of Petham in Kent.

“ This period was remarkable for several very bold and artful attacks upon the Christian religion, which drew forth many able answers from the divines of the church of England. Amongst other books

published in favour of Deism and Infidelity was a work entitled Christianity not founded on Argument, which from the singularity of its positions attracted much notice. Dr. Randolph was encouraged by his patron archbishop Potter to try his strength in controversy in answer to this singular and plausible writer. The archbishop was convinced from his knowledge of him at the university, and the abilities which he had since displayed there in the divinity chair, that he had talents which thus employed might become serviceable to the cause of religion. Nor was he disappointed. Dr. Randolph's answer, entitled the Christian's Faith a rational Assent, met with the reception which he expected. The archbishop still continued his patronage to him, and in the year 1746 collated him to the rectory of Saltwood, with the chapel of Hythe annexed. The place of his residence was still the same: he continued at Petham in the faithful discharge of his duty to his parish till he was suddenly called forth in the year 1748. on the death of Dr. Mather, president of C. C. C. to a more honourable and conspicuous station, having been unanimously elected in his absence, and without any previous communication with the electors, to the government of his old college. This circumstance enabled him to devote the remainder of his life to the place of his education, and the scene of his growing reputation. Oxford became from hence the principal place of his residence; and the government of his college, and a share in that of the university, his chief employment and concern. Yet having naturally an active mind, and being ever vigilant and attentive to all the duties of his station, much of his time was still devoted

devoted to religious studies, which he considered as included in the proper duties of his station, and as their highest aim. Many of his sermons preached before the university were printed by request, and his larger work upon "the Doctrine of the Trinity," in answer to "the Essay on Spirit," was published in the years 1753, 1754. From the year 1756 to 1759 he held the office of vice-chancellor, in which he was allowed on all hands to have conducted himself with temper and ability, at a time when disputes ran high, and the business of the university was more than common; the Vinerian statutes having been settled, and the delegacy of the press reformed during that period. These several labours were so well received by the university, that in the year 1758 he was unanimously elected to the Margaret professorship of divinity on the death of Dr. Jenner. In the preceding year he had been promoted to the archdeaconry of Oxford on the resignation of Dr. Potter: which promotion took place by the recommendation of archbishop Secker, accepted and confirmed by bishop Lowth; then bishop of Oxford; and may be considered as a testimony borne by those respectable prelates to his merit and character. From this time to that of his death he was again frequently engaged in controversy. The questions now agitated were chiefly, that of Subscription to Articles of Faith, and that of the Doctrine of the Trinity revived by Mr. Lindsey, and his followers. On these he published several tracts, and also occasionally gave his assistance to others engaged in the same cause. Bodily infirmities he was subject to for many years before his death; the faculties of his mind were

sound and unimpaired to the very last. Within the last year of his life he finished and published a work, which he had prepared some time before, on the Citations from the Old Testament in the New. Repeated attacks at length brought him to a state of weakness that was quite desperate, under which he laboured for three months, and died March 24, 1783.

"The reader will perceive from the above account, that his whole attention was confined to his profession, and his station in the university. Being convinced that the province allotted to him, if its duties were faithfully discharged, was sufficient for his own employment, and for the rendering him an useful member of society, he was not disposed to wander beyond it. He was a zealous supporter of the doctrines of the church of England, from a conviction that they were those of the true religion of Christ. It has sometimes been invidiously urged by the enemies of our religious establishment, who with great professions of liberality are by no means scrupulous of the terms in which they speak of the doctrines, discipline, or members of our church, that its supporters act from interested views. In answer to this charge thrown out against himself in common with others, Dr. Randolph says, in a preface to an intended work, "One of these writers is now near fourscore years of age, who neither hopes for, nor will solicit for any thing farther in this world: he fights under no banner, but that of his Lord and Saviour, from whom alone he expects his reward." Conscious of having acted thus from a sense of duty, he bore his long illness with patience, and met the near approach of death with calmness and fortitude; as trust-

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ing that he had fulfilled the part of a faithful minister of Christ's gospel, and prepared to give the last and

solemn account of his ministry, before that Almighty Judge who seeth the very hearts of men."

ANECDOTES of HANDEL.

[From the Sketch of the Life of this great Musician, prefixed to Dr. BURNLEY's Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey.]

"HANDEL, late in life, like the great poets, Homer, and Milton, was afflicted with blindness; which, however it might dispirit and embarrass him at other times, had no effect on his nerves or intellects, in public: as he continued to play concertos and voluntaries between the parts of his oratorios to the last, with the same vigour of thought and touch, for which he was ever so justly renowned. To see him, however, led to the organ, after this calamity, at upwards of seventy years of age, and then conducted towards the audience to make his accustomed obeisance, was a sight so truly afflicting and deplorable to persons of sensibility, as greatly diminished their pleasure in hearing him perform.

"During the oratorio season, I have been told, that he practised almost incessantly; and, indeed, that must have been the case, or his memory uncommonly retentive; for, after his blindness, he played several of his old organ-concertos, which must have been previously impressed on his memory by practice. At last, however, he rather chose to trust to his inventive powers, than those of reminiscence: for, giving the band only the skeleton, or ritornels of each movement, he played all the solo parts extempore, while the other instruments

left him, *ad libitum*; waiting for the signal of a shake, before they played such fragments of symphony as they found in their books.

"Indeed, he not only continued to perform in public after he was afflicted with blindness, but to compose in private; for I have been assured, that the duet and chorus in Judas Macchabeus, of "Sion now his head shall raise, Tune your harps to songs of praise," were dictated to Mr. Smith, by Handel, after the total privation of sight. This composition, so late in life, and under such depressing circumstances, confirms an opinion of Dr. Johnson, "that it seldom happens to men of powerful intellects and original genius, to be robbed of mental vigour, by age; it is only the feeble-minded and fool-born part of the creation, who fall into that species of imbecility, which gives occasion to say that they are superannuated: for these, when they retire late in life from the world on which they have lived by retailing the sense of others, are instantly reduced to indigence of mind." Dryden, Newton, Dr. Johnson himself, and our great Musician, are admirable illustrations of this doctrine. Indeed, Handel not only exhibited great intellectual ability in the composition of this duet and chorus, but manifested his power of invention in extemporaneous

neous flights of fancy to be as rich and rapid, a week before his decease, as they had been for many years. He was always much disturbed and agitated by the similar circumstances of Samson, whenever the affecting air in that oratorio of "Total eclipse, no sun, no moon," &c. was performed.

"The last oratorio at which he attended, and performed, was on the 6th of April, and he expired on Friday the 13th, 1759, and not on Saturday the 14th, as was at first erroneously engraved on his monument, and recorded in his life. I have indisputable authority for the contrary; as Dr. Warren, who attended Handel in his last sickness, not only remembers his dying before midnight, on the 13th, but, that he was sensible of his approaching dissolution; and having been always impressed with a profound reverence for the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion, that he had most seriously and devoutly wished, for several days before his death, that he might breathe his last on Good-Friday, "in hopes, he said, of meeting his good God, his sweet Lord and Saviour, on the day of his resurrection," meaning the third day, or the Easter Sunday following.

"The figure of Handel was large, and he was somewhat corpulent, and unwieldy in his motions; but his countenance, which I remember as perfectly as that of any man I saw but yesterday, was full of fire and dignity; and such as impressed ideas of superiority and genius. He was impetuous, rough, and peremptory in his manners and conversation, but totally devoid of ill-nature or malevolence: indeed, there was an original humour and pleasantry in his most lively sallies of anger or impa-

tience, which, with his broken English, were extremely risible. His natural propensity to wit and humour, and happy manner of relating common occurrences, in an uncommon way, enabled him to throw persons and things into very ridiculous attitudes. Had he been as great a master of the English language as Swift, his bon mots would have been as frequent, and somewhat of the same kind.

"Handel, with many virtues, was addicted to no vice that was injurious to society. Nature, indeed, required a great supply of sustenance to support so huge a mass, and he was rather epicurean in the choice of it; but this seems to have been the only appetite he allowed himself to gratify.

"The late Mr. Brown, leader of his majesty's band, used to tell me several stories of Handel's love of good cheer, liquid and solid, as well as of his impatience. Of the former he gave an instance, which was accidentally discovered at his own house in Brook-street, where Brown, in the oratorio season, among other principal performers, was at dinner. During the repast, Handel often cried out "Oh—I have de taught;" when the company, unwilling that, out of civility to them, the public should be robbed of any thing so valuable as his musical ideas, begged he would retire and write them down; with which request, however, he so frequently complied, that at last, one of the most suspicious had the ill-bred curiosity to peep through the key-hole into the adjoining room; where he perceived that "deftaughts," were only bestowed on a fresh hamper of Burgundy, which, as was afterwards discovered, he had received in a present from his friend, the late lord Radnor, while  
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his company was regaled with more generous and spirited port.

“ Another anecdote which I had from Brown, was the following: when the late reverend Mr. Felton found that his first organ concertos were well received, he opened a subscription for a second set, and begged of Brown to solicit Mr. Handel's permission to insert his name in the list. Brown, who had been in great favour with Handel the winter before, when he led his oratorios, remembering how civilly he had been attended by him to the door, and how carefully cautioned, after being heated by a crowded room and hard labour, at the rehearsals in Brook-street, not to stir without a chair, had no doubt of his success: but, upon mentioning to him Felton's request, as delicately as possible, one morning when he was shaving, by telling him that he was a clergyman, who, being about to publish some concertos by subscription, was extremely ambitious of the honour of his name and acceptance of a book, merely to grace his list, without involving him in any kind of expence; Handel, putting the barber's hand aside, got up in a fury, and, with his face still in a lather, cries out with great vehemence: “ Tamn your seluf, and go to der teiffel—a barfon make concerto! why he no make farmon?” &c. In short, Brown seeing him in such a rage, with razors in his reach, got out of the room as fast as he could; lest he should have used them in a more barbarous way than would be safe. Indeed, he had a thorough contempt for all our composers at this time, from Dr. Green down to Harry Burgess; and performers on the organ too: for, after being long an inhabitant of this country, he used to say, “ When I came

hither first, I found, among the English, many good players, and no composers; but now they are all composers, and no players.”

“ When Pope found that his friends, lord Burlington and Dr. Arbuthnot, thought so highly of Handel, he not only lashed his enemies in the Dunciad, but wished to have his *Eurydice* set to music by him. Mr. Bekhier, a common friend, undertook to negotiate the business: but Handel, having heard that Pope had made his ode more lyrical, that is, fitter for music, by dividing it into airs and recitatives, for Dr. Green, who had already set it; and whom, as a partizan for Bononcini, and confederate with his enemies, he had long disliked, says, “ It is de very ding vat my pck-lows-plower has set already for ein tocktor's decree at Cambridge.”

“ When Gluck came first into England, in 1745, he was neither so great a composer, nor so high in reputation, as he afterwards mounted; and I remember when Mrs. Cibber, in my hearing, asked Handel what sort of a composer he was; his answer, prefaced by an oath—was, “ he knows no more of contrapunto, as mein cook, Waltz.”

“ But though he was so rough in his language, and in the habit of swearing, a vice then much more in fashion than at present, he was truly pious, during the last years of his life, and constantly attended public prayers, twice a day, winter and summer, both in London and Tunbridge.

“ At the coronation of his late majesty, George the Second, in 1727, Handel had words sent to him, by the bishops, for the anthems; at which he murmured, and took offence, as he thought it implied his ignorance of the Holy Scriptures: “ I have read my Bi-

ble very well, and shall chuse for myself." And, indeed, his selection of the words, "My heart is inditing of a good matter," was very judicious, and inspired him with some of the finest thoughts that are to be found in all his works. This anthem was sung at the coronation, while the peers were doing homage.

"He knew the value of time too well to spend it in frivolous pursuits, or with futile companions, however high in rank. Fond of his art, and diligent in its cultivation, and the exercise of it, as a profession, he spent so studious and sedentary a life, as seldom allowed him to mix in society, or partake of public amusements. Indeed, after my first arrival in London, 1744, he seldom was absent from the benefit for Decayed Musicians and their Families; and I have sometimes seen him at the play-houses, the opera, and St. Martin's church, when the late Mr. Kelway played the organ. But those who were more intimately acquainted with him than myself, say, that in his latter years, except when he went to pay his duty to the royal family at St. James's, or Leicester-house, he seldom visited the great, or was visible, but at church, and the performance of his own oratorios.

"Besides seeing Handel, myself, at his own house, in Brook-street, and at Carlton-house, where he had rehearsals of his oratorios, by meeting him at Mrs. Cibber's, and, at Fraſi's, who was then my scholar, I acquired considerable knowledge of his private character, and turn for humour. He was very fond of Mrs. Cibber, whose voice and manners had softened his severity for her want of musical knowledge. At her house, of a Sunday evening, he used to meet Quin, who, in spite

of native roughness, was very fond of music. Yet the first time Mrs. Cibber prevailed on Handel to sit down to the harpsichord, while he was present, on which occasion I remember the great musician played the overture in *Siroe*, and delighted us all with the marvellous nearness with which he played the jig, at the end of it: Quin, after Handel was gone, being asked by Mrs. Cibber, whether he did not think Mr. Handel had a charming hand? replied, "a hand, madam! you mistake, it's a foot."—Poh! poh! says she, has he not a fine finger?" "Toes, by G—, madam!"—Indeed, his hand was then so fat, that the knuckles, which usually appear convex, were like those of a child, dented or dimpled in, so as to be rendered concave; however, his touch was so smooth, and the tone of the instrument so much cherished, that his fingers seemed to grow to the keys. They were so curved and compact, when he played, that no motion, and scarcely the fingers themselves, could be discovered.

"At Fraſi's, I remember, in the year 1748, he brought, in his pocket, the duet of *Judas Macchabeus*, "From these dread scenes," in which she had not sung when that oratorio was first performed, in 1746. At the time he sat down to the harpsichord, to give her and me the time of it, while he sung her part, I hummed, at sight, the second, over his shoulder; in which he encouraged me, by desiring that I would sing out—but, unfortunately, something went wrong, and Handel, with his usual impetuosity, grew violent: a circumstance very terrific to a young musician. At length, however, recovering from my fright, I ventured to say, that I fancied there was a mistake in the writing; which, upon examining, Handel

Handel discovered to be the case : and then, instantly, with the greatest good humour and humility, said, " I pec your barton—I am a very odd tog :—maisther Schmitt is to plame."

" When Frafi told him, that she should study hard, and was going to learn thorough-bass, in order to accompany herself: Handel, who well knew how little this pleasing singer was addicted to application and diligence, says, " Oh—vast may we not expect!"

" Handel wore an enormous white wig, and, when things went well at the oratorio, it had a certain nod, or vibration, which manifested his pleasure and satisfaction. Without it, nice observers were certain that he was out of humour.

" At the close of an air, the voice with which he used to cry out " Chorus!" was extremely formidable indeed; and, at the rehearsals of his oratorios, at Carleton-house, if the prince and princess of Wales were not exact in coming into the music-room, he used to be very violent; yet, such was the reverence with which his royal highness treated him, that admitting Handel to have had cause of complaint, he has been heard to say, " Indeed, it is cruel to have kept these poor people (meaning the performers), so long from their scholars, and other concerns." But if the maids of honour, or any other female attendants, talked during the performance, I fear that our modern Timotheus, not only swore, but called names; yet, at such times, the princess of Wales, with her accustomed mildness and benignity, used to say, " Hush! hush! Handel's in a passion."

" Handel was in the habit of talking to himself, so loud, that it was easy for persons not very near

him, to hear the subject of his soliloquies. He had, by much persuasion, received under his roof and protection, a boy, who had been represented, not only as having an uncommon disposition for music, but for sobriety and diligence: this boy, however, turned out ill, and ran away, no one, for a considerable time, knew whither. During this period, Handel walking in the Park; as he thought alone, was heard to commune with himself in the following manner :—" Der teifel! de fater was desheevd;—de mutter was desheevd;—but I was not desheevd;—he is ein t—d sheauntrel—and coot for nutting."

" Handel's general look was somewhat heavy and sour; but when he did smile, it was his fire the sun, bursting out of a black cloud. There was a sudden flash of intelligence, wit, and good humour, beaming in his countenance, which I hardly ever saw in any other.

" It has been said of him, that, out of his profession, he was ignorant and dull; but though I do not admit the fact, yet, if the charge were as true as it is severe, it must be allowed, in extenuation, that to possess a difficult art in the perfect manner he did, and to be possessed by it, seems a natural consequence; and all that the public had a right to expect, as he pretended to nothing more. Accomplishments can only amuse our private friends, and ourselves, in leisure hours; but so occupied and absorbed was Handel, by the study and exercise of his profession, that he had little time to bestow, either on private amusements, or the cultivation of friendship. Indeed, the credit and reverence arising from these, had Handel possessed them, would have been transient, and confined to his own age and acquaintance; whereas the

fame

same acquired by silent and close application to his professional business,

—Nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,  
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

And it is probable, that his name, like that of many of his brethren, will long survive his works. The most learned man can give us no information concerning either the private life or compositions of Orpheus, Amphion, Linus, Olympus, Terpander, or Timotheus; yet every school-boy can tell us, that they were great musicians, the delight of their several ages, and, many years after, of posterity.

“ Though totally free from the sordid vices of meanness and avarice, and possessed of their opposite virtues, charity and generosity, in spite of temporary adversity, powerful enemies, and frequent maladies of body, which sometimes extended to intellect, Handel died worth upwards of twenty thousand pounds; which, except one thou-

sand to the fund for decayed musicians and their families, he chiefly bequeathed to his relations on the continent.

“ His funeral was not public, like that of Rameau, in France; of Jomelli, in Italy; or of our Dryden, and Garrick, in England: yet, when he was buried in Westminster-Abbey, April the 20th, 1759, the dean, Dr. Pearce, bishop of Rochester, assisted by the choir, performed the funeral solemnity. More general and national testimonies of regard were left to the present period, when all enmities, jealousies, and operations of envy were subsided; and time, examination, and reflexion, had given new charms and importance to his works. And this pleasing task has been performed in a way so ample, magnificent, and honourable, that it will be difficult to find, either in an ancient or modern history, a more liberal and splendid example of gratitude to a deceased artist, in any other country.”

# MANNERS OF NATIONS.

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MANNERS of the PEOPLE of GREAT BRITAIN, from the Accession of HENRY IV. A. D. 1399, to the Accession of HENRY VII. A. D. 1458.

[From the Fifth Volume of Dr. HENRY's History of Great Britain.]

**T**HE bravery and martial ardour of both the British nations never appeared more conspicuous than in the present period, particularly in the reign of Henry V. The English under that heroic prince seemed to be invincible; and fought with so much courage and success, that towards the end of his reign, they had a very probable prospect of making a complete conquest of the great and populous kingdom of France. The Scots were much admired for the steady intrepidity with which they defended themselves, and the seasonable and successful succours they sent to their ancient allies in their greatest distress, when they were on the brink of ruin, and forsaken by all the world.

“But national as well as personal courage is subject to sudden and surprising changes, which are sometimes produced by very trifling causes. There is not a more remarkable example of this in history, than that extraordinary revolution in the spirits of the French and English armies, at the siege of Orleans, A. D. 1428, which hath been already mentioned. Before that period, the English fought like lions, and the French fled before them like sheep. But as soon as the Maid of Orleans, a poor obscure servant-girl, about seventeen years

of age, appeared on the scene of action, the fortune of the war, and the spirits of the contending nations, were entirely changed. The French became bold and daring, the English dastardly and desponding. The terror of that dreaded heroine was not confined to the English army in France, but seized the great body of the people at home, and made many who had enlisted in the service, desert, and hide themselves in holes and corners. This appears from the proclamations issued in England, commanding the sheriffs of London, and of several counties, to apprehend those who had deserted and concealed themselves *for fear of the Maid*. As it is imprudent to discover any distrust of national courage when war is necessary, it is no less imprudent to plunge a nation into a war, from too great a reliance on a quality that may fail when it is least expected.

“The hospitality of our ancestors, particularly of the great and opulent barons, hath been much admired, and considered as a certain proof of the nobleness and generosity of their spirits. The fact is well attested. The castles of the powerful barons were capacious palaces, daily crowded with their numerous retainers, who were always welcome to their plentiful tables.

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They had their privy counsellors, their treasurers, marshals, constables, stewards, secretaries, chaplains, heralds, pursuivants, pages, henchmen or guards, trumpeters, minstrels, and, in a word, all the officers of a royal court. The etiquette of their families was an exact copy of that of the royal household; and some of them lived in a degree of pomp and splendour little inferior to that of the greatest kings. Richard Nevile, earl of Warwick, we are told, "was ever had in great favour of the commons of the land, because of the exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries where-ever he sojourned or lay; and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast; and every tavern was full of his meat." The earls of Douglas in Scotland, before the fall of that great family, rivalled, or rather exceeded their sovereigns, in pomp and profuse hospitality. But to this manner of living, it is highly probable, these great chieftains were prompted, by a desire of increasing the number and attachment of their retainers, on which, in those turbulent times, their dignity, and even their safety, depended, as much as to the innate generosity of their tempers. These retainers did not constantly reside in the families of their lords; but they wore their liveries and badges, frequently feasted in their halls, swelled their retinues on all great solemnities, attended them in their journies, and followed them into the field of battle. Some powerful chieftains had so great a number of these retainers constantly at their command, that they set the laws at defiance, were formidable to their sovereigns, and terrible to their fellow-subjects; and several laws were made against

giving and receiving liveries. But these laws produced little effect in this period.

"Hospitality was not confined to the great and opulent, but was practised rather more than it is at present by persons in the middle and lower ranks of life. But this was owing to necessity, arising from the scarcity of inns, which obliged travellers and strangers to apply to private persons for lodging and entertainment; and those who received them hospitably acquired a right to a similar reception. This was evidently the case in Scotland in the first part of this period. James I. A. D. 1411, procured the following act of parliament. "It is ordanit, That in all burrow townis, and throuchfairis quhair commoun passages ar, that thair be ordanit Hostillaries and refectis, havand stables and chalmers; and that men find with thame bread and mill, and all uther fude, als weil for horse as men, for resonable price." But travellers had been so long accustomed to lodge in private houses, that these public inns were quite neglected; and those who kept them presented a petition to parliament, complaining, "That the liegis travelling in the realme, quhen they cum to burrowis and throuchfairis, herbreis thame not in Hostillaries, bot with thair acquaintance and freindis." This produced an act prohibiting travellers to lodge in private houses where there were hostalries, under the penalty of 40s. and subjecting those who lodged them to the same penalty.

"The people of Britain were not chargeable with the contempt, or even neglect of the ceremonies of religion in this period. On the contrary, many of them spent much of their time and money in performing those ceremonies. To say nothing



nothing of the almost constant service in cathedral and conventual churches, all the great barons had chapels in their castles, which very much resembled cathedrals, in the number of their clergy and choristers; the richness of their furniture and images; and the pomp and regularity with which the service of the church was daily performed. The earl of Northumberland, for example, had constantly in his family a dean of his chapel, who was a doctor of divinity, a subdean, and nine other priests; eleven singing men, and six singing boys; in all, twenty-eight; who daily performed divine service in his chapel, at Matins, Lady mass, High-mass, Even-song, and Complyne. The four first singing men acted as organists, weekly, by turns. This was a very splendid and expensive establishment, consisting of greater numbers than are now to be found in several cathedrals.

“ But unhappily the religion of our ancestors in those times was so strongly tinged with gross irrational superstition, that it had little tendency to enlighten their minds, regulate their passions, or reform their lives. Their creed contained some articles, that their very senses, if they durst have used them, might have convinced them could not be true; and others that were equally contrary to reason and revelation. The ceremonies of their worship were mere mechanical operations, in which their minds had little or no concern; and they were taught to place their hopes of the divine favour on such fallacious grounds, as the pardons of a venial priest, the patronage of a saint, pilgrimages, fastings, flagellations, and the like. But the most odious feature of the religion of those times was its horrid cruelty and intole-

rance, which prompted them to burn their fellow Christians to ashes, because they dared to think for themselves, and to worship God in a manner which they believed to be more acceptable than the established forms.

“ It is one evidence, amongst many others, that their religion had little influence on their morals, that perjury prevailed to a degree that is hardly credible; and the obligations of the most solemn oaths were almost totally disregarded by persons of all ranks. Of this the reader must have observed many examples in the preceding history, particularly in the conduct of Edward IV. and Richard III. All the lords, spiritual and temporal, in the famous parliament at Shrewsbury, A. D. 1398, called the Great Parliament, took a solemn oath on the cross of Canterbury, never to suffer any of the acts of that parliament to be changed; and yet these same lords, in less than two years after, repealed all these acts. Various ceremonies were invented to give additional solemnity to oaths, and secure their observation. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1453, in the middle of a great feast, and in the presence of his whole court, had a roasted pheasant brought to his table, with great pomp, and swore over it a most tremendous oath, that he would march an army against the Great Turk; and all the lords and knights of his court swore in the same manner that they would march with him; but none of them performed their oaths. It is no wonder that the common people were so profligate in this respect, that not a few of them, we are told, lived by swearing for hire in courts of justice.

“ The English were remarkable in this period, among the nations,  
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of Europe, for the absurd and impious practice of prophane swearing in conversation. The count of Luxemburg, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Stafford, visited the Maid of Orleans in her prison at Rouen, where she was chained to the floor, and loaded with irons. The count, who had sold her to the English, pretended that he had come to treat with her about her ransom. Viewing him with just resentment and disdain, she cried, "Begone! You have neither the inclination nor the power to ransom me." Then turning her eyes towards the two earls, she said, "I know that you English are determined to put me to death; and imagine, that, after I am dead, you will conquer France. But though there were an hundred thousand more God-dam-meers in France than there are, they will never conquer that kingdom." So early had the English got this odious nickname, by their too frequent use of that horrid imprecation. A contemporary historian, who had frequently conversed with Henry VI. mentions it as a very remarkable and extraordinary peculiarity in the character of that prince, that he did not swear in common conversation, but reproved his ministers and officers of state when he heard them swearing.

"An excessive irrational credulity still continued to reign in all the nations of Europe, and seems to have prevailed rather more in Britain than in some other countries. Of this many proofs might be produced. There was not a man then in England who entertained the least doubt of the reality of sorcery, necromancy, and other diabolical arts. Let any one peruse the works of Thomas Walsingham, our best historian in this period, and

he will meet with many ridiculous miracles, related with the greatest gravity, as the most unquestionable facts. The English were remarkable for one species of credulity peculiar to themselves, viz. a firm belief in the predictions of certain pretended prophets, particularly of the famous Merlin. Philip de Comines, in his relation of what passed at the interview between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. on the bridge of Picquiny (at which he was present), acquaints us, that after the two kings had saluted one another, and conversed a little together, the bishop of Ely, chancellor of England, began a harangue to the two monarchs, by telling them, that the English had a prophecy, that a great peace would be concluded between France and England at Picquiny; for the English (says Comines) are great-believers in such prophecies, and have one of them ready to produce on every occasion.

"The English frequently defeated the French in the field in this period, but were generally defeated by them in the cabinet. Philip de Comines, who was an excellent judge of mankind, and seems to have studied the national character of the English with great care, acknowledges that they were but blundering negociators, and by no means a match for the French. They were easily imposed upon, he says, by dissimulation, apt to fall into a passion, and to become impatient when they were contradicted; and, in a word, that they were not so subtle, insinuating, and patient, as their adversaries, who took advantage of all their foibles. The English certainly committed a most grievous error, in withdrawing, in a passion, from the great congress at Arras, A. D. 1435. No prince was ever more shamefully deceived by another than Edward

Edward IV. by that artful and faithless monarch, Lewis XI.

“ A fierce, and even cruel spirit, too much prevailed in both the British nations in this period, and formed a disagreeable feature in their national characters. This was owing to the violent contests, and almost constant wars in which they were engaged; which hardened their hearts, inflamed their passions, and made them familiar with blood and slaughter. The reader must have met with so many proofs of this fierce and cruel spirit, in perusing the first chapter of this book, that it is as unnecessary as it would be unpleasant, to multiply examples of it in this place. It is sufficient to observe in general, that the wars and battles of this period were uncommonly fierce and sanguinary; that prisoners of distinction were generally put to death on the field, in cold blood; that assassinations and murders were very frequent, perpetrated on persons of the greatest eminence, by the hands of kings, nobles, and near relations. The ferocity of those unhappy times was so great, that it infected the fair and gentle sex, and made many ladies and gentlewomen take up arms, and follow the trade of war. “ At this siege (of Sens, A. D. 1420) also lyn many worthy ladyes and gentilwomen, both French and English; of the whiche many of hem begonne the faitz of armes long time agoon, but of lyying at seges now they begynne first.” But the women of Wales, on one occasion, are said to have been guilty of deeds so horrid and indelicate, that they are hardly credible; and are therefore related in the words of the original author.

“ Eo tempore (A. D. 1402) Howenus Gleyndor assuetis intendens irruptionibus, pene totam militiam Herefordensis provincie pro-

vocavit ad arma, cui ducatum præbuit Edmundus de Mortuomari. Sed cum perventum fuisset ad actum Martium, prodicione mediante, et Edmundus captus et cæteri victi sunt, occisis de nostratibus amplius quam mille viris. Quorum genitalia mulieres Wallensium post conflictum absciderunt, et membrum pudendum in ore cujuslibet interempti posuerunt, testiculosque a mento dependere fecerunt, nasosque præcisos in oculis eorundem presserunt, et sepulturam mortuis cadaveribus prohibuerunt.” T. Walsing. p. 557.

“ When we consider the state of the country, the condition and character of many of its inhabitants, we will not be surprised to hear that England was much infested with robbers in this period. Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the king's bench in the reign of Henry VI. acknowledges that robbery was much more frequent in England than in France or Scotland; and, which is remarkable in one of his profession, he boasts of this as a proof of the superior courage of the English. “ It hath ben often seen in England, that three or four thefes hath sett upon seven or eight true men, and robyd them al. But it hath not ben seen in Fraunce, that seven or eight thefes have ben hardy to robbe thrée or four true men. Wherfor it is rightleid that no Frenchmen be hangyd for robberye, for that they have no hertys to do so terrible an acte. There be therfor mo men hangyd in England, in a yere, for robberye and manslaughter, than there be hangyd in Fraunce, for such cause of crume, in seven yers. There is no man hangyd in Scotland in seven yers together for robberye; and yet thay be often tymes hangyd for larceny and stelyng of goods in the absence of the owner

owner therof : but their harts serve them not to take a manny's goods, while he is present, and will defend it ; which maner of takyng is called robberye. But the English men be of another corage : for if he be poer, and see another man havynge richesse, which may be takyn from him by might, he wol not spare to do so." Whatever becomes of the reasoning of the chief justice, his authority is sufficient to establish this fact, that robbery prevailed much more in England than in France or Scotland, in his time.

" The manners of the clergy in the preceding period, which have been so fully described in the fourth volume of this work, were so similar to those of the times we are now delineating, that, to prevent unnecessary repetitions, the reader may be referred to that description. For though Dr. Wickliffe and his followers declaimed with as much vehemence against the pride, ambition, avarice, cruelty, luxury, and other vices of the clergy, as against their erroneous doctrines, and superstitious ceremonies, they declaimed in vain. The clergy were at least as much attached to their riches, their honours, and their pleasures, as to their speculative opinions ; and as unwilling to abandon their vices as to renounce their errors. In a word, the generality of the British clergy in this period were neither more learned, nor more virtuous, than their immediate predecessors ; and seem to have differed from them in nothing but in the superior cruelty with which they persecuted the unhappy Lollards.

" Great cities in general are not

very friendly to the virtue of their inhabitants, especially of the young and opulent. Honest Mr. Caxton observed concerning the youth of London in his time, that when they were very young, they were exceedingly amiable and promising ; but that when they arrived at riper years, many of them disappointed the hopes of their friends, and dissipated the wealth that had been left them by their parents. " I see that the children that ben borne within the sayd cyte (London) encrease and prouffyte not like their faders and olders ; but for mooste parte, after that they ben comeyn to their perfight yeres of discrecion, and rype-nes of age, how well that theyre faders have left to them grete quantite of goodes, yet scarcely amonge ten two thrive. O blessed Lord ! whan I remembre thys, I am al abashed : I cannot juge the cause ; but fayrer, ne wyser, ne bet bespoken children in theyre youthe ben no wher than ther ben in London ; but at thyr ful ryping, there is no carnel, ne good corn founden, but chaff for the moost part."

" It would be improper to pursue this unpleasant subject any farther. If our ancestors in this period were free from certain vices and follies which are too prevalent among their posterity in the present age, they were guilty of others, some of them of a very odious nature, which do not now prevail. Let us not then imagine, from an ill-founded veneration for antiquity, that the former times were better than these. In several respects they were certainly much worse, as well as more unhappy."



## ACCOUNT of the HOTTENTOTS.

[From the First Volume of Dr. SPARRMAN's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.]

“ **W**ITH regard to their persons, they are as tall as most Europeans; and as for their being in general more slender, this proceeds from their being more stinted and curtailed in their food, and likewise from their not using themselves to hard labour. But that they have small hands and feet compared with the other parts of their bodies, has been remarked by no one before, and may, perhaps, be looked upon as a characteristic mark of this nation.

“ The root of the nose is mostly very low, by which means the distance of the eyes from each other is greater than in Europeans. In like manner, the tip of the nose is pretty flat. The iris is scarcely ever of a light colour, but has generally a dark brown cast, sometimes approaching to black.

“ Their skin is of a yellowish brown hue, which something resembles that of an European who has the jaundice in a high degree: at the same time, however, this colour is not the least observable in the whites of the eyes. One does not find such thick lips among the Hottentots as among their neighbours the Negroes, the Caffres, and the Mozambiques. In fine, their mouths are of a middling size, and almost always furnished with a set of the finest teeth that can be seen: and taken together with the rest of their features, as well as their shape, carriage, and every motion; in short, their tout ensemble indicates health and delight, or at least an air of *sans souci*. This careless mien, however, discovers marks at the

same time both of alacrity and resolution; qualities which the Hottentots, in fact, can show upon occasion.

“ The head would appear to be covered with a black, though not very close, frizzled kind of wool, if the natural harshness of it did not show, that it was hair, if possible, more woolly than that of the Negroes. If in other respects there should, by great chance, be observed any traces of a beard, or of hair in any other parts of the body, such as are seen on the Europeans, they are, however, very trifling, and generally of the same kind as that on the head.

“ Notwithstanding the respect I bear to the more delicate part of my readers, the notoriety of the fact prevents me from passing over in this place those parts of the body, which our more scrupulous, but less natural manners forbid me to describe any other ways than by the means of circumlocution, Latin terms, or other uncouth, and to most readers, unintelligible denominations and expedients. But those who affect this kind of reserve must pardon me, if I cannot wrap up matters with the nicety their modesty requires; as my duty obliges me to show how much the world has been misled, and the Hottentot nation been misrepresented; inasmuch as the Hottentot women have been described, and believed to be, in respect to their sexual parts, monsters by nature; and that the men were made such by a barbarous custom. It has been thought, for example, that these latter were, at

the age of ten years, by a kind of castration, deprived of one of those organs, which nature gives to every male, as being absolutely necessary for the propagation of his species; and that the former, or the women, have before their privy parts a natural veil or covering, a circumstance unheard of in the females of any other part of the globe.

“ Deferring to a farther opportunity the arguments which are deducible from the absurdity of the thing itself, and the little dependence to be had on the testimony of the relater, I shall only in this place present the reader with what I am in a condition to relate with absolute certainty, being the result of the Enquiries, which out of a due regard to truth, and in respect to the importance of the subject, I thought myself obliged to make.

“ The men are at present by no means monorchides, though, perhaps, the time has been when they were so: some other time, however, I shall make a stricter enquiry into the matter, and thus give my readers an opportunity of judging for themselves.

“ The women have no parts uncommon to the rest of their sex; but the clitoris and nymphæ, particularly of those who are past their youth, are in general pretty much elongated; a peculiarity which undoubtedly has got footing in this nation, in consequence of the relaxation necessarily produced by the method they have of besmearing their bodies, their slothfulness, and the warmth of the climate.

“ In order to finish the picture I have here given of the Hottentots, the next thing I have to describe is their dress, and method of painting themselves. This latter (if painting it may be called) consists in besmearing their bodies all over most

copiously with fat, in which there is mixed up a little soot. This is never wiped off: on the contrary, I never saw them use any thing to clean their skins, excepting that when, in greasing the wheels of their waggons, their hands were besmeared with tar and pitch, they used to get it off very easily with cow-dung, at the same time rubbing their arms into the bargain up to the shoulders with this cosmetic: so that as the dust and other filth, together with their sooty ointment and the sweat of their bodies, must necessarily, notwithstanding it is continually wearing off, in some measure adhere to the skin: it contributes not a little to conceal the natural hue of the latter, and at the same time to change it from a bright umber-brown to a brownish-yellow colour obscured with filth and nastiness.

“ What has enabled me to determine the natural complexion of the Hottentots to be of an umber-yellow colour, was merely the scrupulous nicety of some few farmers wives, who made one or two of their Hottentot girls scower their skins, that they might not be too filthy to look after their children, or to do any other business that required cleanliness.

“ It is asserted by many of the colonists, that by this scowering and washing the Hottentots looks are not at all improved. They seem to think, that their natural yellow-brown hue was to the full as disagreeable as that which is produced by their besmearing themselves; and that a besmeared Hottentot looks less naked, as it were, and more complete, than one in his natural state; and that the skin of a Hottentot ungreaased seems to exhibit some defect in dress, like shoes that want blacking, &c. Whether this



this fancy is most founded in custom or in the nature of things, I shall leave to others to determine.

“ Besides the pleasure the Hottentots enjoy in besmearing their bodies from head to foot, they likewise perfume them with a powder of herbs, with which they powder both their heads and bodies, rubbing it in all over them when they besmear themselves. The odour of it is at the same time rank and aromatic (*narcotico seu papaverino spirans*) and seems to come nearest to that of the poppy mixed with spices. The plants used for this purpose are various species of the *diosma*, called by the Hottentots *bucku*, and considered by them as possessing great virtues in curing disorders. Some of these species are very common round about the Cape; but one particular sort, which I am told grows about Goud’s-river, is said to be so valuable, that no more than a thimble full of it is given in exchange for a lamb.

“ The Hottentots, with their skins dressed up with grease and foot, and *bucku*-powder, are by this means in a great measure defended from the influence of the air, and may in a manner reckon themselves full dressed. In other respects, both men and women are wont to appear quite undressed; indeed, I may say, naked, except a trifling covering, with which they always conceal certain parts of their bodies.

“ With the men this covering consists of a bag or flap made of skin, hanging quite open, the hollow part of which seems designed to receive that which with us modesty requires to be concealed; but as this piece of furniture is only fastened by a small part of its upper end to a narrow belt in other respects hanging quite loose, it is but a very imperfect concealment; and

when the wearer is walking or otherwise in motion, it is none at all. They call this purse by the Dutch name of *jackall*, the name of an animal of the fox kind in that country, as it is almost always prepared of the skin of this creature, with the hairy side turned outwards.

“ As another covering, which decency requires of the men, we ought perhaps to consider the two leather straps, which generally hang from the bottom of the chine of the back down upon the thighs; each of them being of the form of an isosceles triangle, with their points or upper ends fastened on the belt just mentioned, and with their bases, at farthest three fingers broad, hanging carelessly down. These straps have very little dressing bestowed upon them, so that they make somewhat of a rattling as the Hottentot runs along; and probably by fanning him, serve to produce an agreeable coolness. The only and real intention, however, of this part of their dress, is said to be to close a certain orifice when they sit down. They are at that time, in like manner, brought forwards, each on its particular side, so as to cover and close over the little flap above described; for, said they to me, these parts should by no means be uncovered when one sits, especially at meals. Nevertheless, I observed them sometimes neglect this decent custom.

“ Among the Hottentots, as well as in all probability among the rest of mankind dispersed over the whole globe, we must acknowledge the fair sex to be the most modest; for the females of this nation cover themselves much more scrupulously than the men. They seldom content themselves with one covering, but almost always have two, and very often three. These are made

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of a prepared and well-greased skin, and are fastened about their bodies with a thong, almost like the aprons of our ladies. The outermost is always the largest, measuring from about six inches to a foot over. This is likewise generally the finest and most showy, and frequently adorned with glass beads strung in different figures, in a manner that shows, even among the unpolished Hottentots, the superior talents and taste of the fair sex relative to dress and ornament, as well as their powers of invention and disposition to set off their persons to the best advantage.

“ The outermost apron, which is chiefly intended for show and parade, reaches about half way down the thighs. The middle one is about a third, or one half less, and is said by them to be necessary by way of reserve, and as an additional entrenchment of modesty, when their gala-garment is laid aside. The third, or innermost, which is scarcely larger than one's hand, is said to be useful at certain periods, which are much less troublesome to the fair sex here than in Europe. All these aprons, however, even to that which is decorated with beads, are not less besmeared and greasy than their bodies.

“ So that it was probably some of these aprons, particularly the innermost, which misled the reverend Jesuit Tackard, who, on his return to Europe, first propagated those stories concerning the natural veils or excrescences of the Hottentot women. These females, moreover, are careful, as a matter of decency, to pull their aprons tight about them, so as to reach under their seat when they sit down.

“ In other respects, the garment worn by the Hottentots for cover-

ing their bodies is a sheep-skin, with the woolly side turned inwards; this pelisse, or a cloak made of some smaller fur, is tied forwards over the breast. When the weather is not cold, they let it hang loose over their shoulders in a careless manner, when it reaches down to the calves of the legs, leaving the lower part of the breast, stomach, and fore part of the legs and thighs bare; but in rainy and cold weather they wrap it round them; so that the fore part of the body likewise, is in some measure covered with it as far as below the knees.

“ As one sheep-skin alone is not sufficient for this purpose, there is a piece sewed on at the top on each side, (or to speak more properly), fastened on with a thong, sinew, or catgut. In warmer weather they wear this cloak sometimes with the hairy side outwards, but in that case they oftener take it off entirely and carry it on their arms. In general, the Hottentots do not often burden themselves with a great many changes of these cloaks or krosses (as they call them in broken Dutch), but are content with one, which serves them at the same time for clothing and bedding; and in this they lie on the bare ground, drawing themselves up in a heap so close, especially when the weather is cold, that this kross (as they call it) or kaross, is quite sufficient to cover them.

“ The cloak, or kaross, which is used by the women for the same purpose, does not differ from those used by the men in any other respect, than that the women have a long peak on their karosses, which they turn up, forming with it a hood or little pouch, with the hairy side inwards. In this they carry their little children, to which their mothers breasts are now and then thrown

thrown over the shoulders, a practice that likewise prevails with some other nations.

“ The men in general wear no peculiar covering on their heads. I scarcely remember to have seen above two, that had a cap made of a greased skin, the fur of which had been taken off in the preparation. Those who live nearest to the colonists, fancy the European hats, wearing them slouched all round, or else with one side turned up.

“ The women in like manner frequently go bare-headed. When they cover their heads, it is with a cap in the form of a short truncated cone. It is made without any seam, of the segment of some animal's stomach, and is as black as foot mixed up with fat can make it. These are frequently so prepared, as to look as if they were shaggy, and others again like velvet, and upon the whole make a tolerably handsome appearance.

“ Over this cap they sometimes wear another ornament, consisting of an oval wreath, or, if the reader pleases, a crown made of a buffalo's hide, with the brown hair outwards. This is about the breadth of four fingers in height, and surrounds the head so as to go a little way down upon the forehead, and the same depth into the neck behind, without covering the upper part of the cap above described. Both edges of this wreath, as well the lower one on which it rests, as the upper one, are always smooth and even, and each of them set with a row of small shells, of the cyprea kind, to the number of more than thirty, in a manner, that being placed quite close to each other, their beautiful white enamel, together with their mouths, is turned outwards. Between these two rows of shells run one or two more in a

parallel line, or else are waved or indented in various tastes. It may easily be imagined, what a pretty effect these shells have, sticking out of the brown fur of the buffalo's skin, and at the same time, with what additional charms a greasy Hottentot dame appears in a cap wreath to the full as greasy as herself.

“ The ears of Hottentots are never adorned with any pendant or other ornament hanging from them, any more than the nose, as they both are among other savages : this latter, however, is sometimes by way of greater state, marked with a black streak of soot, or, more rarely indeed, with a large spot of red-lead ; of which latter, however, on high days and holidays, they likewise put a little on their cheeks.

“ The necks of the men are bare, but those of the women are decorated with what is, in their opinion, a great ornament. It consists of a thong of undressed leather, upon which are strung eight or ten shells. These, which are about the size of beans, have a white ground, with large black spots of different sizes ; but as they are always made use of in a burnished state, I cannot say with any degree of certainty, whether they are of that sort which is received in the System of Nature under the denomination of *nerita albicilla*, or *exuvia*. Appearing collectively in the form of a necklace, they certainly adorn the greasy part they are hung upon, though perhaps not in proportion to the price at which they are obtained ; for these shells are commonly sold for not less than a sheep a-piece, as it is said they are to be had nowhere else than on the most distant coast of Caffria.

“ The lower part of the body is  
the principal place on which both  
D 3 sexes,

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sexes, by more showy ornaments, seemingly wish to fix each other's attention. For though they very much fancy, and consequently purchase the beads of Europe, especially the blue and white ones of the size of a pea, yet the women rarely, and the men never, wear them about their neck; though both sexes tie one or more rows of these beads round their middle, next the girdle to which the coverings or aprons above mentioned are fastened.

“ To conclude, another ornament in use with both sexes, is rings on their arms and legs. Most of these rings are made of thick leather straps, generally cut in a circular shape, which by being beat and held over the fire, are rendered tough enough to retain the curvature that is given them. It is these rings that have given rise to the almost universally received notion, that the Hottentots wrap guts about their legs, in order to eat them occasionally. The men wear from one to five or six of these rings on their arms, just above the wrist, but seldom any on their legs. The matrons of a higher rank frequently have a considerable number of them both on their arms and legs, especially on the latter, so that they are covered with them from the feet up to their knees. These rings are of various thicknesses, viz. sometimes of that of a goose-quill, and sometimes two or three times that size. Now and then they are made of pieces of leather, forming one entire ring, so that the arms and feet must be put through them when the wearer wishes to put them on. Upon the legs they are strung on, small and great, one with another, without any peculiar nicety; and are so much larger than the legs, as to shake off and get twisted, when the wearer walks or is in motion.

“ It may easily be imagined, that these rings give the good Hottentot matrons a world of trouble, as well in the wear as in the preparation; and at the same time are not a little clumsy and ponderous, not to mention several other inconveniencies. But such is the peculiar turn of mankind, that from the Hottentot, as unconstrained as rude in his manners, to those nations which carry the arts and sciences to the highest degree of perfection, they are universally apt to fall into such modes of dress, as are not only useless, but likewise in a great measure imprison their bodies and limbs.

“ Rings of iron or copper, but especially of brass, of the size of a goose-quill, are considered as genteeler and more valuable than those made of leather. They are, however, sometimes worn along with these latter, to the number of six or eight at a time, particularly on the arms. The girls are not allowed to use any rings, till they are marriageable. A traveller, that was passing through the district of Zwelendani, endeavoured to assail the chastity of a Hottentot girl, about sixteen or seventeen years of age, but in every other respect quite a woman: it is said, however, that she refused his presents and offers, principally for this reason, that the old people in her *craal* had not yet invested her with the privilege of wearing rings. Whether this same law prevails in every *craal*, I cannot pretend to say; but it does not seem extremely probable to me, that the girls in every *craal* are so obedient to the laws.

“ The Hottentots seldom wear any shoes. Those that are in use with the Hottentots hereabouts, as well as a great many more of their countrymen, are of the form we have before represented. The same  
are

are worn likewise by most of the African peasants, and, as I have since heard, by the Zithonians and Livonians, and also by some Flanders; so that I cannot say for certain, whether they are the invention of the Hottentots, or brought to them by the Dutch. The leather of which these shoes are made is undressed, with the hairy side outwards; and undergoes no other preparation than that of being beat and moistened. If it be of a thick or stout sort, as for example, of buffalo's hide, it is besides kept some hours in cow-dung, by which means it is rendered very soft and pliable. Afterwards some kind of grease is made use of, for the same purpose. The shoes are then made of this leather in the following manner: they take a piece of leather of a rectangular form, something longer and broader than the foot of the person for whom the shoes are intended. The two foremost corners are doubled up together, and sewed down, so as to cover the forepart of the foot. This seam may be avoided, and the shoes may be made much neater at the toes, by fitting immediately over them a cap taken from the membrane in the knee-joint of the hind leg of some animal. Now in order to make this piece of skin or leather rise up to the height of an inch on both sides of the foot, and close it in neatly, it is pierced with holes at small distances round the edge, as far as the hindquarters, and through these holes is passed a thong, by which the rim is drawn up into gathers: farther, in order to make strong hind-quarters, the back part of the piece of leather is doubled inwards, and then raised up and pressed along the heel. The ends of the thong, or gathering-string, are then threaded on both sides

through the upper edge of the hind-quarters to the height of about two inches: they are then carried forwards, in order to be drawn through two of the above mentioned holes on the inside of each rim. They are then tied over the instep, or, if it be thought necessary to tie the shoe faster, they are carried cross-ways over the instep, and so downwards under the thong, which comes out from the hind-quarters, then upwards again over the ankle, and even round the leg itself, if the wearer chuses.

“Shoes of this kind are certainly not without their advantages. They fit as neat upon the foot as a stocking, and at the same time preserve their form. They are easily kept soft and pliable, by constantly wearing them. Should they at any time grow rather hard above the edge, this is easily remedied by beating them and greasing them a little. They are extremely light and cool, by reason that they do not cover so much of the foot as a common shoe does. They wear very well, as they are without any seam, and the soles, or rather bottoms of the shoes, are both tough and yielding. As shoes of the common tanned leather are burnt up, as it were, and are apt to slip and slide about in the scorching African sands, and at the same time are easily torn in a stony and rocky soil, these field shoes, as they are called, made of almost raw leather, are much more durable. These may be likewise had at a much inferior price, as the leather used in the making of them is almost entirely undressed; and a man can make himself a pair of them in the space of an hour or two. Some advantage, especially with regard to œconomy, would, in my opinion, accrue, if the use of these shoes was, in some measure, introduced



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amongst us, particularly in summer time. To sailors they would seem, as being very light, to be particularly useful. I have brought home with me a pair of them, that I wore in my expedition into the country, that they may serve for a model, in case any body should be inclined to have a pair made by way of making a trial of them. Whatever is useful, whether it comes from Paris or the country of the Hottentots, alike deserves our attention and imitation.

“ The Hottentots who live in these parts, or within the boundaries of the Dutch colonies, seldom make use of any weapons. Here and there, indeed, a man will furnish himself with a javelin, by way of defence against the wolves : this is called a *hassagai*, and will be described farther on, when we come to speak of the more distant nations of the Hottentots.

“ Their habitations are as simple as their dress, and equally adapted to the wandering pastoral life they lead in those parts. In fact, they scarcely merit any other name than that of huts : though, perhaps, as spacious and eligible as the tents and dwelling-places of the patriarchs, at least they are sufficient for the Hottentot's wants and desires ; who may therefore be considered as a happy man, in being able in this point likewise so easily to satisfy them. The great simplicity of them is, perhaps, the reason, why in a Hottentot's *craal*, or village, the huts are all built exactly alike ; and that one meets there with a species of architecture, that does not a little contribute to keep envy from insinuating itself under their roots. The equality of fortune and happiness in some measure enjoyed by these people, cannot but have a singular effect in preventing their

breasts from being disturbed by this baneful passion.

“ Every hut is disposed in the following manner. Some of them are of a circular, and others of an oblong shape, resembling a round bee-hive or a vault. The ground-plot is from eighteen to twenty-four feet in diameter. The highest of them are so low, that even in the centre of the arch, it is scarcely ever possible for a middle-sized man to stand upright. But neither the lowness thereof, nor that of the door, which is but just three feet high, can perhaps be considered as any inconvenience to a Hottentot, who finds no difficulty in stooping and crawling on all fours, and who is at any time more inclined to lie down than stand.

“ The fire-place is in the middle of each hut, by which means the walls are not so much exposed to danger from fire. From this situation of their fire-place, the Hottentots likewise have this additional advantage, that when they sit or lie in a circle round the fire, the whole company equally enjoys the benefit of its warmth.

“ The door, low as it is, is the only place that lets in the day-light ; and at the same time, the only outlet that is left for the smoke. The Hottentot, inured to it from his infancy, sees it hover round him, without feeling the least inconvenience arising from it to his eyes : while lying at the bottom of his hut in the midst of the cloud rolled up like a hedgehog, and wrapped up snug in his sheep-skin, he is now and then obliged to peep out from beneath it in order to stir the fire, or perhaps light his pipe, or else sometimes to turn the steak he is broiling over the coals.

“ The materials for these huts are by no means difficult to be procured



cured; and the manner of putting them together being both neat and inartificial, merits commendation in a Hottentot, and is very suitable to his character. The frame of this arched roof, as I have described it above, is composed of slender rods or sprays of trees. These rods, being previously bent into a proper form, are laid, either whole or pieced, some parallel with each other, others crosswise: they are then strengthened, by binding others round them in a circular form with withies. These withies, as well as the rods themselves, are taken, as well as I can recollect, chiefly from the *cliffortia conoides*, which grows plentifully in this country near the rivers. Large mats are then placed very neatly over this lattice-work, so as perfectly to cover the whole. The aperture which is left for the door is closed, whenever there is occasion for it, with a skin fitted to it, or a piece of matting. These mats are made of a kind of cane or reed. These reeds, being laid parallel to each other, are fastened together with sinews or catgut, or else some kind of packthread, such as they have had an opportunity of getting from the Europeans. They have it, therefore, in their power, to make their mats as long as they chuse, and at the same time as broad as the length of the rush will admit of, viz. from six to ten feet. This same kind of matting is now made use of likewise by the colonists, next to the tilts of their waggon, by way of preventing the sail-cloth from being rubbed and worn by them, as well as of helping to keep out the rain.

When a Hottentot has a mind to take his house down and remove his dwelling, he lays all his mats, skins, and sprays on the backs of his cattle, which to a stranger makes a

monstrous, unwieldy, and, indeed, ridiculous appearance.

“ The order or distribution of these huts in a craal or clan, is most frequently in the form of a circle with the doors inwards: by this means a kind of yard or court is formed, where the cattle is kept on nights. The milk, as soon as taken from the cow, is put to other milk, which is curdled, and is kept in a leather sack: of this the hairy fide, being considered as the cleanlier, is turned inwards; so that the milk is never drank while it is sweet. In certain northern districts, such as Roggeveld, or Bokveld, where the land is, as it is called, carrow, or dry and parched, the Hottentots, as well as the colonists, are shepherds.

“ There is another species of Hottentots, who have got the name of boshies-men, from dwelling in woody mountainous places. These, particularly such as live round about Camdebo and Sneeborg, are sworn enemies to the pastoral life. Some of their maxims are, to live on hunting and plunder, and never to keep any animal alive for the space of one night. By this means they render themselves odious to the rest of mankind, and are pursued and exterminated like the wild beasts, whose manners they have assumed. Others of them again are kept alive, and made slaves of. Their weapons are poisoned arrows, which, shot out of a small bow, will fly to the distance of two hundred paces; and will hit a mark with a tolerable degree of certainty, at the distance of fifty, or even a hundred paces. From this distance they can by stealth, as it were, convey death to the game they hunt for food, as well as to their foes, and even to so large and tremendous a beast as the lion: this noble animal

## [58] ACCOUNT OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

mal thus falling by a weapon which, perhaps, it despised, or even did not take notice of. The Hottentot, in the mean time, concealed and safe in his ambush, is absolutely certain of the operation of his poison, which he always culls of the most virulent kind; and it is said, he has only to wait a few minutes, in order to see the wild beast languish and die.

“The dwellings of these toes to a pastoral life are generally not more agreeable, than their maxims and manners. Like the wild beasts, bushes and clefts in rocks by turns serve them instead of houses; and some of them are said to be so far worse than beasts, that their soil has been found close by their habitations. A great many of them are entirely naked; but such as have been able to procure the skin of any sort of animal, great or small, cover their bodies with it from the shoulders downwards as far as it will reach, wearing it till it falls off their backs in rags. As ignorant of agriculture as apes and monkeys, like them they are obliged to wander about over hills and dales after certain wild roots, berries, and plants (which they eat raw) in order to sustain a life that this miserable food would soon extinguish and destroy, were they used to better fare.

“Their table, however, is sometimes composed of several other dishes, among which may be reckoned the larvæ of insects, or those kind of caterpillars from which butterflies are generated; and in like manner a sort of white ants, (the termites) grasshoppers, snakes, and some sorts of spiders. With all these changes of diet, the boshies-man is nevertheless frequently in want, and famished to such a degree, as to waste almost to a shadow. It was with no small astonishment, that I for the first time

saw in Lange Kloof a lad belonging to this race of men, with his face, arms, legs and body so monstrously small and withered, that I could not have been induced to suppose but that he had been brought to that state by the fever that was epidemic in those parts, had I not seen him at the same time run like a lapwing. It required but a few weeks to bring one of these starvelings to a thriving state, and even to make him fat; their stomachs being strong enough to digest the great quantity of food with which they are crammed, as they may be rather said to bolt than eat. It sometimes happens, indeed, that they cannot long retain what they have taken in; but this circumstance, it is said, does not hinder them from beginning again upon a new score.

“The capture of slaves from among this race of men is by no means difficult, and is effected in the following manner. Several farmers, that are in want of servants, join together, and take a journey to that part of the country where the Boshies-men live. They themselves, as well as their Lego-Hottentots, or else such Boshies-men as have been caught some time before, and have been trained up to fidelity in their service, endeavour to spy out where the wild Boshies-men have their haunts. This is best discovered by the smoke of their fires. They are found in societies from ten to fifty and a hundred, reckoning great and small together. Notwithstanding this, the farmers will venture on a dark night to set upon them with six or eight people, which they contrive to do, by previously stationing themselves at some distance round about the kraal. They then give the alarm by firing a gun or two. By this means

means there is such a consternation spread over the whole body of these savages, that it is only the most bold and intelligent among them, that have the courage to break through the circle and steal off. These the captors are glad enough to get rid of at so easy a rate, being better pleased with those that are stupid, timorous, and struck with amazement, and who consequently allow themselves to be taken and carried into bondage. They are, however, at first, treated by gentle methods; that is, the victors intermix the fairest promises with their threats, and endeavour, if possible, to shoot some of the larger kinds of game for their prisoners, such as buffaloes, sea-cows, and the like. Such agreeable baits, together with a little tobacco, soon induce them, continually cockered and feasted as they are, to go with a tolerable degree of cheerfulness to the colonist's place of abode. There this luxurious junketting upon meat and fat is exchanged for more moderate portions, consisting for the most part of butter-milk, frumenty, and hasty-pudding. This diet, nevertheless, makes the Boshiesman, as I said before, fat in a few weeks. However, he soon finds his good living embittered by the maundering and grumbling of his master and mistress. The words *t'guzeri* and *t'gaunatsi*, which, perhaps, are best translated by those of young forcerer and imp, are expressions which he must frequently put up with, and sometimes a few curses and blows into the bargain; and this for neglect, remissness, or idleness: which last failure, if it cannot be said to be born with him, is however in a manner naturalised in him. So that, both by nature and custom, detesting all manner of labour, and now, from his greater

corpulency, becoming still more slothful, and having besides been used to a wandering life, subject to no controul, he most sensibly feels the want of his liberty. No wonder then, that he generally endeavours to regain it by making his escape: but what is really a subject for wonder is, that, when one of these poor devils runs away from his service, or more properly bondage, he never takes with him any thing that does not belong to him.

"This is an instance of moderation in the savages towards their tyrants, which is universally attested, and at the same time praised and admired by the colonists themselves; which, however, I cannot easily reconcile with what I have learned of the human heart. Is it in consequence of their fearing to meet with harder usage in case they should be retaken? Thus far, however, is certain, that none of this species of Hottentots are much given to violence or revenge. Free from many wants and desires, that torment the rest of mankind, they are little, if at all, addicted to thieving, if we except brandy, victuals, and tobacco. It is not improbable likewise, that the advantages accruing from a theft may be overlooked by them, when their thoughts are taken up with regaining their liberty, the greatest of all human treasures. It is necessary to observe here, that some of the Hottentots or Boshiesmen, who are thus forced into the service of the colonists, live in small societies peaceably and quietly, in desert tracts, where the colonists cannot easily come at them, and are sometimes in the possession of a few cows. These people probably originate from Boshiesmen who have run away from the colonist's service.

"I must confess, that the Hottentots, who are in some husbandmen's

men's service, are treated in the gentlest manner; and, perhaps, even without ever having a harsh word given them, live very well with regard to provisions, are well clad relatively to their condition in life, and are very comfortably lodged, in comparison of what others are, in their own straw cottages. The chief of their business, perhaps, consists in tending a herd of cattle or flock of sheep during the heat of the day, when they have an opportunity of getting into a gentle state of intoxication by smoking tobacco; a state which excites in them sensations of as agreeable a nature as the frenzy produced by spirituous liquors and opium seems to afford to many others, who are never at ease but when they can procure themselves this delicious pleasure. And yet, though they may thus agreeably pass away the otherwise tedious hours of their lives in smoking and sleep, they nevertheless generally run away. The colonists wonder at this, as a procedure entirely devoid of reason; without perceiving that in so doing, they suppose the Hottentots not endued with a desire, which has its immediate foundation in nature, and which is common to the human race, and even to most brute animals, viz. an earnest longing after their birth-place, and families, and especially after their liberty.

“ With respect to religion and language, the Boshies-men agree in a great measure with the more civilized part of their nation, or the Hottentots properly so called. These are not sensible of the existence of any being, who is the origin and ruler of all things; for, on being questioned, they say they know nothing of the matter.

“ Some Hottentots, who spoke the Dutch language readily, and

with whom, both in company and separately, I conversed on this subject, always answered me to this effect: “ We are poor stupid creatures, and have never heard, neither are we able to understand, any thing of the matter.” And, in fact, they soon let me perceive, that they are weary with puzzling their brains with topics of this kind. Several Dutch families, that had spoken the Hottentot language from their infancy, as well as their own, have given me to understand, that they had found the same degree of ignorance in the Boshies men; yet that, as both Boshies-men and Hottentots have the firmest belief in the powers of magic, they seem consequently by this to acknowledge some evil being of great might and power: but that they by no means on this account worship him, or indeed any other, although they seem to attribute to him all the evil that happens; among which they reckon, without exception, all rain, cold, and thunder. Many of the colonists have likewise assured me, that their Boshies-men of either sex, used in stormy weather to abuse the thunder with the words, t'guzeri and t'gaunazi, and other reproachful expressions; and at the same time, in a furious manner, with their shoes, or any thing else that was at hand, threaten and bid defiance to the flashes of lightning and peals of thunder that flashed and rolled over their heads. It would be in vain to try to make them sensible, that the vegetable creation, whence they, as well as the brute animals, were nourished, would wither and be entirely dried up: even the Hottentot I afterwards took into my service at Zwelendam, persisted, in spite of all my objections, obstinately in the opinion, that notwithstanding this con-

consideration, rain was always an evil, and that it would be a happy circumstance were it never to rain. A maxim of this kind from a race of men, in other respects really endowed with some degree of sense, and frequently with no small share of penetration and cunning, ought, methinks, to be considered as an indelible religious or superstitious notion entertained by them from their infancy, rather than as an idea taken up on due deliberation and consequent conviction. At the same time, though they did not appear to be of a very chilly nature, they never shewed the least signs of being displeased with the hottest days of summer.

“The more simple of every race of Hottentots, or the common run of them, from which number very few deserve to be excepted, have so firm a confidence in such cheats of either sex, as set up for magicians and conjurors, that they even sometimes solicit these people to put a stop to the thunder and rain.

“Though the Hottentots are so superstitious, yet they are not, as far as I know, in the least afraid of being in the dark. They seem, however, to have some idea of spirits, and a belief in a future state, as they accost their friends as soon as they are dead with reproaches for leaving them so soon; at the same time, admonishing them henceforth to demean themselves properly; by which they mean, that their deceased friends should not come back again to haunt them,

nor allow themselves to be made use of by wizards, to bring any mischief on those that survive them.

“There is a genus of insects (the mantis), called by the colonists the Hottentot's god; but so far are they from worshipping these insects, that they have more than once caught some of them, and given them me to stick needles through them, by way of preserving them, as I did with other insects. There is, however, a diminutive species of this genus of insects, which some think it would be a crime, as well as very dangerous, to do any harm to; but this we have no more reason to look upon as a kind of religious worship, than we have to consider in the same light, a certain superstitious notion prevalent among many of the more simple people in our own country, who imagine, that three sins will be forgiven them, if they set a cock-chaffer on its feet that has happened to have fallen upon its back.

“The moon, according to Kolbe, receives a kind of adoration from the Hottentots. But the fact is, that they merely take the opportunity of her beams, and at the same time of the coolness of the night, to amuse themselves with dancing; and consequently, have no more thoughts of worshipping her than the Christian colonists, who are seen at the same time strolling in great numbers about the streets, and parading on the stone steps with which their houses are usually encircled.”

## The MANNER in which the HINDOOS treat their WOMEN.

[ From Mr. SULLIVAN's Philosophical Rhapsodies. ]

“ **I**T is not easily reconcileable to European ideas, that a people boasting of some refinement, as the Hindoos may justly do, should in the most public manner be guilty of every species of indelicacy to their females. Many nations have the custom of immuring their women; but the Hindoos are singular, I think, in the grossness of their ordinances relative to them. “A woman,” say they in their code of laws, “is never satisfied with man—no more than fire is satisfied with burning fuel, or the main ocean with receiving the rivers, or the empire of death with the dying of men and animals. She has six qualities:—the first, an inordinate desire of jewels and fine furniture, handsome cloaths, and nice victuals; the second, immoderate lust; the third, violent anger; the fourth, deep resentment; the fifth, the good of others appears evil in her eyes; the sixth, she is invariably addicted to bad actions. For these reasons, it is evident, the Creator formed her for no other purpose than that children might be born from her.”—“A wife shall not,” continue they, growing with the subject, “a wife shall not discourse with a stranger; but she may converse with a Sinafsee (a wandering priest), a hermit, or an old man. She shall not laugh without drawing the veil before her face. She shall not eat (unless it be physic) until she has served her husband and her guests with victuals. She shall not, while her husband is on a journey, divert herself by play, nor shall see any public show, nor shall laugh, nor shall

dress herself in jewels and fine cloaths, nor shall see dancing, nor hear music, nor shall sit in the window, nor shall ride out, nor shall behold any thing rare; but she shall fasten well the door of the house, and remain private; and shall not eat any dainty victuals, and shall not blacken her eyes with eye powder, and shall not view her face in a mirror: she shall never exercise herself in any such agreeable employment during the absence of her husband.”

“After these tender dogmas, with respect to unhappy woman—who should be nourished like unto the ewe lamb—who should grow up with her husband and with his children—who should eat of his own meat and drink of his own cup, and lay in his bosom, and be unto him as a second daughter:—after these tender dogmas, the hoary-headed Brahmins, whom the frost of age must have rendered callous to all the finer dispositions of the soul, in the excess of their wisdom, and parental care, farthermore ordained, “That a man, both night and day, should keep his wife in such subjection, that she should never be the mistress of her own actions; for should she have her will, though sprung from a superior cast, she yet would go astray.”

“When sentiments, such as these, could prevail, when they could formally be interwoven with the laws of the land, conjecture would naturally lead one to conclude, that the brutal subordination would be carried a step farther; that an absolute authority with respect to the lives



lives of women would have been granted; at least, that the privilege of casting them aside would have been allowed, when no longer captivating, or when the love of variety might urge their lords to seek enjoyment in the company of others. But the laws of the Brahmins, we will do them justice, have been more generous in this respect. No man is permitted to repudiate his wife at pleasure. Even "should a calamity happen to any person, he may not give away his wife to another man, without that wife's consent: if she is willing, he then, indeed, has power to give her away."

"It is somewhat strange, notwithstanding all this severity of disposition, all this contemptuous treatment of the women of Hindostan, that the men are astonishingly constant to their wives; that the women are remarkably chaste; and that adultery is a crime seldom to be heard of among them. As there is no country, however, where such a general position can unexceptionably be admitted, so in Hindostan it has been ordained, that "if the wife of a Brahmin, by her own consent, shall commit adultery with a Sooder, the magistrate shall cut off the hair of her head, anoint her body with ghee (butter), and cause her to be led through the whole city naked, and riding upon an ass, and cast her out on the north side of the city, or cause her to be eaten by dogs."

"But as human nature is every where the same, and as passion is too often paramount to reason, the intercourse of the sexes in Hindostan is probably as general and as well understood as in any other part of the world. The blood freezes not in the neighbourhood of the equator. There is a tribe of people in Hindostan, who, in appear-

ance, answer the description of Elijah the Tishbite; "who was an hairy man, and girt with a girdle about his loins," who are prescribed continence and mortification. But I shrewdly suspect these holy men, these senassees, or wandering saints, that they do more good towards keeping up the population of the East than the poor husbands imagine, who charitably admit them into their houses. The droves in which they travel through Hindostan are inconceivable: many thousands of them may be seen at a time, all of them athletic fellows, and none of them over bashful.

"I will not repeat to you, what I know you must have heard, of the practice of the senassee to leave his slipper or his staff at the door, when he is at prayers with the lady of the house. The fact, however, I believe to be as it is represented; and I believe it to be furthermore expected by the elect of Brahma, that on sight of that signal, the husband is not to interrupt the pair at their devotions. But the senassees, though infinitely esteemed, are not exclusively warranted to plume themselves on the favour of the ladies: they have fellow-labourers in the vineyard. There is a cast of people on the Malabar side of India, called Naires, who, it is said, are allowed to claim a privilege of gallantry; a privilege superior even to that of the senassees; for what the latter procure by stealth and imposition, the Naires, insist upon as a right inherent in their tribe. From these circumstances, therefore, whatever the tenure by which the intercourse is held, it may naturally be concluded, the Hindoos are not outrageously virtuous; but that the men and women are of much the same complexion with those of other climates."

The

## The SUPERSTITION of the HINDOOS.

[ From the same Work. ]

“ **A**T our first setting out, you will recollect, we determined on adhering to no certain rule in the nature of our enquiries. It would be too precise a progress for an unpresuming investigation, which aims at nothing but brevity, and a few simple observations. We will pass, therefore, from our last subject, to a momentary consideration of that extravagant enthusiasm and superstition which pervades the minds of the natives of Hindostan. Priest-ridden we have already declared them to be: but their infatuated reliance on the wisdom of their Brahmins is singularly astonishing, though it must be confessed it has in many instances been of considerable advantage to them.

“ We have, in a former fragment, taken notice of the influence of the gourroo in every Hindoo family; we mentioned him as the temporal and the spiritual father. The gourroo himself, however, is under the positive guidance, as in all similar cases, of certain established rules, which it is peculiarly incumbent on him, in common with his disciples, undeviatingly to adhere to. To enumerate the vast variety of religious rites among the Hindoos, would require volumes. We will pass them over in silence therefore, and confine ourselves to a few of those customs which are the most immediately striking.

“ Prone to guilt, and apprehensive from nature, man has always had that something within him, which has urged him to penitence, and has given him to believe, that in baptism, or ablution, transgressions may be forgiven. Hence we

see the Jews considered baptism, or washing, as an internal as well as an external purification. Christians even followed the same idea, and, in like manner with their progenitors, baptized not only themselves, but even their goods and chattels. But although water, from its cleansing properties, and fire, from its purifying nature (which hath also always been used), have both of them been uniformly symbols of expiation; yet we are to look for other more probable reasons for that excessive veneration paid by the followers of Brahma to the Ganges, and to the other sacred rivers of Hindostan.

“ The Egyptians paid a religious worship to the waters, under the symbol of their god Canopus. The Indians pay a greater—but their adoration is to the element itself. The fertility which rivers occasion in their annual inundations, and that too in countries where grain may be said to be the most essential article of life, must have been the original cause which led to river deification. Man, in an uncultivated state of society, evermore acknowledges the Divinity in that which is most beneficial to him.

“ Filled with the most grateful sensations for the blessings which were regularly dispensed to them in the waters of their rivers—refreshed and cleansed by their invaluable streams—the Hindoos were not long in admitting superstition to substitute itself for gratitude. The foundation once laid, their priests found it no mighty difficulty to rear the superstructure. Ablutions they soon declared

declared necessary, for cleanliness to those in the neighbourhood of rivers—for internal purification to those who might reside at a greater distance. But this was still found inadequate to Brahminical desires. Imposition had gone abroad—the root was deeply taken; and hence the clay even of the beds of rivers was capable of being turned to tolerable account. The clay, therefore, was brought into use; and it still continues as a most necessary ingredient in many of their religious ceremonies.

“The Ganges, as the largest, has always been considered as the most holy river in Hindostan. Those who bathe in it, are peculiarly sanctified ever after; and as a type of it, are marked on the forehead with a yellow mixture. The water itself is sent in jars, sealed by the Brahmins, all over the peninsula of India, and sold at an enormous price. Hindoo princes, living at many thousand miles distance, will drink no other, though the carriage of it costs them prodigious sums of money.

“The most extraordinary instance, however, of senseless superstition in the Hindoos, relative to this element, is in that monstrous, that inhuman custom, of exposing their sick by the sides of rivers, there to die. It is not uncommon for them even to stuff the mouths and nostrils of the diseased with the mud of the banks, (Hindoo extreme unction!) that a speedier period may be put to their existence. But can any thing be more barbarous? Conceive an aged, or an infirm being, borne down to low-wa-

ter-mark on a pallet, probably not bereft of sense or reason, and there left to be washed away by the return of the tide, or to be destroyed by the first ravenous crocodile or tyger! Think not I here exaggerate. The fact is incontestable. I have known instances of it myself. Nay, a very few years only have elapsed since an opulent, and a most reputable Hindoo, at the English settlement of Calcutta, in Bengal, was twice rescued from the jaws of death by a gentleman who was his friend, and who forcibly dragged him from his relations, who, at his own express command, had carried him on his funeral bier, and had stretched him out, to await an inevitable death on the shores of the Ganges!

“A practice among the Tartars, somewhat similar, and another among the Americans, have already occurred to us. I do not recollect many other such shocking blots in the human character. The Troglodyte, indeed, when either age or infirmities had made life uneasy to him, or when he had become useless to society, seldom declined voluntarily putting an end to his existence; or if he did, a friend was allowed to whisper to him the law of his tribe which enjoined it. If he then behaved well, the previous omission was forgiven, and his name was enrolled with the rest of his countrymen: but, on the contrary, if he hesitated at the blow, the brand of coward was stamped upon his character: he was strangled by his companions, and left by them to rot, with his memory, in infamy and disgrace.”

## CONTEMPT of DEATH among the HINDOOS, and their DOCTRINE of TRANSMIGRATION.

[ From the same Work. ]

“ **O**NE primary cause of the Hindoos' contempt of death, is the prevalency of the doctrine of a transmigration of souls. They are the original propounders of the metempsychosis—that system so universally well known in Europe under the name of the Pythagorean. It has often amazed the curious, that before the immortality of the soul came thoroughly to be understood, the world in general did not invariably believe in the constant corporeal change of the various constituent parts of nature. How awful is the contemplation of that regular progression of life and death! Vegetables, we see, in their destruction, are the causes of animal existence. Animals, again, in their dissolution, become the springs of vegetable life. Insects, flies, and various reptiles, serve the purposes of nourishment to those of a superior degree. Man, again, draws these aside, and appropriates them to his own immediate use; whilst he, as the last and grandest link of the chain, moulders at length away, and, in yielding his fair form, the image of his Maker, pays, as a debt, that sacrifice which is essential in common with the rest of things.

“ The Hindoos, though they believe in the transmigration of souls, do not rank those incomprehensible essences exactly as Plato did, who said, “ that at going out of the bodies they had informed, there were three sorts—the incurable, the curable, and the pure.” That the first went to the devil, as we should say, at once; that trans-

migration was to serve the purposes of the second, as purgatory does the Roman Catholics; but that the third, being purified previous to death, would stand in need of no farther trial. The Hindoos, I suspect, admit of an inevitable transmigration for a certain number of years, the time being squared to the extent and nature of their worldly crimes. The provision made for this transmigration is curious. Tavernier says, the reason given him by two merchants for burying their money and jewels, part of the latter of which he had purchased, was, the apprehension they laboured under of being poor and miserable in their next change of nature; wherefore it appeared to them but right, as such a state of indigence was possible, that a little stock should be gathered in before hand, in case of exigencies. And apocryphal as this may sound, I can readily believe the fact; for, to this hour, it is the universal practice of the Hindoos to conceal a considerable portion of their treasures.

“ It is of singular consideration, however, that the same principle which actuates them to a contempt of death, as relative to themselves, should at the same time, from the belief that they are to occupy the bodies of other animals, occasion their greatest abhorrence of shedding the blood of any other creature. Thousands and ten thousands of the more rigid ones will perish rather than partake of food which once had existence in it; though, at the same time, as is in-

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## ACCOUNT OF THE POLYGARS. [67]

flanted in the Mahrattahs, they will plunder and lay desolate countries, and will murder and destroy their enemies with the most heart-felt alacrity and satisfaction. It is not unusual, extraordinary as it may appear to you, to see hospitals erected for the admission of diseased animals and birds. "I have seen many camels, horses, and bullocks," says Thevenot, "with other wounded animals, which the Hindoos had purchased from Christians and Mohammedans, and which they had delivered," as they were wont to say, "from the cruelty of infidels."

"From this principle of transmigration arose the excessive veneration paid by the Hindoos to the animal of the cow species: but good sense had not a little share in the predilection. They easily perceived that milk was not produced in such abundance by any other animal; nor could it yield an equal degree of nourishment. They saw likewise that the male was both patient and docile, pliant to the yoke, and well calculated for labour. Nor could they but observe it was the animal which most generally a-

bounded, of all that comes under the denomination of ruminant; hence their extraordinary attachment to the cow species. They consider the milk as a primary article of life, nor will they refuse to share it with an infidel; but they shudder at a calf or a bullock's being slain. Their intercession for them, when those of another persuasion would lead them to the slaughter, is never omitted. "And thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth over the corn," saith the Mosaic scripture, and so saith the Hindoo, which positively enjoins an attention to that grateful principle. The Hindoos muzzle not the ox—they let him quietly tread out the grain, as the Israelites used to do of old.

Unworthy he to reap the fertile field,  
Whose soul to pity's gen'rous feelings  
    steel'd,  
Aims, with ungrateful hand, the murd'  
    rous stroke  
To sell his ox, just recent from the yoke;  
The patient partner of his daily toil,  
Who many a year has plough'd the stub-  
    born soil.

The doctrine of Pythagoras, as given to us by Ovid.

## ACCOUNT of the POLYGARS.

[ From the same Work. ]

"THE natives of Hindostan, who have uniformly exhibited a peculiar character, and who most probably will continue so to do until the end of time, have a people among them, inhabitants of almost impenetrable woods, who are under the absolute direction of their own chieftains, and who, in times of peace, are professionally rob-

bers, but, in times of war, are the guardians of the country. The general name of these people is Polygar. Their original institution, for they live in distinct clans, is not very well understood. It probably took its rise from municipal regulations, relative to the destruction of tygers and other ferocious beasts. Certain tracts of woodland

were indisputably allotted as rewards to those who should slay a certain number of those animals ; and those lands approximating, probably laid the foundation of the several confederacies of Polygars.

“ The Pollams, or woods, from which is derived the word Polygar, lying in profusion through all the southern parts of Hindostan, the ravages committed in the open countries by these adventurous clans are both frequent and destructive. Cattle and grain are the constant booty of the Polygars. They not unfrequently even despoil travellers of their property, and sometimes murder, if they meet with opposition : yet these very Polygars are the hands into which the aged and infirm, the wives, children, and treasure, of both Hindoos and others are entrusted, when the circumjacent country unfortunately happens to be the seat of war. The protection they afford is paid for ; but the price is inconsiderable, when the helpless situation of those who fly to them for shelter is considered, and especially when their own very peculiar character is properly attended to. The native governments of Hindostan are under the necessity of tolerating this honourable Danditti. Many of them are so formidable as to be able to bring fifteen and twenty thousand men into the field.

“ The Hindoo code of laws, in speaking of robberies, hath this remarkable clause, “ The mode of shares amongst robbers shall be this :—If any thief or thieves, by the command of the magistrate, and with his assistance, have committed depredations upon, and brought away any booty from another province, the magistrate shall receive a share of one sixth part of the whole. If they received no com-

mand or assistance from the magistrate, they shall give the magistrate in that case one tenth part for his share, and of the remainder their chief shall receive four shares ; and whosoever among them is perfect master of his occupation, shall receive three shares : also whichever of them is remarkably strong and stout, shall receive two shares ; and the rest shall receive each one share.” Here then, we see not only a sanction, but even an inducement to fraudulent practices—another singular inconsistency among a people who, in many periods of their history, have been proverbial for innocence of manners, and for uncommon honesty in their conduct towards travellers and strangers.

“ At the first sight it would appear, that the toleration of the Polygars, owing to their great numbers, and to the security of their fortresses, which are in general impenetrable but to Polygars, that the government licence, in this manner given to them, to live on the spoils of the industrious, might have originally occasioned the formal division, and encouragement to perseverance, which we have just quoted : but the cause I should rather suppose to lie in the nature of certain governments, than to have arisen from any accidental circumstance afterwards ; and I am the more inclined to this opinion from the situation of the northern parts of Hindostan, which are, and always have been, uninfested by these freebooters.

“ The dominion of the East was, in former days, most probably, divided and subdivided into all the various branches of the feudal system. The vestiges of it remain to this hour : rajahs and zemindars are nothing more than chieftains



## ACCOUNT OF CASHMIRE AND ITS INHABITANTS. [69]

of a certain degree of consequence in the empire. If then, experience has shewn, in other parts of the world, that clans have always been observed to commit the most pernicious acts of depredation and hostility on each other, and that the paramount lord has seldom been able effectually to crush so general and so complicated a scene of mischief, may we not reasonably venture to suppose, that the Hindoo legislature passed this ordinance for

the suppression of such provincial warfare, and for the wholesome purpose of drawing the people, by unalarming degrees, more immediately under the controul of the one sovereign authority? The conclusion, I own, appears to me satisfactory. Moreover, Polygars cannot but be of modern growth; for the law relative to thefts is antecedent to the mention of Polygars in history."

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### A Short ACCOUNT of CASHMIRE and its INHABITANTS.

[ From the same Work. ]

"CASHMIRE is situated at the extremity of Hindostan, northward of Lahore, and is bounded on the one side by a ridge of the great Caucasus, and on the other by the little Tartarian Thibet and Moulân. The extent of it is not very considerable; but being girt in by a zone of hills, and elevated very considerably above an arid plain, which stretches many miles around it, the scenes which it exhibits are wild and picturesque. Rivers, hills, and vallies, charmingly diversify the landscape. Here a cascade rushes from a foaming precipice; there a tranquil stream glides placidly along; the tinkling rill, too, sounds amidst the groves; and the feathered choristers sing the song of love, close sheltered in the glade.

"At what time Cashmire came under the dominion of the Mogul government, and how long, and in what manner, it was independent, before it was annexed to the territories of the House of Timur, are points that are entirely unconnected with the nature of our enquiry.

We shall content ourselves, therefore, with remarking, that, though inconsiderable as to its revenues, it was uniformly held in the highest estimation by the emperors of Hindostan. Thither they repaired, in the plenitude of their greatness, when the affairs of state would admit of their absence; and there they divested themselves of form and all the oppressive ceremony of state.

"The royal manner of travelling to Cashmire was grand, though tedious and unwieldy, and shewed, in an eminent degree, the splendour and magnificence of an Eastern potentate. Aurungzebe, we are told, seldom began his march to that country, for a march certainly it was to be called, without an escort of eighty or a hundred thousand fighting men, besides the gentlemen of his household, the attendants of his seraglio, and most of his officers of state. These all continued with him during the time he was on the road, which generally was a month: but no sooner was he arrived at the entrance of those

those aerial regions, than, with a select party of friends, he separated from the rest of his retinue, and with them ascended the defiles which led him to his Eden.

“ The temperature of the air of Cashmire, elevated as it is so much above the adjoining country, together with the streams which continually pour from its mountains, enables the husbandman to cultivate with success the soil he appropriates to agriculture; whilst the gardener’s labour is amply repaid in the abundant produce of his fruit. In short, nature wears her gayest cloathing in this enchanting spot. The rivers supply the inhabitants with almost every species of fish; the hills yield sweet herbage for the cattle; the plains are covered with grain of different denominations; and the woods are stored with variety of game. In this country, therefore, we are not to be surprised that the ladies are so singularly beautiful. The picture intended by heaven would have been incomplete without them.

Adown their necks, more white than vir-  
gin snow,  
Of softest hue, the golden tresses flow;  
Their heaving breasts, of purer, softer  
white  
Than snow-hills glist’ning in the moon’s  
pale light,  
Except where cover’d by the sash, were  
bare,  
And love, unseen, smil’d soft, and panted  
there. LUSIAD.

“ In almost every other part of Asia the Scythian feature is to be traced in a greater or a less degree. It is not so here. The Cashmireans seem a race distinct from all others in the East: their persons are more elegant, and their complexions more delicate, and more tinged with red. Were this insulated world,

indeed, a little nearer Europe, its fair inhabitants might be looked upon as a collateral branch of your own unrivalled countrywomen, whose perfection they almost equal.

“ Where beauty is, there ever will be love; and love will always be attended by poetry and music. Thus we find the Cashmireans cultivate those arts with extraordinary success: poetry in particular. No country of the East has produced more elegant effusions of imagination than Cashmire; nor has any been more celebrated in story. Even Solomon’s Rose of Sharon, and Lily of the Valley, will be found to droop, when compared with the flights of some of their bards, who whilome strung the lyre to love, and attuned it with delicacy and feeling.

“ Strange as it may seem, the people of this country believe, that even Solomon himself was inspired in the bowers of Cashmire. In many parts they point out places, which they represent as dedicated to him; and even some, that, at his desire, were called expressly by his name. That Solomon might have had some of the fair ones of his seraglio from this nursery of beauty, is not at all improbable. He sought every where for gratification; and therefore, if, for the gold of Ophir, he could send vessels into the Indian seas, the advancing a few steps farther, for a much more estimable treasure, does not appear incompatible with that monarch’s disposition. Though a man of wisdom, he supposed there might be happiness in the indulgence of passions, granted him by heaven. His eagerness in the pursuit was great; nor did he spare either money or attention.

Fly

## IMMODERATE ATTACHMENT OF THE TURKS TO OPIUM. [71]

“ Fly swift, my friends; my servants,  
fly; employ  
Your instant pains, to bring your master  
joy.  
Let all my wives and concubines be dress'd.  
— Fresh roses bring  
To strew my bed, till the impoverish'd  
spring  
Confess her want; around my amorous  
head  
Be drooping myrrh, and liquid amber shed,  
Till Arab has no more.” PRIOR.

“ Towards the gratification of this disposition, therefore, Cashmire might have contributed her portion; and thence those legends, which have been circulated relative

to Solomon's having been resident there.

“ On the decadence of the Mogul power in Hindostan, Cashmire felt some of the ravages of war. It is now, however, in peace; and the inhabitants are desirous of keeping it so. Industry, sprightliness, and good fellowship, fill up the measure of their time. They gratefully return thanks to heaven for the blessings they enjoy. Their days are the days of comfort; and their nights are crowned with tranquillity and repose.”

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## Immoderate ATTACHMENT of the TURKS to OPIUM.

[ From the Memoirs of Baron DE TOTT. ]

“ **T**HOSE among the Turks, who have once given themselves up to the immoderate use of opium, are easily known by a kind of rickets, which this poison never fails to produce at last. Not able to exist agreeably, except in this species of intoxication, these persons are particularly objects of curiosity when they are assembled in a part of Constantinople, called Teriaký Tcharchissý, or the market for the takers of opium.

“ There, towards evening, the lovers of this drug are seen coming down all the streets which lead to the Solimany: their pale and melancholy figures would be sufficient to raise our pity, did not their lengthened necks, their heads turned on one side, their back bone distorted, their shoulder raised up to their ear, and a number of other extravagant attitudes which result from their disease, exhibit a picture of the most ridiculous nature.

“ A long row of little shops is built against one of the walls that surround the square, within which is the mosque. These shops are shaded by an arbour which reaches from one to the other, and under which the master takes care to place a little sofa to accommodate his guests, without stopping up the passage. The customers arrive, and place themselves in order, to take the dose which the habits each have contracted render necessary.

“ The pills are distributed. Those most used to the practice, perhaps swallow four, larger than olives, and each immediately drinking a glass of cold water, waits in his particular attitude. An agreeable reverie, at the end of three quarters of an hour, or an hour at most, never fails to animate these automations; causing them to throw themselves into a thousand different postures, but always extravagant, and always merry. This is the

moment when the scene becomes most interesting: all the actors are happy, and each returns home in a state of total irrationality, but likewise in the entire and full enjoyment of happiness not to be procured by reason. Disregarding the

ridicule of those they meet, who divert themselves by making them talk absurdly, each imagines, and looks and feels himself possessed of whatever he wishes. The reality of enjoyment often gives less satisfaction."

## ACCOUNT of the DERVISES in TURKEY.

[ From the same Work. ]

**T**HERE are two kinds of these monks in Turkey, very distinct from each other, and equally remarkable. The difference arises from the difference of the rules imposed on them by their respective founders. That of the Mewliach dervises is to turn round like whirligigs, to the sound of soft music, and seek a holy intoxication in the giddiness which must naturally result from this absurd exercise, if the habit of thus turning round did not prevent them from dizziness and drunkenness, which they have recourse to the tavern to complete. The rule of the other monks named Tafta-Tepen, more melancholy, has, also, more barbarity. It consists in walking, solemnly, in a row, one after the other, round their chapel, and pronouncing the name of God with a loud voice, and much exertion, at each stroke on a drum, beaten for that purpose; the strokes on which growing gradually quicker, become at last so rapid, that these wretches are forced to undergo a violent labour of the lungs; and the most devout never close the procession without vomiting blood. Their appearance is always sad and surly; and these monks are so persuaded of the sanctity of their practice, and so

certain of pleasing heaven by their howlings, that they never look on the rest of mankind but with the most profound contempt.

"There are likewise, in Turkey, other monks and fanatics, who run about the country. To meet them in a wood might be dangerous: under the cloak of religion, they are caressed by some devotees, but they are the worst company any where to be found.

"Those of these dervises who are sufficiently impudent to take advantage of the general ignorance of the Turks set up for prophets, and prophecy with impunity. If it happen that the event justifies the predictions they have hazarded, they are taken for saints, and held in great esteem; but those, who, for want of success, can only pass for fools, find, nevertheless, admission every where. Nothing can resist their effrontery; the name of God, profaned by these rascals, always imposes on the superstitious multitude; and I have seen one of them insolently come and seat himself by the side of the visir, whilst I have been privately discoursing with him, and people of great consequence kept at a distance. The fanaticism of the public obliges the most enlightened persons to submit; and the

the most eminent Turks have no other way to get rid of this rabble, but by giving them money, which only serves to render them more troublesome, and more insolent."

## DESCRIPTION of the HOT BATHS in TURKEY.

[ From the same Work. ]

"THE construction of these baths ought to be described, in order to calculate the result, after having examined their effects.

"Two small chambers, built with brick, and faced with marble or plaster, communicate, and are each enlightened by small cupolas cut in chequers. This little edifice is commonly joined to the house by a small room, in which they undress: double doors, folding over, and lifted with felt, shut in the first and second part of the stove.

"A wood fire is kept up in a subterranean vault, the entrance to which is without. This fire-place is under the farthestmost chamber, and heats a caldron immediately beneath the marble floor, which serves as a cieling to the vault. Pipes, placed within the walls, come from the inside of the caldron, and go out at the cupola, to evaporate the water, which is kept continually boiling. Other tubes, communicating with a reservoir, are likewise contained within the brick work, and furnish the inside with cold water, by the means of cocks placed at the side of those which yield the warm water. Small seats of smooth wood are made to fit on, and drains cut in the marble to carry off the water which is thrown down.

"These private baths, always heated twenty-four hours before they are used, by being thus constructed, have so great a degree of heat, that, after being entirely un-

dressed in the exterior chamber, and having put on very high sandals of wood, to keep the feet from being burnt by the marble floor, it is impossible to enter the first room, till you have stopt a moment between the two doors to let the lungs dilate; after which you cannot enter the second stove, under which the heat is most active, without taking the same precautions: and it is probable, that the air of this room bears the same proportion to that of the first, as this does to the external air. A sudden perspiration, rushing through all the pores, is felt immediately as they are entered; but the violence of this heat does not prevent the women from staying in these baths five or six hours together, and returning to them very frequently.

"Those who have not private baths go to the public ones: they are always prepared, and contrived in such a manner as to contain a great number of people.

"Some of the women, a little more delicate and scrupulous than the rest, take the bath for themselves alone, and go thither with their particular friends. To complete the entertainment, they carry with them their provision. The pleasure of enjoying greater liberty, and conversing all day together, no doubt makes them amends for having so ill chosen the place.

"Bathing women, named Telleks, with their hands wrapped in

in little bags of serge, rub the skin till it is dry. They likewise make use of a very fine clay, mixt up with rose leaves, and afterwards dried in the sun, as a kind of soap, with which they rub the head, pouring on it warm water from large metal basons: the women's hair, thus cleaned and perfumed, is afterwards tied up in a great number of small tresses.

"This description wants the pearls, the diamonds, the rich stuffs, and all the finery with which lady Montague has been pleased to ornament these baths. It is, indeed, difficult to believe, that that lady ever actually entered them completely dressed as has been asserted. What is most certain is, that a too frequent use of these stoves, at length, opens the pores to such a degree as to render them visible. It is equally certain that so violent a dilatation of the fibres, by altering the shape, brings on decrepitude before old age.

"These public baths are very numerous in every part of the city, and are likewise frequented by the men; but at different hours from those set apart for the women. A man who should dare attempt to enter while they are within, would be severely punished, though he had the good fortune to escape the tasses, sandals, and wet pestemals, that assault him in shoals. The Turkish women are inexorable, when the audacity of a man means nothing more than insult; but it is impossi-

ble to consider, without horror, the dismal consequences of the blind passions to which they are sometimes a prey.

"I do not speak here of those women who so frequently sell their charms, and whose mutilated dead bodies I have often seen in the environs of Constantinople. The cruelty of the men who murder them, to evade paying, or to avoid the danger of being taken up when bringing them back into the city, is a villainy which may be accounted for, either by avarice or fear. But I speak of those women of a more exalted rank, whom an irresistible fury overpowers, and who escape secretly from their prisons. These unfortunate creatures always carry off with them their jewels, and think nothing too good for their lover. Blinded by their unhappy passion, they do not perceive that this very wealth becomes the cause of their destruction. The villains to whom they fly, never fail, at the end of a few days, to punish their temerity, and insure the possession of their effects by a crime, which, however monstrous, the government is least in haste to punish. The bodies of these miserable women, stript and mangled, are frequently seen floating in the Port, under the very windows of their murderers; and these dreadful examples, so likely to intimidate the rest, and prevent such madness, neither terrify nor amend."



## VARIOUS PARTICULARS concerning the NOGUAIS TARTARS.

[ From the same Work. ]

“ **E**XCEPT the habits of the sultan and the mirzas, which, without being rich, have a kind of studied elegance, the Tartars seek for little which is not strictly necessary. The luxury of glass windows is confined solely to the prince's apartment: paper frames are used in winter, and taken away in summer, that they may breathe more freely, and have a full view of the Black Sea, which is discovered at a distance. The sultan invited me to supper, and, though very hungry, I soon perceived the excellent fish of the Nieſter were worthy of better cooks.

“ The pleasures of hunting, hawking, and courſing, ſeemed to be the only ones in which the Tartars took delight; and the sultan frequently formed hunting parties, attended by numbers of the mirzas. They depart for the chace with arms and baggage; it laſts ſeveral days: camps are formed every night; a body of troops always follows the ſeraker; and ſometimes theſe parties of pleaſure ſerve as pretexts for more ſerious expeditions.

“ The night was ſpent in repairing a ſmall carriage I had bought at Yaſſi, which I had converted into a kind of bed. A cart carried our trunks, with which my carriage had been loaded as far as Moldavia; and the orders of the ſultan being expedited, I departed the next day with a mirza, whoſe office it was to conduct me, with an eſcort of forty horſemen, armed with bows, arrows, and ſabres, to Baſtcheſeray.

“ Little accuſtomed to military order and diſcipline, I did not ex-

pect theſe things from our Tartars. After we had paſſed the Nieſter, however, which parts Beſſarabia from Yedeſan, in which province the hordes were ſuppoſed to be in a kind of rebellion, the officer who commanded the detachment put it into a regular military diſpoſition. A vanguard of twelve horſe preceded us about two hundred paces; four men were placed at each door of the carriage, which the officer took under his particular care; two carts followed after; eight men brought up the rear, and two platoons, of ſix men each, kept at a diſtance of ſix hundred paces to the right and the left.

“ The plains we croſſed are ſo level and open, that no irregularity could be ſeen, not even ſo much as a tree or a ſhrub: nor did we ſee any thing during the whole day, except ſome Noguais, whoſe heads the piercing eyes of our Tartars diſtinguiſhed when the earth's convexity hid the reſt of their bodies. Each of theſe Noguais were riding alone, and thoſe whom our patrols interrogated, relieved us from the fear of the pretended troubles which had ariſen.

“ I was curious to know their buſineſs, and learnt that theſe people, ſuppoſed Nomades, becauſe they live under a kind of tents, were ſettled, however, by tribes in vallies eight or ten fathoms deep, which interſect the plains from north to ſouth, and which are more than thirty leagues long, though but half a quarter of a league wide. Muddy rivulets run through the middle of them, and terminate towards the ſouth in ſmall lakes, which

which communicate with the Black Sea. On the borders of these rivulets are the tents of the Noguais, as well as the sheds meant to give shelter, during winter, to the numerous flocks and herds of these pastoral people.

“ Each proprietor has his own mark, which is burnt into the thighs of horses, oxen, and dromedaries, and painted with colours on the wool of sheep. The latter are kept near the owner’s habitation, but the other species, united in herds, are, towards the spring, driven to the plains, where they are left at large till the winter. At the approach of this season, they seek and drive them to their sheds, and this search was the business of the Noguais we had met.

“ What is most singular, in this search, is, that the Tartar employed in it has always an extent of plain, which, from one valley to another, is ten or twelve leagues wide, and more than thirty long, yet does not know which way to direct his search, nor troubles himself about it. He puts up in a little bag, six pounds of the flour of roasted millet, which is sufficient to last him thirty days. This provision made, he mounts his horse, stops not till the sun goes down, then clogs the animal, leaves him to graze, sups on his flour, goes to sleep, awakes, and continues his route. He neglects not, however, to observe, as he rides, the mark of the herds he happens to see. These discoveries he communicates to the different Noguais he meets, who have the same pursuits, and, in his turn, receives such indications, as help to put an end to his journey. It is certainly to be feared that a people so patient, may, one day, furnish formidable armies.

“ The end of our first day’s jour-

ney was fixed for the nearest valley, at ten leagues distance. It was now near sun-set, and I saw nothing before me but a vast melancholy plain, when I suddenly felt my carriage descend, and beheld a file of obas, or tents, to the right and left, extending farther than I could see. We crossed the rivulet over a bad bridge, near which I found three of these obas out of the line, and one of them intended for my use. The carriages were placed behind, and the detachment took up its quarters just by me.

“ My first care was to examine the whole of a picture, of which my party formed a separate group. I particularly remarked the solitude in which we were left, and was the more astonished at it, because I supposed myself an object that in such a place might well have excited curiosity. The mirza had left me, on our arrival, to go and demand provisions; while I, in the mean time, examined the construction of my Tartarian house. It was a large kind of hen-coop, the paling of which was in a circular form, and over this was a dome open at the top. A felt of camel-hair enveloped the whole, and a piece of this same felt was thrown over the hole in the centre, which served to give vent to the smoke. I observed also, that the obas, inhabited by the Tartars, and in which there was a fire kindled, had each of them this same piece of felt, fastened in form of a banner, directed towards the wind, and sustained by a long pole, which projected out of the oba. This same pole also served to lower the felt, and shut the vent-hole, when the fire, being extinguished, rendered its remaining open useless or incommodious.

“ I particularly admired the solidity and delicacy of the paling, which

which was connected by slips of raw hides ; and I learnt that my tent, destined for a young bride, was a part of her marriage portion.

“ We were very hungry, and were glad to see the mirza return with two sheep and a kettle, which he had procured. They suspended the kettle to the centre of three sticks, set up in the form of a pyramid ; and the kitchen thus established, the mirza, the officer, and some Tartars, proceeded to kill and dissect the sheep : some filled the kettle, while others prepared spits to roast what there was not room to boil. I had taken care to bring bread with me from Kichela. This is a luxury with which the Noguais are unacquainted. Their avarice also forbids them the habitual use of meat, although they are very fond of it. My curiosity made me wish to know their manner of living, and to add some of their dishes to the good cheer they were preparing. I informed the mirza of this whim, who smiled, and dispatched a Tartar, with orders to satisfy my curiosity.

“ The man soon returned with a vessel full of mare’s milk, a small bag of the flour of roasted millet, some white balls about as big as an egg and as hard as chalk, an iron kettle, and a young Noguai, tolerably well dressed, the best cook of the horde. I diligently observed his proceedings : he first filled his kettle three parts full of water, putting in about two pints ; to this he added six ounces of his meal. His vessel he placed near the fire, drew a spatula from his pocket, wiped it upon his sleeve, and turned his liquid all one way, till it began to simmer. He then demanded one of his white balls (they were cheese made of mare’s milk, saturated with salt, and dried) broke it

in small bits, threw them into his ragout, and again began to turn. His mess thickened, he still turning, though at last with effort, till it became of the consistence of dough : he then drew away his spatula, put it again in his pocket, turned the mouth of his kettle on his hand, and presented me with a cylinder of paste in a spiral form. I was in haste to eat of it, and was really better pleased with this ragout than I had expected. I likewise tasted the mare’s milk, which perhaps I should have found equally good, could I have divested myself of prejudice.

“ While I was thus occupied concerning my supper, a much more interesting scene was preparing for exhibition. I before observed, that the Noguais, at my arrival, retired each to his hut, without shewing any curiosity to see me ; and I had pacified my vanity on this head, when I perceived a considerable company advancing towards us. The order and slowness of their motions, deprived us of all apprehensions on their parts, though we did not suspect their motives for this visit. When they were about four hundred paces distant they stopped, and one of them advancing to the mirza, my conductor, informed him of the desire which the principal people of his tribe had to see us ; adding, that unwilling, in the least, to trouble our repose, he had been deputed to ask whether this curiosity would give me offence ; and if not, how far they might come, without exposing me to the least inconvenience.

“ I answered the ambassador myself, and assured him they were welcome to mingle with us, for that, among friends, there was no distinction of place, much less a precise boundary. The Noguai insisted

ed on the orders he had received, and the mirza rose to indicate how near they might approach, to which limits this curious company soon came. I did not fail to meet, in order to observe them the nearer, and procure myself the pleasure of being acquainted with these good folks. When I came within a certain distance, they all rose, and the most remarkable of them, to whom I addressed myself, saluted me by taking off his bonnet, and inclining his body.

“ The same ceremony had been observed, by their deputy, to the mirza, at which I was the more surprised, because the Turks never uncover the head, except for their own ease; and that, when they are alone, or in company with their most intimate friends. It is for this reason that European ambassadors, and their attendants, go to the audiences of the grand seignior with their heads covered; for, to present themselves otherwise before a Turk, would be a want of respect. I shall have other more important remarks to make relative to the similarity of customs between us and the Tartars.

“ The little information I gained from my Noguais, was owing, no doubt, to the want of asking them proper questions. The satisfaction, however, which novelty always brings, made the close of this day agreeable enough. I reconciled myself very well to my supper; but as to my people, Tartarian cookery owed all its success with them to their great hunger, which finds every thing good. They understood not the doctrine of amusing themselves with their wants, and I was apparently the object of their lamentations. But I perceived they only wished my personal ease, that they might acquire the right of

freely bewailing their own individual privations. By faring as they did only could I silence them; and I give this receipt to all travellers, as the best they can follow.

“ No people are more abstemious: millet and mare's milk are their habitual food, and yet they are exceedingly carnivorous. A Noguais might wager that he would eat a whole sheep, and gain his bet, without danger of indigestion. But their appetites are restrained by their avarice, which is so great, that they generally debar themselves of every thing they can sell. If any accident kill one of their cattle, they then, only, regale upon his flesh; and this not unless they find it time enough to bleed the dead animal. They follow this precept of Mahomet, likewise, with respect to beasts that are distempered: they carefully observe each stage of the disease, that they may seize the moment when, their avarice condemned to lose the value of the beast, their appetite may still afford them some consolation, by killing it an instant before its natural death.

“ The fairs of Balta, and others established on their frontiers, are the emporiums to which they annually bring their immense flocks and herds. The corn they grow in such abundance, finds a ready vent by the Black Sea, as well as their fleeces, whether they consist of the whole produce of their flocks, or only the pelades. To these objects of commerce are added some bad hides, and great quantity of hare-skins.

“ These different articles, united, annually produce the Tartars considerable sums, which they only receive in ducats of gold, Dutch or Venetian: but the use they make of these annihilates every idea of wealth, which such numerical enormity

mity presents. Constantly augmenting, without turning any part of their store into circulation, avarice seizes and engulfs these treasures, while the plains in which they are buried affords not the least indication or guide to future research. The numerous Nougais who have died, without telling their secret, have already occasioned the loss of vast sums : hence it may be presumed these people are persuaded, that, were they forced to abandon their country, they might leave their money without losing their property. In fact, it

would be the same to them at five hundred leagues distance, since they only possess it in idea ; but this idea is so powerful among them, and so delightful, that a Tartar is frequently known to seize the object he covets for the sole pleasure of enjoying it a moment. Soon obliged to restore it, he is likewise obliged to pay a considerable fine ; but he has had his wish, and is satisfied. The avarice of a Tartar never stays to calculate eventual loss, but enjoys the momentary gain."

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The PRESENT STATE of EGYPT.

[ From the same Work, ]

" IF we consider it in relation to what constitutes the real power of a state, the politician will, perhaps, look with a kind of contempt on this great metropolis of the world, this nurse of every science and every art, now become a province of the feeblest of all empires. But the political philosopher will consider it in a light more worthy of his attention, should he discover, in the climate, production, and population of Egypt, the means by which it has been rendered so celebrated. These advantages, which ages cannot destroy, and which have resisted the greatest revolutions, will appear to him preferable to such as, like chemical compositions, are to be decomposed by the contrary process to that by which they were produced.

" Such have been, no doubt, those kingdoms, the memory of which has been preserved by history, though geography can now scarcely point out the situation of

their capitals. We shall perceive, that in Egypt, the greatest kings endeavoured to acquire fame, by labours useful for the cultivation of the country : with these they appeased that thirst for glory which, among other monarchs, was perpetually productive of violence and rapine.

" If so prodigious a lake as that of Mœris, may be supposed to be formed by the hands of men, the utility of this immense reservoir would be the greatest monument of the beneficence of the Pharaohs : but if the extent and depth of this lake leave some doubt as to its origin, none can be entertained with regard to that of the canals of Joseph, or Trajan, that of Alexandria, or those of Delta : they are visibly the work of human industry.

" The facility with which the country is watered, leaves no part of it uncultivated ; and the richness of the soil, by multiplying the harvest, maintains and animates the population. There is no country to

to be found in which it is more remarkable than in Egypt. Delta, the provinces of the East and West, and all those on each side of the Nile, quite up to the Tropic, are populous to an amazing degree. I have been told, that there are more than nine thousand villages and twelve hundred towns in Egypt. It is very certain, they are so near to each other, that having stopt at Mentoobes, below Fooa, I reckoned forty-two within sight; the farthest of which was not two leagues off.

“ Wherever the inundation can reach, there habitations are erected, on little hills, raised for that purpose, which serve for the common foundation of all the houses which stand together, and which are contrived to take up as little room as possible, that they may save all the ground they can for cultivation. This precaution is necessary to prevent the waters washing away the walls, which are only of mud.

“ The villages are always surrounded by an infinite number of pointed turrets, meant to invite thither the pigeons, in order to collect their dung. Every village has, likewise, a small wood of palm-trees near it, the property of which is common: these supply the inhabitants with dates for their consumption, and leaves for the fabrication of baskets, mats, and other things of that kind. Little causeways raised, in like manner, above the inundation, preserve a communication during the time it lasts.

“ The cities are all situated on the Nile, or the great canals; the houses in them are built of brick, several stories high, and in a taste like that in vogue with us during the reign of Francis the First. The palm-trees which surround them, and the vessels which line the banks

of the river, add to the beauty of their situation.

“ It is thus, by uniting agriculture with commerce, that all the cities of Egypt continually invite, encourage, and profit by the industry which encircles them: but the advantages which Cairo enjoys are not confined to the interests of Egypt. Its commerce embraces both the hemispheres, and its streets are continually crowded with camels, which bring the merchandises of Europe and the Indies, and piled with bales of goods from Madras and Marseilles; so that Cairo appears to be the centre of the world.

“ This city, called by the Arabs Misfir, is situated on the right side of the Nile, about half a league from the river. It is adjoining to the mountains of Arabia: at the eastern angle of these mountains the castle of Cairo is built. Boolac and Old Cairo form the suburbs: and if, when added to the city, we shall find assembled here not less than seven hundred thousand persons, we have then another proof of the great number of inhabitants in Egypt.

“ Cairo contains several squares, sufficiently spacious to invite and deserve decoration; such as the square of Lusbequia, that of Rome-lia, and that of the Great Mosque, named Sultan Hassan: but all the streets are narrow, ill-contrived, and badly paved. The palaces themselves, which contain such great wealth, have nothing in their exterior appearance suitable to the opulence of this city.

“ Enriched and occupied with the commerce of Egypt by the Nile, of Europe by the Mediterranean, and of Yemen and the Indies, by the Red Sea, this capital swallows up, besides, all the revenues of the great. Its subsistence, which ap-  
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pertains also to its commerce, augments its riches ; and the luxury which follows thence is increased to such a degree, that gold is esteemed common ; nor can the richest manufactures of India give satisfaction.

“ Whatever, in another state, could only be the effects of an administration well informed, and constantly guided by the most salutary principles, arises in Egypt from the nature of the soil. The riches of its productions satisfy the avidity of its tyrants, and defend the cultivators from their tyranny. The surplus of its corn, become absolutely necessary for Arabia-Felix, by furnishing its commerce with new and certain exchanges, affords its activity the most solid and independent basis. The principal ports of Egypt are Suez and Alexandria ; but it is not in these that we can judge of the importance of commerce. Where there are no political regulations, there cannot exist either individual companies, exclusive privileges, or subaltern monopoly ; commerce naturally finds its level ; it is seized on by credit, the cultivator is its associate ; and its agents receive wages.

“ The poverty of the cities I have just mentioned, may, without doubt, be referred to this principle ; they are only the hired agents of commerce. Suez, especially, is remarkable for the penury of its inhabitants. The Arabs have usurped the right of becoming the carriers of commerce, without renouncing that of plundering the merchants, as often as anarchy promises them impunity.

“ Besides the corn Egypt exchanges with Yemen, for the coffee with which Europe, but particularly Turkey, is supplied, rice, flax,

salt of natron, employed in the tanneries, sal ammoniac, useful for tin-work, fenna and saffranum for dying, and the most valuable gums and drugs, are objects of commerce equally important.

“ Sugar is the only article in which the industry of the Egyptians is confined to what is necessary for home consumption ; and the little powder-sugar, which is exported to Constantinople, gives no great idea of the goodness of that commodity, brought from the Higher Egypt and refined at Cairo.

“ Delta, likewise, produces a great quantity of sugar-canes ; but they are only cultivated for the pleasure of the inhabitants, who use them in their repasts.

“ A more useful branch of industry is that of the linen manufacture ; it is under no regulations, and extends as far as the cataracts ; as does the culture of indigo. In this burning climate, where no clothing is worn but a linen shirt, or frock, which is always dyed blue, the surplus of this manufacture affords another article for exportation. The coasts of Syria, and the whole inland country, quite up to Damascus, are supplied with salt from the pits of the Lower Egypt.

“ It is worthy observation, that foreign plants, brought into Egypt, degenerate to such a degree as to be incapable of reproduction. This is the case of indigo ; and, what is not less remarkable, is, that the fields of indigo, which are every year sown with fresh seeds, brought from Syria, furnish the Egyptians with a very fine dye, though this same plant is of much inferior quality in its original soil.

“ It is plain, from this remark, that the indigo of Syria should be trans-

transplanted, but that the richness of the soil, and heat of the sun, in Egypt, make that country a kind of hot-house, which damages the quality of the seed.

“ To this fertility and richness of the productions of Egypt, must be added a most salubrious air. We shall be more particularly struck with this advantage, when we consider, that Rosetta, Damietta, and Mansoorah, which are encompassed with rice-grounds, are much celebrated for the healthiness of their neighbourhood, and that Egypt is, perhaps, the only country in the world where this kind of culture, which requires stagnant waters, is not unwholesome. Riches are not there destructive to the lives of men.

“ The researches I have carefully made, concerning the plague, which I once believed to originate in Egypt, have convinced me, that it would not be so much as known there, were not the seeds of it conveyed thither by the commercial intercourse between Constantinople and Alexandria. It is in this last city that it always begins to appear; it but rarely reaches Cairo, though no precaution is taken to prevent it; and when it does, it is presently extirpated by the heats, and prevented from arriving as far as the Saide. It is likewise well known, that the penetrating dews, which fall in Egypt about midsummer, destroy, even in Alexandria, all remains of this distemper.

“ It is only upon the shores of the Mediterranean, to the distance of ten leagues, within land, that rain is known in Egypt; very rarely does it extend farther. At Cairo they have hardly two hours gentle rain in a whole year. The noise of thunder is never heard, and storms, so where frequent in E-

gypt, always discharge their fury on the deserts of Lybia and Arabia, where there is nothing to destroy. Thus, every thing concurs to confer on Egypt the most precious gifts of nature. Birds, of every kind, and of the most rare species, seem to hasten thither in flocks, to enjoy the beauties of the country, and add their various melody to the gaiety of its inhabitants.

“ The Nile offers a most interesting picture of this kind. The banks of this river, as well as those of all the canals, are crowded with vast numbers of peasants; continually employed in watering the country, either by their own labour, or the management of those animals which relieve it. An infinite number of draw-wells, worked with a wheel, are contrived for this purpose; the waters, which are raised, are poured into a channel, and distributed among the grounds, at a distance from the river, by various canals, which the industry and activity of the cultivator prepares, with intelligence and economy. Women, occupied with the care of their families, are seen carrying home water, for its use, in jars upon their heads; others wash their linen, bleach that which is newly made, spread it out, and give themselves up to that cheerfulness and gaiety, so natural to them on every occasion, making the air resound with their shrill voices, the ululatus of the Romans. The barges, which pass from one city to another, the boats employed in the conveyance of commodities, and the navigation which commerce maintains, add to the variety and motion of the scene.

“ This navigation is principally remarkable for the agility of the watermen, and the manner in which they

they convey the pottery-ware, made in the Higher Egypt. It will be necessary, before this is explained, to observe, that the earthen pans, made to preserve water, ought to be the bigger, the farther those for whose use they are intended dwell from the river; and as the inhabitants of the Lower Egypt reside at the greater distance, the potters, who dwell in the Higher, contrive, accordingly, the raft by which they convey their wares. The largest jars, fastened by their handles, form the first row of the raft; the middle-sized are placed next, and the least uppermost; the proprietor contrives for himself a convenient station, and, furnished with a long pole, commits himself to the course of the waters, without fearing running aground on a soft clay, which can do no damage. Thus he arrives at Delta, and soon gets rid of his pile of pottery, by the successive sale of all the materials of which it is composed.

“The Egyptians, naturally mild and timid, are also sprightly and temperate. All their actions partake of this character; they are terrified by the least accident, and familiarized by the smallest encouragement. The taste of this people for dancing, has introduced into Egypt female dancers, who have neither modesty nor reserve, and only please by the contrary extravagance.

“The Egyptians, were it not for the brownness of their tanned skins, would certainly have a fine complexion. Their persons are genteel and well shaped. Both the men and women swim like fish. Their clothing is only a blue shirt, which but indifferently conceals the pudency of the women; the men gird it round them, for convenience, while they labour; the chil-

dren always go naked, and I have seen girls, eighteen years old, still children, in that respect.

“Mahometanism is the principal religion of the Egyptians; but they have added to it an infinity of ceremonies, derived more from their own love of show than the precepts of the prophet. Fraternities of penitents, nocturnal processions with wax-candles, vestments proper for that kind of devotion, chantings and mournings at intervals, and the epulum fœrale, are so many practices which belong more to the superstition of their ancestors than the new law they have received.

“The Egyptians, notwithstanding, have less ferocity in their prejudices than the Turks, who have less superstition; the reason of which is, that these latter are proud, while the Egyptians are only weak. We may perceive, that the pomp which attends their ceremonies, is more regarded by them than the thing signified; and that their gaiety and licentiousness have more part in the pilgrimages they undertake, than the saint to whose honour they assemble.

“The most revered of these are the Iman Chafi, at Cairo, and the Iman of Tinta, a city situated in the centre of Delta. This last saint is called Sayd, Achmet, and Bedouit. In the month of July, more than two hundred thousand persons, from the Higher and Lower Egypt, throng to this tomb. Commerce, which turns every thing to its advantage, has established near it a considerable fair, where dancers and mountebanks are found, in plenty, during the time it lasts. Tinta then contains every thing which can contribute to the amusement of the pilgrims: and the sheik of the mosque of Sayd, Achmet,  
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and Bedouit, gathers an ample harvest, by at once making his advantage of the devotion of some, and the love of pleasure of a great many others.

“ Each city of Egypt has, likewise, its saint, its processions, and its diversions, which are frequented by those of the environs, and authorized by the government. It will be perceived, that the saint of the capital enjoys his privileges as a metropolitan, and that his tomb is never without custom. But the devotion of the women, more fervent in every country than that of the men, is not confined, in Egypt, to the invocation of the dead; and as knaves are always encouraged by dupes, there are to be found, at Cairo, many saints in perfect health, to whom they prefer paying their addresses.

“ These predestinated persons take their station at the door, or in the court of the mosques; where, extended on a ragged mat, they seem lost in extasy, and in possession of the joys of paradise, while this appearance of beatitude inspires veneration. Others, to give themselves more importance, walk, gravely, through the street, only covered with a long white woollen tunic. They preach up a contempt for riches, of which they insolently demand a share, and prophesy continually the end of the world.

“ One of these Egyptian saints afforded a proof, that the habit of deceiving others may, at last, lead us to deceive ourselves. This impostor had worked himself up to such a pitch of enthusiasm, as to declare to the people, that, on such a certain day, and hour, he would cross the Nile, standing upright on his mat, only by pronouncing the name of God. Great numbers assembled on the banks of the river.

The saint presently sunk to the bottom, and his foolish followers, for fear of interrupting him in working his miracle, suffered him to be drowned without any assistance.

“ Humanity, though degraded, in Egypt, by these pious absurdities, is, at the same time, honoured by an unlimited foundation in favour of the blind; and it is on so enlarged a plan, that all the blind in Egypt are assembled at Cairo. This has given birth to the opinion, that this climate occasions blindness.

“ They reckon about four thousand, maintained by the mosque of sultan Hassan; and perhaps this number does not exceed that of other countries, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants. It must, however, be allowed, that in Egypt, the class of individuals who are accustomed to lie in the streets, or on the terraces of houses, are particularly subject to this misfortune. A cold dew, which falls during the night, makes the eyelids tender, and disposes them to ulcerate with the heat of the day. But the sight of those who lie under cover, does not suffer so much as it would by intemperance in other climates.

“ After having considered the monuments of Egypt, the serenity of its sky, its population, the industry of its inhabitants, and the riches of its productions, nothing remains but to cast an eye of contempt on its government.

“ Georgian children, brought and sold in Egypt, replace those who die out of ten or twelve thousand Mamalukes. This small number furnishes the beys, their tyrants, the subaltern officers, more cruel than their masters, and the troops, who execute and aggravate their barbarous orders.

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“ From an examination of the Canons, or Code, of Sultan Selim, it may be presumed, that prince rather capitulated with the Mamalukes, than obtained a complete conquest of Egypt. It is plain, that he left the government of the kingdom to the four-and-twenty beys, and only endeavoured to balance their authority by that of a pacha, whom he appointed governor-general and president of the council. This power subsisted as long as the Porte could afford assistance to its officers; but the decay of its strength soon obliged it to endeavour, by dividing the beys, to maintain itself against their encroachments. Thus, by always taking part with the weakest side, the Turks have continually created themselves new enemies; and these frequent errors have reduced the word pacha to a mere title, to which the Mamalukes sometimes pay homage, but always keep him, by whom it is possessed, in close confinement.”

# CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

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## Of the INVENTION of LANGUAGE.

[From Mr. GREGORY's Essays, Historical and Moral.]

“**P**HILOSOPHERS, whose curiosity has not been active enough to overcome their aversion to labour, have been fond of attributing to a Divine revelation the invention of language. This, it must be confessed, is a very concise method of getting rid of the difficulty; but since it can only serve to repress the free spirit of inquiry, I hope to stand excused if I profess myself discontented with this pious solution, and, with no ill intention, presume to extend a little farther my researches.

“It is not enough to say, that we have no authority from Scripture for ascribing the invention of language directly to the Supreme Being; we have its authority to assert, that at least a considerable part of the first language was of human production, for “Adam gave names to the different creatures. Should the miraculous confusion of language at Babel be adverted to, I reply, that it is impossible to say what was the nature of that confusion; whether it consisted in the invention of new terms, or in the improper use of the old. The miracle at Babel might be only a temporary confusion, sufficient to set aside that use-

less and absurd undertaking: and it is more natural to suppose, that the consequent dispersion of mankind was the effect of dissensions occasioned by having misunderstood each other, than that they could not live together, because they did not all continue to speak the same language.

“The origin of language, as well as of mankind, is a subject necessarily involved in much obscurity. The most ancient traditions favour the hypothesis, which derives languages as well as nations from an original or primitive stock. A whimsical experiment was made in Egypt, by which it was thought to be determined, that the Phrygians were the most ancient people. Two infants were taken from society, before they had an opportunity of learning any articulate sound: they were carefully observed, in order to find in what language they would begin to express themselves; and the first word that they pronounced was *βῆκος* (*bekos*) the Phrygian word for bread. The experiment was absurd, the result was probably accidental, and the fact only serves to prove what were the opinions of the Egyptians upon these subjects, and that they favoured

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ed the hypothesis of a primitive language. A more decisive argument is deduced from the very striking analogy that has been traced between the languages of nations the most remote from each other. Herodotus, indeed, relates, that even at a very early period, the Scythians and the other nations of the North with the utmost difficulty understood each other, and that the language of one of those nations could only be made intelligible to another through seven interpreters. It is certain, notwithstanding, that many languages appear almost totally different, the radicals of which are, for the most part, the same; and, as there is no reason to suppose the original language very copious at the first dispersion of mankind, the different dialects would be diverging from it, in proportion as new inventions or improvements demanded an augmentation of each national vocabulary.

“ The hypothesis, however, of a primitive language will not be found inconsistent with the theory, which I shall endeavour to establish; since it is my intention to demonstrate, not only how such a language might be at first invented, but by what means successive alterations might be introduced, both to augment and disguise it.

“ It is the opinion of a modern author, that a perfect language must be the effect of art, constructed upon certain principles, and *a priori* reasoning. The Greek he asserts to be this perfect language, and labours with much ingenuity to prove that it was framed by rule, and delivered by its inventors at once complete for popular use. To such a conjecture (for the total want of evidence to the fact leaves it barely such), it may be replied;

that to force a language on a people, or to alter entirely, and at once, the dialect of a country, has generally been considered as a visionary project; that the many anomalies of the Greek language, though confessedly the most beautiful and most perfect extant, and the number of words which are evidently derived from other languages, make directly against such an opinion; that, in fine, the great number of particles and conjunctions, and the variety in the inflexions of the verbs, of which the second aorist and second future are certainly redundancies, argue, that the Greek is in reality a composition of several different dialects.

“ But though it be not admitted that an united body of philosophers could, in the early stages of society, meet and adapt a language to common use; there is a certain uniformity in the operations of the human mind, which affords an appearance of art, where nature, or occasional convenience, have acted without regard to system. It is remarked that, in those languages which have been least corrupted by a communication with others, the radical sounds are few, and the bulk of the language is plainly formed by composition: there is an appearance of art, because there is an appearance of regularity; but it is the regularity of nature. The means which the philosopher prefers for ease, the savage adopts through the weakness of his reasoning powers. An ingenious projector published a plan, not many years ago, for a philosophical language. His plan was, to adopt a few vowel sounds to denote the genera, and the different species were to be distinguished by different modes of composition. Who would look for the execution of this inge-

nious and systematic process at Otaheite? Yet such has been in a great measure undesignedly the case. In the language of Otaheite *ai* signifies *to eat*, or to satisfy the first appetite of human nature; *eai* signifies *to copulate*, or to satisfy another appetite; *aiya* signifies *to catch fish*, *aiya*, *to steal* or *rob*—all of them alluding to the satisfaction of wants and appetites. In the same language *e-wai* signifies *water*; *avai*; *the foot*: whence we may venture to conclude, that the radical *wai* or *wai* signifies something *beneath* or *under* us. This kind of regularity in composition, notwithstanding the variety introduced from the different dialects, is very observable in the Greek, and undoubtedly induced lord Monboddo to suppose it a language of art.

“ In pursuance of what has been premised, and consistently with what is to follow, I will venture to propose it as the basis of my theory, that language is altogether a human invention; and that the progress of the mind, in the invention and improvement of language, is, by certain natural gradations, plainly discernible in the composition of words. The first men would probably make known their wants and desires, in a great measure, by inarticulate sounds, actions, and gestures; in process of time, particular sounds would be usually annexed to particular ideas; and these sounds would become articulate, by uniting two or more of them together, for instance, the thing or action with the manner or the time in which it existed or was performed—Thus Do (I give) Do-di or Dedi (I have given).

“ The sources of language are, first, those natural cries, which serve to express pain or pleasure, and which generally accompany any

strong passion or emotion; and secondly, imitative sounds.

“ The primitive parts of speech appear to be, 1. Noun. 2. Verb. 3. Interjection. The derivative, 4. the adjective, 5. the pronoun, 6. the adverb, 7. the conjunction, 8. the preposition, 9. the article.

“ I. The names of sensible objects are derived, first, from those emotions, which the perception of them excites, whether painful or pleasant, and the natural cries correspondent to them. Secondly, from those sounds, which accompany certain actions of nature, and which men, endeavouring to describe, would be induced to imitate; such are *buzz*, *murmur*; of which there are numberless instances in all languages, and particularly in the Greek. Thirdly, from a certain analogy between objects of sight and of hearing. A craggy rock, or a rapid torrent (considered as an object of sight) associate naturally with a broken and harsh sound. Quick and violent motion affects the senses in a correspondent manner; and, in describing it, men involuntarily adopt a hasty and violent enunciation, often accompanied with much action. Fourthly, (in process of time, and when language is considerably improved) from composition, as *daisy* (the flower) from *day's eye*; *nightingale* from *night*, and *galan* (to sing); with many more obvious. Fifthly, from contractions of participles, &c. as *dawn* from *daying*.

“ It is highly probable, that, in many cases, common names have been adopted from proper names; or, in other words, the names distinguishing the relations of civil life, were probably at first the names of individuals. Thus, in the first language, the word answerable to our

our word *father*, was perhaps derived from the name of one of the first fathers of the tribe or family. *Ἀναξ* (*Anax*) *βασιλεὺς* (*basileus*) &c. were perhaps the proper names of the founders of monarchies, as Ptolemy and Cæsar. In a more advanced state of language, these nouns are formed from the verbs denoting the office or employment, as *rex* from *rexi*, *imperator* from *impero*, &c.

“ The proper names of men anciently related to some peculiarity in their persons or manners, or the place where they dwelt, as *πλατὼν* (*Plato*) to *πλατύς* (*platus*) *broad*, from being broad-shouldered. Names are common, in most parts of Europe, originally derived from trees, as *Joze de Perreira*, i. e. *Joseph* who lives near the *pear-tree*. Men afterwards acquired names from some notable action or occurrence; such was the *agnomen* and frequently the *cognomen* of the Romans. What Herodotus relates of a people, who were without proper names, is utterly improbable.

“ Proper names of countries are commonly derived from the situation or the productions of the soil, as Europe from *Εὐρύς* (*Eurûs*, *broad* or *extended*) and *ὤψ* (*ops*, the *face* or *aspect*).

“ The names of months in Lapland are taken from the plants or animals that appear in them. In Otaheite, they are derived from the characteristics of the season. The name of the first month (March) means *hunger* and *want*; that of the fourth month (June) relates to *angling*; the eighth month (October) is named from the *young cocoa-nuts*.

“ The ancients used sometimes to translate proper names into their own language; and hence that diversity of names for the same place or person, which has proved no

small difficulty in the researches of the learned.

“ The words expressing the faculties of the mind are all of them taken from sensible images, as *δική* (*dikê*) judgment, from *dis* (*dis*) and *κεῖν* (*keo*) *to cleave in two*. *Fancy*, from *φάντασμα* (*phantasma*) &c. The words applicable to bodily motion also, have generally been applied to the acts of the mind. *ἔργον* has always been used to express the mode of attaining one's end or desire; *πορός* (*poros*) and *μεθόδος* (*methodos*) were used in this sense by the Greeks. In Otaheite, they call the *thoughts*, the *words of the belly*: a *covetous man* is called *tahata-pirrepirre*; and it should seem they had in their minds the idea of *narrowness*, or *gluing and sticking together*, when they formed the word; for *e-pirre*, we are informed, has that signification.

“ II. After giving names to sensible objects, words were necessary to signify the state in which things exist, whether as agent or patient, and how they act or are acted upon.

“ Verbs were, I doubt not, invented entirely in the same manner as nouns, and most of them, I apprehend, were imitations of the sounds that particular actions of nature produce. This analogy is still retained in many languages, under innumerable corruptions and variations in orthography and pronunciation.

“ In the maturity of language, verbs, like nouns, are formed by composition. as *gain-say*, i. e. *to say against*.

“ III. The interjection is plainly no other than the simple inarticulate expression of a passion. Interjections were more numerous in the Greek and most of the ancient languages than they are in the modern; and I believe they are still  
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more numerous in the very barbarous languages. Their signification, while they remain as pure interjections, is indefinite; but if I am not mistaken, during the progressive state of language, many words, which were originally mere interjections, assume a definite signification; and they prove a fruitful source for the augmentation of language, by thus becoming in time classed among the other parts of speech.

“ IV. The first adjectives were probably the names of substances, in which the qualities denoted by the adjectives were predominant; or some slight alteration of the name might take place for distinction's sake: specimens of this kind of composition we have in many adjectives of modern invention, such as *beastly*, *roguish*, &c.

“ V. The personal and demonstrative pronouns, and particularly that of the second person, seem to have been, in most languages, a kind of interjectional words, possibly used by savages even before proper names. It is evident, that using the proper name would not explain their meaning to strangers, at least must render it very ambiguous. We may therefore conclude, that these interjectional expressions usually accompanied some gesture, such as pointing to the object.

“ The relative pronoun is derived from the demonstrative.

“ VI. Adverbs seem to be principally produced from three sources. First, from a species of interjection, denoting an impulse of the mind, as *now*, *then*, *here*, *not*, &c. Secondly, from a composition of two or three words into one, as *always*, *without*, *together*, &c. Thirdly, from adjectives, by adding a syllable void of signification itself, but which serves to denote that the word has chang-

ed its state into that of an adverb, as *great-ly*, *manifest-ly*, &c. Not that we are to suppose, that the augmentative syllable was originally without meaning; on the contrary, I am of opinion, that in all languages it is a contraction of some word that denoted similitude or participation. Our adverbial augment *ly* was originally *like*; as *greatly*, i. e. *great-like*. The most common augment in Greek *ως*, has a similar meaning.

“ Possibly what are called the primitive adverbs, and which I have supposed originally interjections, might be traced into other parts of speech. Certain words, which, in the French language, are mistaken for negative particles, are not properly so; nor is the rule of universal grammar, that two negatives make an affirmative, departed from in this instance. *Pas* and *point* have originally the sense of nouns, and were used only to strengthen the negative, as *Je n'irai pas*, *I will not go a step*.

“ VII. There are some barbarous languages almost without conjunctions. Indeed it is plain that they must have been a very late invention, for a living author has traced most of the English conjunctions into the pronoun and the verb. He demonstrates that the conjunction *that* is no other than the neuter article *ðat* of the Saxons, or indeed our relative neuter *that*. *If* is the imperative *ȝif* of the Saxon verb *ȝifan* (to give). In like manner he derives *an* from *an*, the imperative of *anan* (*anan*) *to grant*; *yet* from *ȝet*, the imperative of *ȝetan* (*getan*) *to get*; *though* (more properly pronounced by our clowns *thof* or *thauf*) from *ðaf* (*thaf*) or *ðafȝ*, the imperative of *ðafian* or *ðafȝan*, *to allow*. *Less* is the participle *leȝed* of *leȝan* (*leȝan*) *to diminish*.

“ VIII

“ VIII. Possibly prepositions were, at first, short interjectional words, such as our carters and shepherds make use of to their cattle, to denote the relations of place. Or perhaps a more skilful linguist and antiquary may be able to trace them from other words, as the conjunctions have been traced by the learned author above mentioned.

“ Many prepositions are evidently formed by composition, as, *between*; *besides*, that is, *being* or *existing* at *the side* or *near*.

“ IX. The definitive article, in all the languages with which I have any acquaintance, is formed from the demonstrative pronoun *this*, *hic*, or *ille*. The Greek article *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *το*, may appear to be derived immediately from the relative *ὅς*; but I think both are very evidently no other than the demonstrative *αὐτός*, reduced by a kind of contraction very common in words much in use.

“ The Spanish article *el*, *la*, and *lo*, and the Italian, *il*, *la*, are evidently the Latin, *ille*. The French *le*, is apparently derived from either the Spanish or Italian.

“ Our *the* is an easy corruption from this. Perhaps in common speech the *s* might be left out before consonants, and the *i* pronounced short, which would reduce it almost immediately to our definite article. The Lowland Scots, who continue to speak a dialect of the old English, make use of a similar ellipsis, commonly using *the* for the plural *these*.

“ The most probable etymology of our indefinite article *a* is, that it is a contraction of *any*, as seems to be implied by the form which it assumes before a vowel, *an*.

“ Such appears to have been the origin of the several species of words

which have been distinctly marked by grammarians. Those variations in termination, which were adopted in order to denote the states and relations of certain parts of speech, constitute the next object which presents itself for investigation.

“ The plural of nouns is frequently marked by rude nations by a repetition of the singular. I have seen a letter from an African chief to his correspondent in England, during the late war. The man had learned to speak and even to write a little English; but, probably following the idiom of his own language, he complains of the merchants, that they had lately sent no *ship ship*, at which he wonders very much, for that they had plenty of *slave slave* very cheap, &c. I am not able to account for the formation of the plural upon any other principle than that, on which I account for the formation of the other states or cases.

“ The terminations, which serve to mark the cases of nouns in the ancient languages, I have no doubt were originally petty words, equivalent to our prepositions, only placed after, instead of before, the noun; and which in conversation, and before the language became stationary in writing, being constantly added to nouns to denote their states and relations, became, after the invention of writing, part of the noun.

“ The distinguishing of the genders by the termination is a refinement much farther removed from common practice: indeed, many languages have never arrived at it; nor is it quite impossible that it may have been accidental. This idiom, as I may call it, has its inconveniences. It has led to strange misapplications of gender in the Latin; and we find that the French lan-



language has entirely lost the use of the neuter, probably from this circumstance.

“ The inflexions of verbs originated from the practice of compounding the radical word with particles and auxiliaries : the persons were probably distinguished by the addition of a pronoun ; and I think this might be demonstrated by a nice examination into the etymology of the pronouns, and due consideration in what manner they might be corrupted, when compounded with verbs.

“ The personal inflexions might be dispensed with (as in some barbarous languages) provided the nominative case always stood immediately before the verb ; but as this was found to be frequently inconsistent with convenience, as well as with elegance, the inflexion of the verb became necessary, to avoid ambiguity. The Greek and Latin languages possess greater accuracy in this respect than any I know, which enabled their authors to use greater liberty of transposition, and even on some occasions wholly to omit the personal pronouns.

“ The personal inflexions serve to mark distinctly the agent : but there is a more material circumstance to be defined by the inflexion of the verb, and that is, time ; as a thing may exist at one moment in a state different from that which it will exist in the next. But since it would be neither necessary nor convenient always to specify the direct point of time, a few general divisions took place, and these are more or less in number, in proportion as the language was more or less formed when it became stationary in writing.

“ The general divisions of time, that we know to be capable of being distinctly marked by inflexions

of the verb, are, 1. The present, *I am reading*. 2. The perfect past, *I have read*, or *have done reading*. 3. The future, *I am about to read*. 4. The aorist (or indefinite) of the present, of use in general assertions, as, *I read frequently*. 5. The aorist of the past, *I read*, or *did read*. 6. The aorist of the future, *I shall read*. 7. The imperfect, *I was reading*. 8. The plusquam-perfect (or the more than perfectly past) i. e. was past at a definite point of time, as, *I had read Homer, before I saw Mr. Pope's translation*. 9. The future-perfect (or the after-future) which is to the future what the plusquam-perfect is to the past, as, *I shall have read the book, before you will want it*.

“ I know no language that distinguishes all these divisions of time by the inflexions of the verb. The Greek approaches nearest to perfection in this point ; but it has no present aorist, and is very incorrect in the use of the second aorist and second future, which, notwithstanding the apologies of some ingenious writers, I am still inclined to think redundant : most probably they may be the antiquated tenses. The Latin wants an aorist of the present, a definite future, and a paulo-post-futurum, or future-perfect. The reader will see by the above statement of the tenses, that we have only two inflexions to denote the times, viz. those of the present and the past ; the rest is performed by auxiliaries ; and after all, it is with difficulty that we avoid confounding the present with the aorist of the present ; e. g. *A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance*.

“ To trace the formation of the Greek tenses would be very difficult : the Latin is a less complex language, and in it we can trace them



them with more certainty. In the auxiliary verb *sum*, it appears that the three principal tenses have been originally different verbs; *sum*, *fui*, *ero* (whence I suppose *eram*). The tenses of the regular verbs are evidently formed by compounding these with the radical verb; as, *amabam*, in all probability it was formerly *ama-ram*; *ama-vi*, at first it was probably *ama-fui*, which would easily soften into *amavi*; *amaveram*, or *amavi-eram*; *amabo*, or *ama-ro*, corrupted like the imperfect. This species of composition is still more plainly exemplified in what we call the irregular verb *possum*. *Pos-sum*, that is, *potens-sum*; *pot-ui*, or *potens-fui*; *pot-ero*, or *potens-ero*: the formation of the other tenses is evident. The two tenses of our auxiliary, *am* and *was*, appear also to have been originally different verbs. Perhaps the Greek augment is derived from the past tense of *εἶμι*, *ἦν*, or *ἦ*; the only difference is, that it is prefixed, instead of being postfixed as with the Latins.

“ Besides the circumstance of time, there are two other circumstances of which verbs ought to inform us, and those are, actuality and contingency: whether a thing really exists, or there is only a possibility of its existence; whether an action be really done, or is only commanded or wished to be done. Hence those inflexions, which are called moods (mode or manner of existence), of which all that we have seen are, the indicative, the subjunctive (or contingent), the imperative, and the optative.

“ The indicative denotes the thing or action as it really is; and is the verb in its primitive state, only subject to the temporal inflexions.

“ I can give no better account

of the contingent mood, than supposing it formed by the addition of some particle, and a consequent contraction. The subjunctive of the Latins was probably made by adding to the indicative *em*, from the Greek particle *εἰ*, *ἴ* (*si*, or *if*), as *ama-em*, *amem*, &c. Where there are two forms of conjugation, perhaps the antiquated form is adopted to signify contingencies only. This is evidently the case in our own language; as, Indic. *I am*; Subj. *I be*, or *if I be*. I am inclined to think the Greek subjunctive came into use in the same manner.

“ I have little doubt that what is called the imperative mood is no other than a corruption of the indicative or subjunctive, by an iteration of the pronoun, as *amas-te*, which by use came to *amate* or *amato*, and afterwards by ellipsis to *ama*.

“ I know but one language that has an optative mood. In Greek the verb *οἶμαι* (*oimai*) anciently signified *to wish*, and it is compounded with all the tenses of the optative mood, as *τῦπτομαι* (*tuptoimi*), &c.

“ The infinitive mood is to verbs what the abstract noun is to adjectives. It conveys a particular idea of the action, which may be generally applied. Thus the idea which the word *whiteness* conveys is, that of some particular *white body*; the idea which the word *to eat* conveys is, that of some animal in the action of eating.

“ The Greeks formed their infinitive directly into a noun, by prefixing the neuter article *το*. The Latins conformed theirs to the manner of a noun; and their gerunds and supines appear to have been formed by imitating the cases of nouns, and endeavouring to adapt the

the verb to their regimen. Thus the verb in the infinitive sometimes represents a nominative case, as, *Scire tuum nihil est*, &c. When the verb stood in the place of the object, they frequently conformed it to the rule of the accusative, as, *Eo amatum*. *Amandi* corresponds to the genitive case of the noun, *amando* to the ablative.

“ The participles are adjectives formed from the verb, and are probably a late invention. It is unne-

cessary to enlarge on them in this place; since I am not writing a grammar, but a sketch of the history of language.

“ The passive voice is evidently a late invention, and the middle voice a refinement still farther removed from common practice, almost peculiar indeed to the Greeks. The passive in Greek is plainly formed by the addition of *εται* to the participle.”



## OF HOMER, AND HIS WORKS.

[ From the Observer. ]

“ **W**HEN the human genius was more matured and better qualified by judgment and experience, and the thoughts, instead of being hurried along by the furious impulse of a heated fancy, began to take into sober contemplation the worldly actions of men, and the revolutions and changes of human events, operating upon society, the poet began to prepare himself by forethought and arrangement of ideas for the future purposes of composition. It became his first business to contrive a plan and groundwork for the structure of his poem: he saw that it must have uniformity, simplicity, and order, a beginning, a middle, and an end; that the main object must be interesting and important, that the incidents and accessory parts must hinge upon that object, and not wander from the central idea, on which the whole ought to rest; that a subject corresponding thereto, when elevated by language, superior to the phrase and dialogue of the vulgar, would constitute a work more orderly and better constructed, than what arose

from the sudden and abrupt effusions of unpremeditated verse.

“ In this manner Homer, the great poet of antiquity, and the father and founder, as I must think, of epic poetry, revolving in his capacious mind the magnificent events of the Grecian association for the destruction of Troy, then fresh in the tradition, if not in the memories, of his contemporaries, planned the great design of his immortal Iliad. With this plan arranged and settled in his thoughts beforehand, he began to give a loose to the force and powers of his imagination in strains and rhapsodies, which by frequent recitation fixed upon his memory, and, as he warmed with the advancing composition, he sallied forth in search of hearers, chaunting his verses in the assemblies and cities that received him; his fancy working out those wonderful examples of the sublime, as he took his solitary migrations from place to place. When he made his passages by sea, and committed himself to the terrors of the ocean, the grandest scenes in nature came under

der his view, and his plastic fancy, seizing every object that accorded to its purposes, melted and compounded it into the mass and matter of the work, on which his brain was labouring: thus with nature in his eye, inspiration at his heart, and contemplation ever active, secured by solitude against external interruption, and undisturbed by worldly cares and concerns from within, the wandering bard performed what time has never equalled, and what to all posterity will remain the standard of perfection—*Hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superaverit: idem latus ac pressus, jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis; nec poetica modo sed oratoria virtute eminentissimus*—Quintil. lib. x. “Him no one ever excelled in sublimity on great topics, in propriety on small ones; whether diffused or compressed, gay or grave, whether for his abundance, or his brevity, he is equally to be admired; nor is he supereminent for poetical talents only, but for oratorical also.”

“There is no doubt but Homer composed other poems besides his *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, decidedly ascribes the *Margites* to Homer; but as to the *Ilias Minor* and the *Cypriacs*, though it is evident those poems were in his hands, yet he seems ignorant of their author; the passage I allude to will be found in the twenty-third chapter of his *Poetics*: he is comparing those two poems with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as furnishing subjects for the drama, and observes that the stage could not properly draw above one or at most two plots for tragedy from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* respectively; whereas many might be taken from the *Cypriacs*; and he enumerates to the amount of ten,

which might be found in the *Ilias Minor*. It is evident by the context, that he does not think either of these poems were composed by Homer, and no less evident that he does not know to whom they are to be ascribed; their high antiquity therefore is the only point which this celebrated critic has put out of doubt.

“The *Ilias Minor* appears to have been a poem, which includes the taking of Troy, and the return of the Greeks. The incidents of the *Æneid*, as far as they refer to the Trojan story, seem to have been taken from this poem, and in particular the episode of Sinon, which is amongst the dramatic subjects mentioned by Aristotle: the controversy between Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles was copied by Ovid from the same poem. If this work is not to be given to Homer, we must believe it was written since the *Iliad*, from the evidence of its title; but if the author's name was lost in Aristotle's time, his antiquity is probably little short of Homer's; some scholiasts have given this poem to Lesches; but when Lesches lived, and of what country he was, I find no account.

“The *Cypriacs* are supposed to contain the love-adventures of the Trojan ladies during the siege, and probably was a poem of fiction. Herodotus has an observation in his second book upon a passage in this poem, in which Paris is said to have brought Helen from Sparta to Troy in the space of three days; whereas Homer says they were long driven about on their voyage from place to place. From this want of correspondence in a fact of such consequence, Herodotus concludes upon fair grounds of criticism, that Homer was not author of the *Cypriacs*, though Pindar ascribes it to him.

him. Some give the Cypriacs to Hegeſias of Salamis, others to Staſinus, a poet of Cyprus, and ſome to Homer's daughter, married to Staſinus, to whom Homer is ſaid to have given this poem, actually written by himſelf, by way of portion; this daughter of Homer is called Arſephone, and his ſons Theriphon and Theolaus: Nævius tranſlated the Cypriacs into Latin verſe. Many more poems are aſcribed to Homer, which would be tedious to particularize; they are enumerated by Suidas, whom the reader, if his curioſity ſo inclines him, may readily conſult.

“As to any other information perſonally reſpecting this great poet, it has been given to the world ſo ably by the late Mr. Wood, in his Eſſay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer, that I can add nothing on the occaſion, except the humble recommendation of my judgment in its favour. The internal evidence, which this eſſayiſt adduces to fix the birth-place and early reſidence of his poet in Ionia or Ælia, is both learnedly collected and ſatisfactorily applied. He obſerves that Homer, in his general manner of deſcribing the geography of countries, ſpeaks of them as more or leſs diſtant in proportion to their bearing from Ionia; he deſcribes Zephyrus as a rude and boiſterous wind, blowing from Thrace: this circumſtance had been urged againſt Homer as a proof of his error in geography, and the ſoft and gentle quality of Zephyrus, ſo often celebrated by all poets in all times, is quoted in aid of the charge; but the ſagacity and local knowledge of Mr. Wood divert the accuſation, and turn it into an argument for aſcertaining the ſpot of Homer's nativity and reſidence, by reminding us, that when the poet

deſcribes the wind blowing from the Thracian mountains, upon the Cægean ſea, it muſt of courſe be a weſt wind in reſpect to Ionia, from which circumſtance he draws his conſequence that Homer was an Ionian. This argument muſt ſurely be ſatisfactory as to the place in which the poem was written; and when we have located Homer in Ionia, whiſt he was employed in writing his poem, we have one point of doubt at leaſt cleared up in his hiſtory to our conviction, and his accuracy in one branch of knowledge vindicated from the detraction of critics.

“Having eſtabliſhed this point, viz. that Homer was an Aſiatic Greek, inhabiting the ſea-coaſt, or an iſland on the coaſt of Ionia, and having vindicated his accuracy in geographical knowledge, the ingenious author of the Eſſays proceeds to ſhew, by way of corollary from his propoſition thus demonſtrated, that Homer muſt have been a great traveller; that geographical knowledge was in thoſe days no otherwiſe to be acquired; that he appears to have been thoroughly converſant in the arts of building and navigating ſhips, as then underſtood and practiſed; and that his map of Greece, which both Strabo, Apollodorus the Athenian, Menogenes and Demetrius of Scepsis, illuſtrated in ſo diffuſive a manner, puts it out of doubt, that he muſt have viſited the ſeveral countries, and ſurveyed them with attention, before he could have laid them down with ſuch geographical accuracy: certain it is, that ſo great was the authority of Homer's original chart, that it was a law in ſome cities that the youth ſhould learn it by heart; that Solon appealed to it for eſtabliſhing the right of Athens to Salamis in preference to the claims of the Megareſians; and that territorial pro-  
perty

perty and dominion were in several instances decided by referring to this Homeric chart. Another evidence of Homer's travels he derives from his lively delineations of national character, which he observes are marked with such precision, and supported throughout with such consistency, as not to allow us to think that he could have acquired such knowledge of mankind from any other source but his own observations.

“ It is more than probable Homer did not commit his poems to writing: it is mere conjecture whether that invention was actually in existence at the time he lived: there is nothing in his works that favours this conjecture, and in such a case silence is something more than negative. The retention of such compositions is certainly an astonishing effort of the human memory; but instances are not wanting of the like nature in early and uncivilized states, and the memory is capable of being expanded by habit and exercise to an extraordinary and almost unlimited compass. Unwritten compositions were always in verse; and metre was certainly used in aid of memory. It must not however be taken for a consequence that writing first came into use, when Pherecydes and Cadmus first composed in prose as some have imagined; for it undoubtedly obtained before their time, and was probably brought into Greece from Phœnicia.

“ The engraving of the laws of Draco is supposed to have been the first application of that art; but it was a work of labour, and required the tool of the artist, rather than the hand of the penman. Thales and Pythagoras left us no writings behind them, though they spread

their learning over Greece, and from their schools peopled it with philosophers. The unwritten drama was long in existence before any compositions of that sort were committed to writing. Solon's laws were engraved in wood or stone, and there appears to have been but one table of them. Of Lycurgus's regulations there was no written record; the mind of the judge was the depositary of the law. Draco published his laws in Olym. xxxix; Pisistratus died in Olym. lxxiii: a century had nearly passed between the publication of these laws and the first institution of a public library at Athens: great advances no doubt were made within that period in the art of writing; nevertheless it was by no means an operation of facility in Pisistratus's time, and this compilation of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey was a work of vast labour and of royal expence. The book remained at Athens as a princely monument of his munificence and love of letters. His library was resorted to by all men of science in Greece, but copies of the work were not circulated till the time of the Ptolemies: even Alexander of Macedon, when he had possessed himself of a complete copy of his favourite poet, locked it up in the rich chest, of which he had despoiled king Darius, as the most worthy case in which he could inclose so inestimable a treasure. When a copy of Homer was considered by a prince as a possession so rare, it cannot be supposed his written works were in many hands. As for the detached rhapsodies, which Lycurgus in more early times brought with him out of Asia, they must have been exceedingly imperfect, though it is to be presumed they were in writing.”

Of the ORIGINALITY of HOMER's EPIC, and of his TRANSLATOR, MR. POPE.

[ From the same Work. ]

“ **F**ROM the scarcity of transcribers in the time of Pisistratus, and the difficulties of collecting and compiling poems, which existed only in the memories of the rhapsodists, we are led to consider the institution of the Athenian library, as a most noble and important work : at the same time, when we reflect how many compositions of the earliest poets depended on the fidelity of memory, we cease to wonder that we have so many more records of names than of works. Many poets are enumerated antecedent to the time of Homer : some of these have been already mentioned, and very few indeed of their fragments are now in existence.

“ Conjecture, and even fiction, have been enviously set to work by grammarians and others within the Christian æra to found a charge of plagiarism against Homer, and to dispute his title to originality. We are told that Corinnus, who was a scholar of Palamedes, inventor of the Doric letters, composed a poem called the Iliad, whilst Troy was standing, in which he celebrates the war of Dardanus against the Paphlagonians, and that Homer formed himself upon his model, closely copying him. It is asserted by others, that he availed himself of the poems of Dictys the Cretan, who was of the family of Idomeneus, and lived in the time of the Trojan war : but these fables are still less probable than the story of his contest with Hesiod, and of the prize being decreed against him. Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, and Thamyras, all of Thrace ; Marfyas, Olympus, and

Midas, all of the Ionian side of the Meander, were poets antecedent to Homer : so were Amphion, Demodocus, Philammon, Phemius, Aristæus, author of the Arimaspeia, Isatides, Drymon, Asbolus the Centaur, Eumiclus the Cyprian, Horus of Samos, Prosnautis of Athens, and the celebrated Sybill.

“ The five poets, who are generally styled the masters of epic poetry, are Homer, Antimachus the Colophonian, Panyasis of Halicarnassus, Pisander of Camirus, and Hesiod of Cumæ : and all these were natives of the Asiatic coast.

“ Before I cease speaking of Homer, I cannot excuse myself from saying something on the subject of Mr. Pope's translation, which will for ever remain a monument of his excellence in the art of versification. It was an arduous undertaking, and the translator entered upon it with a candid confession that he was “utterly incapable of doing justice to Homer.” He also says, “that if Mr. Dryden had translated the whole work, he would no more have attempted Homer after him than Virgil, his version of whom (notwithstanding some human errors) is the most noble and spirited translation he knows in any language.” This is a declaration, that reflects as much honour on Mr. Pope, as it does on Mr. Dryden. Great as his difficulties were, he has nevertheless executed the work in such a manner as to leave stronger reasons why no man should attempt a like translation of Homer after him, than there were why he should not have undertaken it after Mr. Dryden.



Dryden. One thing above all surprises me in his execution of it, which is the catalogue of the ships; a difficulty that I should else have thought insurmountable in rhyme. This however he has accomplished in the smoothest metre, and a very curious poem it is. No farther attempt therefore remained to be made upon Homer, but of a translation in blank verse or in literal prose. A contemporary of eminence in the republic of letters has lately given a prose translation of the Iliad, though Mr. Pope had declared in his preface that "no literal translation can be just to an excellent original in a superior language." It is easy to see what Mr. Pope aims to obtain by this position; and we must interpret the expression of the word *just* to mean that no such literal translation can be equal to the spirit, though it shall be *just* to the sense of its original. He knew full well, that no translation in rhyme could be literal, and he was therefore interested to premise that no literal translation could be *just*. Whether he has hereby vindicated his own deviations from the sense of his author, and those pleonasm, which the shackles of rhyme have to a certain degree driven him into, and probably would have driven any other man much more, must be left with the classical reader to judge for himself. Some of this description, and in particular a learned lecturer in rhetoric, who has lately favoured the public with a collection of Essays, pro-

nounce of Mr. Pope's poem "that it is no translation of Homer." The same author points out the advantages of Miltonic verse; and it must be confessed that Miltonic verse seems to be that happy medium in metre, which stands the best chance of giving the compressed sense of Homer without debasing its spirit. It is a stern criticism to say that Mr. Pope's "is no translation of Homer:" his warmest admirers will admit that it is not a close one, and probably they will not dispute but that it might be as *just*, if it had a closer resemblance to its original, notwithstanding what he says in the passage I have quoted from his preface. It is agreed therefore that an opening is still left between literal prose and fettered rhyme. I should conceive it might be a pleasant exercise for men of talents to try a few specimens from such passages in the Iliad, as they might like best; and these perhaps might engage some one or more to proceed with the work, publishing a book at a time, as it were experimentally, by which means they might avail themselves of the criticisms of their candid judges, and make their final compilation more correct. If this was ably executed, a very splendid work might in time be completed to the honour of our nation and language, embellished with engravings of designs by our eminent masters from select scenes in each rhapsody, according to the judgment of the artist."

## OF TASTE IN GENERAL.

[From Dr. REID's Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man.]

"THAT power of the mind by which we are capable of discerning and relishing the beau-

ties of nature, and whatever is excellent in the fine arts, is called *taste*.

G. B.

"The

“ The external sense of taste, by which we distinguish and relish the various kinds of food, has given occasion to a metaphorical application of its name to this internal power of the mind, by which we perceive what is beautiful, and what is deformed or defective in the various objects that we contemplate.

“ Like the taste of the palate, it relishes some things, is disgusted with others ; with regard to many, is indifferent or dubious, and is considerably influenced by habit, by associations, and by opinion. These obvious analogies between external and internal taste, have led men, in all ages, and in all or most polished languages, to give the name of the external sense to this power of discerning what is beautiful with pleasure, and what is ugly and faulty in its kind with disgust.

“ In treating of this as an intellectual power of the mind, I intend only to make some observations, first on its nature, and then on its objects.

“ 1. In the external sense of taste, we are led by reason and reflection to distinguish between the agreeable sensation we feel, and the quality in the object which occasions it. Both have the same name, and on that account are apt to be confounded by the vulgar, and even by philosophers. The sensation I feel when I taste any sapid body is in my mind ; but there is a real quality in the body which is the cause of this sensation. These two things have the same name in language, not from any similitude in their nature, but because the one is the sign of the other, and because there is little occasion in common life to distinguish them.

“ This was fully explained in treating of the secondary qualities of bodies. The reason of taking

notice of it now is, that the internal power of taste bears a great analogy in this respect to the external.

“ When a beautiful object is before us, we may distinguish the agreeable emotion it produces in us, from the quality of the object which causes that emotion. When I hear an air in music that pleases me, I say, it is fine, it is excellent. This excellence is not in me ; it is in the music. But the pleasure it gives is not in the music ; it is in me. Perhaps I cannot say what it is in the tune that pleases my ear, as I cannot say what it is in a sapid body that pleases my palate ; but there is a quality in the sapid body which pleases my palate, and I call it a delicious taste ; and there is a quality in the tune that pleases my taste, and I call it a fine or an excellent air.

“ This ought the rather to be observed, because it is become a fashion among modern philosophers, to resolve all our perceptions into mere feelings or sensations in the person that perceives, without any thing corresponding to those feelings in the external object. According to these philosophers, there is no heat in the fire, no taste in a sapid body ; the taste and the heat being only in the person that feels them. In like manner, there is no beauty in any object whatsoever ; it is only a sensation or feeling in the person that perceives it.

“ The language and the common sense of mankind contradict this theory. Even those who hold it, find themselves obliged to use a language that contradicts it. I had occasion to show, that there is no solid foundation for it when applied to the secondary qualities of body ; and the same arguments show equally, that it has no solid founda-

tion

tion when applied to the beauty of objects, or to any of those qualities that are perceived by a good taste.

“ But though some of the qualities that please a good taste resemble the secondary qualities of body, and therefore may be called occult qualities, as we only feel their effect, and have no more knowledge of the cause, but that it is something which is adapted by nature to produce that effect; this is not always the case.

“ Our judgment of beauty is in many cases more enlightened. A work of art may appear beautiful to the most ignorant, even to a child. It pleases, but he knows not why. To one who understands it perfectly, and perceives how every part is fitted with exact judgment to its end, the beauty is not mysterious; it is perfectly comprehended; and he knows wherein it consists, as well as how it affects him.

“ 2. We may observe, that, though all the tastes we perceive by the palate are either agreeable, or disagreeable, or indifferent; yet, among those that are agreeable, there is great diversity, not in degree only, but in kind. And as we have not generical names for all the different kinds of taste, we distinguish them by the bodies in which they are found.

“ In like manner, all the objects of our internal taste are either beautiful, or disagreeable, or indifferent; yet of beauty there is a great diversity, not only of degree, but of kind: the beauty of a demonstration, the beauty of a poem, the beauty of a palace, the beauty of a piece of music, the beauty of a fine woman, and many more that might be named, are different kinds of beauty; and we have no names to distinguish

them but the names of the different objects to which they belong.

“ As there is such diversity in the kinds of beauty as well as in the degrees, we need not think it strange that philosophers have gone into different systems in analysing it, and enumerating its simple ingredients. They have made many just observations on the subject; but, from the love of simplicity, have reduced it to fewer principles than the nature of the thing will permit, having had in their eye some particular kinds of beauty, while they overlooked others.

“ There are moral beauties as well as natural; beauties in the objects of sense, and in intellectual objects; in the works of men, and in the works of God; in things inanimate, in brute animals, and in rational beings; in the constitution of the body of man, and in the constitution of his mind. There is no real excellence which has not its beauty to a discerning eye, when placed in a proper point of view; and it is as difficult to enumerate the ingredients of beauty as the ingredients of real excellence.

“ 3. The taste of the palate may be accounted most just and perfect, when we relish the things that are fit for the nourishment of the body, and are disgusted with things of a contrary nature. The manifest intention of nature in giving us this sense, is, that we may discern what it is fit for us to eat and to drink, and what it is not. Brute animals are directed in the choice of their food merely by their taste. Led by this guide, they chuse the food that nature intended for them, and seldom make mistakes, unless they be pinched by hunger, or deceived by artificial compositions. In infants likewise the taste is commonly sound

and uncorrupted, and of the simple productions of nature they relish the things that are most wholesome.

“ In like manner, our internal taste ought to be accounted most just and perfect, when we are pleased with things that are most excellent in their kind, and displeased with the contrary. The intention of nature is no less evident in this internal taste than in the external. Every excellence has a real beauty and charm that makes it an agreeable object to those who have the faculty of discerning its beauty; and this faculty is what we call a good taste.

“ A man, who, by any disorder in his mental powers, or by bad habits, has contracted a relish for what has no real excellence, or what is deformed and defective, has a depraved taste, like one who finds a more agreeable relish in ashes or cinders than in the most wholesome food. As we must acknowledge the taste of the palate to be depraved in this case, there is the same reason to think the taste of the mind depraved in the other.

“ There is therefore a just and rational taste, and there is a depraved and corrupted taste. For it is too evident, that, by bad education, bad habits, and wrong associations, men may acquire a relish for nastiness, for rudeness, and ill breeding, and for many other deformities. To say that such a taste is not vitiated, is no less absurd than to say, that the sickly girl who delights in eating charcoal and tobacco-pipes, has as just and natural a taste as when she is in perfect health.

“ 4. The force of custom, of fancy, and of casual associations, is very great both upon the external and internal taste. An Eskimaux can regale himself with a draught

of whale-oil, and a Canadian can feast upon a dog. A Kamtschatkale lives upon putrid fish, and is sometimes reduced to eat the bark of trees. The taste of rum, or of green tea, is at first as nauseous as that of ipecacuan, to some persons, who may be brought by use to relish what they once found so disagreeable.

“ When we see such varieties in the taste of the palate produced by custom and associations, and some perhaps by constitution, we may be the less surprised that the same causes should produce like varieties in the taste of beauty; that the African should esteem thick lips and a flat nose; that other nations should draw out their ears, till they hang over their shoulders; that in one nation ladies should paint their faces, and in another should make them shine with grease.

“ 5. Those who conceive that there is no standard in nature by which taste may be regulated, and that the common proverb, that there ought to be no dispute about taste, is to be taken in the utmost latitude, go upon slender and insufficient ground. The same arguments might be used with equal force against any standard of truth.

“ Whole nations by the force of prejudice are brought to believe the grossest absurdities; and why should it be thought that the taste is less capable of being perverted than the judgment? It must indeed be acknowledged, that men differ more in the faculty of taste than in what we commonly call judgment; and therefore it may be expected that they should be more liable to have their taste corrupted in matters of beauty and deformity, than their judgment in matters of truth and error.

“ If we make due allowance for this,

this, we shall see that it is as easy to account for the variety of tastes, though there be in nature a standard of true beauty, and consequently of good taste; as it is to account for the variety and contrariety of opinions, though there be in nature a standard of truth, and consequently of right judgment.

“ 6. Nay, if we speak accurately and strictly, we shall find, that, in every operation of taste, there is judgment implied.

“ When a man pronounces a poem or a palace to be beautiful, he affirms something of that poem or that palace; and every affirmation or denial expresses judgment. For we cannot better define judgment, than by saying that it is an affirmation or denial of one thing concerning another. I had occasion to show, when treating of judgment, that it is implied in every perception of our external senses. There is an immediate conviction and belief of the existence of the quality perceived, whether it be colour, or sound, or figure; and the same thing holds in the perception of beauty or deformity.

“ If it be said that the perception of beauty is merely a feeling in the mind that perceives, without any belief of excellence in the object, the necessary consequence of this opinion is, that when I say Virgil's *Georgics* is a beautiful poem, I mean not to say any thing of the poem, but only something concerning myself and my feelings. Why should I use a language that expresses the contrary of what I mean?

“ My language, according to the necessary rules of construction, can bear no other meaning but this, that there is something in the poem, and not in me, which I call beauty. Even those who hold beauty to be

merely a feeling in the person that perceives it, find themselves under a necessity of expressing themselves, as if beauty were solely a quality of the object, and not of the percipient.

“ No reason can be given why all mankind should express themselves thus, but that they believe what they say. It is therefore contrary to the universal sense of mankind, expressed by their language, that beauty is not really in the object, but is merely a feeling in the person who is said to perceive it. Philosophers should be very cautious in opposing the common sense of mankind; for, when they do, they rarely miss going wrong.

“ Our judgment of beauty is not indeed a dry and unaffecting judgment, like that of a mathematical or metaphysical truth. By the constitution of our nature, it is accompanied with an agreeable feeling or emotion, for which we have no other name but the sense of beauty. This sense of beauty, like the perceptions of our other senses, implies not only a feeling, but an opinion of some quality in the object which occasions that feeling.

“ In objects that please the taste, we always judge that there is some real excellence, some superiority to those that do not please. In some cases, that superior excellence is distinctly perceived, and can be pointed out; in other cases, we have only a general notion of some excellence which we cannot describe. Beauties of the former kind may be compared to the primary qualities perceived by the external senses; those of the latter kind, to the secondary.

“ 7. Beauty or deformity in an object, results from its nature or structure. To perceive the beauty, therefore, we must perceive the na-

ture or structure from which it results. In this the internal sense differs from the external. Our external senses may discover qualities which do not depend upon any antecedent perception. Thus I can hear the sound of a bell, though I never perceived any thing else belonging to it. But it is impossible to perceive the beauty of an object without perceiving the object, or at least conceiving it. On this account, Dr. Hutcheson called the senses of beauty and harmony reflex or secondary senses; because

the beauty cannot be perceived unless the object be perceived by some other power of the mind. Thus the sense of harmony and melody in sounds supposes the external sense of hearing, and is a kind of secondary to it. A man born deaf may be a good judge of beauties of another kind, but can have no notion of melody or harmony. The like may be said of beauties in colouring and in figure, which can never be perceived without the senses by which colour and figure are perceived."

**EXTRACT from Dr. BARNES'S ESSAY on the NATURE and ESSENTIAL CHARACTERS of POETRY, as distinguished from PROSE.**

[From the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.]

**“WHEREIN** consists the essence of poetry,” is a question, which it will not be so easy to answer, as may at first be imagined. Different authors have given very different definitions. Some have denominated it, “The art of expressing our thoughts by fiction.” Others have imagined its essence to lie, in “The power of imitation:” and others again, in “The art of giving pleasure.” But it is evident, that fiction, imitation, and pleasure, are not the properties of poetry alone. Prosaic composition may contain the most ingenious fables. It may present the most striking resemblances. It may inspire the most sensible delight.

“Poetry has been generally denominated an art. Horace, if he himself gave the title to his own celebrated and admirable poem, has characterized it under that name. The term itself (*Poiesis*) would na-

turally lead to the same idea; for it seems to imply, that labour and ingenuity, the necessary companions of art, must be employed in poetic composition. But certainly, it has the nearest affinity to science of any other art; for all its excellence consists, in its presenting science in a peculiar and engaging dress. An art, by which science is assisted, and sentiment exalted; by which the imagination is elevated, the heart delighted, and the noblest passions of the human soul expressed, improved, and heightened, will appear important enough, to have its boundaries exactly drawn, and the limits ascertained, which divide it from its humble neighbour. Or, if this be not possible, to have its general and larger characteristics clearly represented.

“What is it, then, which constitutes the poetic essence, and distinguishes it from prose? Is it me-



tre?—Or is it something entirely different; sublimity of sentiment, boldness of figure, grandeur of description, or embellishment of imagination? Let us attend to the arguments, which may be offered on behalf of both these hypotheses.

“The characteristic nature of poetry, it may be said, consists, in elevation of thought, in imagery, in ornament.”

“For, have there not been real poems formed, without the shackle of regular verse? Poems, which none, but a fastidious critic, would scruple a moment to honour with that name? Is not *Telemachus* a noble epic poem? For who would dare to degrade it to a lower character? Who would refuse the appellation to the *Death of Abel*, which those, who understand the German language, speak of with so much rapture? Or to the *Incas of Marmontel*, which the French celebrate, with equal enthusiasm of praise!

“Does not elevation of sentiment produce modulation of language? The soul, inspired with great ideas, naturally treads with a lofty step. There is a dignity in all her movements. She declaims, with a measured, solemn, majestic utterance. Her style is sonorous, and swelling. These attributes indicate; these constitute the poet. They give strength and feeling to his compositions. Where these are found, who would look for any higher claims, before he would confer the palm of poetic honours? Where these are wanting, what other properties could give even the shadow of a title? Who would refuse the title of bard, to the great master of Hebrew song? For what can be more truly sublime, or poetical, than many of the *Psalms of David*? And yet, after the ingenious labours of the learned Dr.

Lowth, the metre or rhythm has not been exactly ascertained; and probably will not, because it does not exist. The harmony of numbers, of which every ear must be sensible, arises purely from the native impulse of a soul, inspired with sentiments which it could not possibly express in any language but what was fervid and poetical.

“By this theory, it may be said, we account for the common remark, that the original language of mankind was poetical: because, in the infancy of the world, every thing would naturally excite admiration, and vehement passion. Their rude and imperfect speech would bear inscribed upon it, the stamp of strong and animated feeling. It would resemble the harangues of Indian orators, at this day, whose speeches are accompanied with tones and gestures, which, to a cultivated European, appear extravagantly pompous. Their lives were full of danger and variety. New scenes were continually opening upon them. Growing arts and sciences were presenting new objects of curiosity. Hence, their feelings were amazingly intense. And hence, their language was bold, and poetically sublime. Longinus, in the fragment of a treatise, which is unhappily lost, has this sentiment. “Measure belongs properly to poetry, as it personates the passions, and their language; it uses fiction and fable, which naturally produce numbers and harmony.”

“It may be added, in support of this definition, “That our own inimitable poet, than whom none seems more to have enjoyed the inspiration of the Muse, describes the poet, as chiefly distinguished by the fervour of imagination. He does not, indeed, assign him the most honourable company; but he makes ample amends, by a description of  
poetic

poetic fancy, wonderfully brilliant and captivating.

"The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,  
 Are of imagination all compact.  
 One seers more devils than vast hell can  
 hold,  
 That is the madman: the lover, all as  
 frantic,  
 Sees Helen's beauty on a brow of Egypt,  
 The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,  
 Doth glance from heaven to earth, from  
 earth to heaven;  
 And, as imagination bodies forth  
 The forms of things unknown, the poet's  
 pen  
 Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy  
 nothing  
 A local habitation and a name?"

SHAKESPEARE.

Who can forbear applying to the poet, what has been so justly applied to the great critic, lately quoted,

"He is himself the great sublime he draws!"

"Horace, likewise, seems to rank himself on this side of the question, in the fourth Satire of his first book, where he endeavours to settle the point of poetic characters. He, first, excepts himself from the number of those, to whom he would allow the name of Poet; because compositions like his own, "*sermoni propria*," do not give a just claim to the appellation. He, then, describes the real bard;

"*Ingenium cui sit; cui mens diviniore, atque os  
 Magna sonaturum, des nominis hujus honorem.*"

With respect to himself, and to Lucilius, he tells us, that if you take away the order and the measure, their verses would become "*sermo merus*," mere prose. Not so, if you take in pieces that line of Ennius,

"*Postquam discordia tetra  
 Belli scitatos postes, portasque refregit.*"

For then, he exclaims,

"*Invenias etiam dissecti membra poetæ !*"

The true poetic essence, then, consists in elevation, imagery, and grandeur; to which, modulation is no more than an adjunct; necessary, indeed, because it, in some degree, necessarily accompanies animated and poetic sentiment."

"To these arguments, it may be replied: "That the modesty of Horace, in excepting himself from the rank and honours of poetic character, will not be admitted, even with respect to those verses, as to which alone he made the exception. For, who has not in every age classed the Epistles and Satires of Horace, in the number of poetic compositions, though, as he says, his style only

"*Pede certo*

*Differt sermoni: sermo merus.*"

"If we adhere rigorously to this definition, shall we not exclude many candidates, from whom we should be sorry to pluck the well-earned wreath of poetic fame? All verses, where the subject is low or ridiculous, as the Hudibras of Butler; where it is simple and narrative, as the fables of Gay; or even, where it is plaintive and melancholy, as the Church-Yard of Gray, must be banished from the region of the Muse. Parnassus must be, "all cliff," without a single vale in all its circuit. None must then be deemed a poet, who cannot soar to its loftiest summit, on epic, or heroic wing. If we should form an index expurgatorius upon this principle, what havoc should we make among the minor poets? How many should we exclude, whom every lover of the Muse ranks, with grateful veneration, in the number of her inspired votaries?

"Elevation

“ Elevation of sentiment, imagery, and creative fancy, are not to be found in poetry alone. They often belong as much to the orator. For where will you find nobler flights of imagination, loftier sentiments, bolder addresses to the passions, or more animated, we might say, modulated language, than in the Orations of Cicero: not to mention those of our modern orators, whose eloquence, however, we would not scruple to compare with that of the most admired ancients ?

“ If we might argue from the name, poetry, we should naturally conclude, that the ancients themselves understood by the term, not those irregular modulations, which naturally arose from the impulse of strong and impassioned feelings, from grandeur of sentiment; from beauty, or boldness of imagery; but, something more artificial and elaborate; something, which demanded more effort and ingenuity to form, than merely arose from the effusions of a glowing heart ?

“ Is not, then, the proper and peculiar characteristic of poetry, that metre or rhythm, which the ear so easily distinguishes, and with which it is so unspeakably delighted ? Is not this the great distinction between the modulation of poetry and prose; that the one is regular, determined by certain laws, and returning upon the ear at stated periods; whilst the other has no standard but the general sense of harmony, and is infinitely irregular and various ? The imagery or sentiment is a mere circumstance which does not constitute, however it may adorn, poetic composition. We can suppose nonsense in prose. Can we not equally suppose nonsense in poetry ? And yet, shall there not be an essential difference

between poetic and prosaic jargon ? If so, something else, besides the sentiment or sense, is the boundary between them. And what is this but that metre or melody, without which, the language which conveys the loftiest sentiments may be indeed poetical, but can never be poetry itself.

“ I shall not pretend to decide, absolutely, upon the strength or weakness of the foregoing arguments. I shall be happy to hear them fully discussed in the ensuing conversation, from which I promise myself both instruction and entertainment.

“ At present, I find myself disposed to rest in some such general conclusion as the following.

“ To finished and perfect poetry, or rather to the highest order of poetic compositions, are necessary, elevation of sentiment, fire of imagination, and regularity of metre. This is the summit of Parnassus. But, from this sublimest point, there are gradual declinations, till you come to the region of prose. The last line of separation is, that of regular metre. And, in common language, not having settled with precision the nature or boundaries of either, we often apply the poetic character with great latitude, to compositions, which have more or less of the preceding qualities, but which are formed into uniform and regular verse. Often, the name is given to works which have nothing to distinguish them but mere number. What has not this metrical modulation, we call poetical; and what has it, we call prosaic, solely upon account of the sentiment. For poetry and prose, like two colours, easily distinguishable from each other in their pure, unmixed state, melt into one another by almost imperceptible shades, till the distinction

distinction is entirely lost. Their general characters are widely different. Their approximations admit of the nearest resemblances.

“With respect to mere number, the difficulty is not great, in the present cultivated state of language, for any person, of a tolerable ear, to tag together lines, the music of which

shall be flowing and agreeable. Hence, the multitudes of indifferent poets, who abound amongst us! But it has been justly observed, that a state of cultivated society is not favourable to those bolder exertions of poetic fancy, which elevate, astonish, and delight the mind.”

On the PLEASURE which the MIND in many Cases receives from contemplating SCENES of DISTRESS. By T. BARNES, D. D.

[ From the same Work. ]

*Sæve mari magno, turbantibus æquora  
ventis,  
E terræ alterius magnum spectare periculum.  
Non quia vexari quæquam est jucunda  
voluptas?  
Sed quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere  
suave est.* LUCRETIVS.

“THE pleasure described by the poet in this motto, and of which he has mentioned so striking and apposite an instance, may perhaps, at first, seem of so singular and astonishing a nature, that some may be disposed to doubt of its existence. But that it does exist, in the case here referred to, and in many others of a similar kind, is an undoubted fact: and it may not appear an useless or disagreeable entertainment, to trace its source in the human breast, together with the final cause for which it was implanted there by our benevolent Creator.

“Shall I, it may be said, feel complacency in beholding a scene, in which many of my fellow-creatures are agonizing with terror, whilst I can neither diminish their danger, nor, by my sympathy, divide their anguish? At the sight of another’s woe, does not my bottom naturally feel pain? Do I not

share in his sensations? And is not this strong and exquisite sensibility intended by my Maker to urge me on to active and immediate assistance? These sensations are indeed attended with a noble pleasure, when I can, by friendly attention, or by benevolent communication, sooth the sorrows of the poor mourner, snatch him from impending danger, or supply his pressing wants. But, in general, where my sympathy is of no avail to the wretched sufferer, I fly from the spectacle of his misery, unable, or unwilling to endure a pain, which is not allayed by the sweet satisfaction of doing good.”

“It will be incumbent on us, in answer to these objections, in the first place, to prove the reality of the feeling, the cause of which, in the human constitution, we here attempt to explore.

“Mr. Addison, in his beautiful papers on the Pleasures of the Imagination, has observed, “that objects or scenes, which, when real, gave disgust or pain, in description, often become beautiful and agreeable. Thus, even a dunghill may, by the charms of poetic imagery, excite pleasure and entertainment.

Scenes

Scenes of this nature, dignified by apt and striking description, we regard with something of the same feelings, with which we look upon a dead monster.

Informè cadaver,  
Protrahitur: nequeunt expleri corda tuendo  
Terribiles oculos, vultum, villosaque letis  
Pectora semiferi, atque extinctos faucibus  
ignea. VIA ONL.

“ This, he observes, is more particularly the case, where the description raises a ferment in the mind, and works with violence upon the passions. One would wonder, adds he, how it comes to pass, that passions, which are very unpleasant at all other times, are very agreeable, when excited by proper description; such as terror, dejection, grief, &c. This pleasure arises from the reflection we make upon ourselves, whilst reading it, that we are not in danger from them. When we read of wounds, death, &c. our pleasure does not rise so properly from the grief which these melancholy descriptions give us, as from the secret comparison we make of ourselves with those who suffer. We should not feel the same kind of pleasure, if we actually saw a person lying under the tortures, that we meet with in a description.”

“ And yet, upon the principle assigned by this amiable writer, we might feel the same, or even higher pleasure, from the actual view of distress, than from any description; because the comparison of ourselves with the sufferer would be more vivid, and consequently, the feeling more intense. I would only observe, that the cause which he assigns for this pleasure, is the very same with that assigned by Lucretius in our motto. Mr. Addison applies it to the description; the

poet, to the actual contemplation of affecting scenes. In both, the pleasure is supposed to originate in selfishness. But, wherever the social passions are deeply interested, as they are here supposed to be, from the pathetic description, or the still more pathetic survey, of the sufferings of another, the sympathetic feelings will, of themselves, at once, and previously to all reflection, become a source of agreeable and tender emotions. They will thus dignify and enhance the satisfaction, if any such be felt, arising merely from the consideration of our own personal security. And the more entirely we enter into the scene, by losing all ideas of its being either past or fabulous, the more perfectly we forget ourselves, and are absorbed in the feeling,—the more exquisite is the sensation.

“ But, as our subsequent speculations will chiefly turn upon the pleasure derived from real scenes of calamity, and not from those which are imaginary, it may be expected, that we produce instances, in proof, that such pleasure is felt by persons very different in their taste, and mental cultivation.

“ I will not mention the horrid joy with which the savage feasts his eye upon the agonies and contortions of his expiring prisoner—expiring in all the pains which artificial cruelty can inflict! Nor will I turn your eye to the almost equally savage sons of ancient Rome, when the majesty of the Roman people could rush, with eagerness and transport, to behold hundreds of gladiators contending in fatal conflict, and, probably, more than half the number extended, weltering in blood, and writhing in agony, upon the plain. Nor will I mention the Spanish bull-feasts; nor the fervent acclamations  
of

of an English mob around their fellow-creatures, when engaged in furious battle, in which it is possible, that some of the combatants may receive a mortal blow, and be hurried, dreadful thought! in this awful state, to the bar of his Judge.

“ Let us survey the multitudes which, in every part of the kingdom, always attend an execution. It may perhaps be said, that, in all places the vulgar have little of the sensibility and tenderness of more polished bosoms. But, in the last mentioned instance, an execution, there is no exultation in the sufferings of the poor criminal. He is regarded by every eye with the most melting compassion. The whole assembly sympathizes with him in his unhappy situation. An awful stillness prevails at the dreadful moment. Many are wrung with unutterable sensations: and prayer and silence declare, more loudly than any language could, the interest they feel in his distress. Should a reprieve come to rescue him from death, how great is the general triumph and congratulation! And, probably, in this multitude you will find, not the mere vulgar herd alone, but the man of superior knowledge, and of more refined sensibility; who, led by some strong principle, which we wish to explain, feels a pleasure greater than all the pain, great and exquisite as one should imagine it to be, from such a spectacle.

“ The man who condemns many of the scenes we have already mentioned as barbarous and shocking, would, probably, run with the greatest eagerness to some high cliff, overhanging the ocean, to see it swelled into tempest, though a poor vessel, or even a fleet of vessels, were to appear as one part of the

dreadful scenery, now lifted to the heavens on the foaming surge, now plunged deep into the fathomless abyss, and now dashed upon the rocks, where they are, in a moment, shivered into fragments, and, with all their mariners, entombed in the wave. Or, to vary the question a little; Who would not be forward to stand safe, on the top of some mountain or tower, adjoining to a field of battle, in which two armies meet in desperate conflict, though, probably, thousands may soon lie before him prostrate on the ground, and the whole field present the most horrid scenes of carnage and desolation?

“ That, in all these cases, pleasure predominates in the compounded feeling, is plain from hence, because you continue to survey the scene; whereas when pain became the stronger sensation, you would certainly retire. I was lately in company with a gentleman, who described to me, in very glowing and picturesque colours, an engagement between two privateers, of which he had been a spectator from one of the cliffs on the eastern coast of England. Several lives were lost; and the contest was long, doubtful, and severe. Having this subject in my thoughts, I asked him, whether he felt pleasure in the spectacle. He answered with great energy, that he would not have missed the sight for a very considerable sum. His tone and manner proved that he spoke from his heart.

“ Cultivation may, indeed, have produced some minuter differences in the taste and feelings of different minds. Those, whose sensibilities have not been refined by education or science, may feel the pleasure in a more gross and brutal form. But do not the most polished na-  
tures



## CONTEMPLATING SCENES OF DISTRESS. [111]

tures feel a similar, a kindred pleasure, in the deep-wrought distresses of the well-imagined scene? Here the endeavour is, to introduce whatever is dreadful or pathetic, whatever can harrow up the feelings, or extort the tear. And the deeper and more tragical the scene becomes, the more it agitates the several passions of terror, grief, or pity—the more intensely it delights, even the most polished minds. They seem to enjoy the various and vivid emotions of contending passions. They love to have the tear trembling in the eye, and to feel the whole soul rapt in thrilling sensations. For that moment, they seem to forget the fiction; and afterwards commend that exhibition most, in which they most entirely lost sight of the author, and of their own situation, and were alive to all the unutterable vibrations of strong or melting sensibility.

“ Taking it, then, for granted, that in the contemplation of many scenes of distress, both imaginary and real, a gratification is felt, let us endeavour to account for it, by mentioning some of those principles, woven into the web of human nature, by its benevolent Creator, on which that gratification depends.

“ Dr. Akenfide, with his accustomed strength and brilliancy of colouring, describes, and accounts for it in the following manner. I will make no apology for the length of the quotation.

————— “ Behold the ways  
Of heaven's eternal destiny to man!  
For ever just, benevolent, and wise!  
That Virtue's awful steps, how'er pursued  
By vexing fortune, and intrusive pain,  
Should never be divided from her chaste,  
Her fair attendant, Pleasure. Need I urge  
Thy tardy thought, through all the various round

Of this existence, that thy softening soul  
At length may learn, what energy the hand  
Of Virtue mingles in the bitter tide  
Of Passion, swelling with distress and pain,  
To mitigate the sharp, with gracious drops  
Of cordial Pleasure. Ask the faithful youth,  
Why the cold urn of her, whom long he loved,  
So often fills his arm? So often draws  
His lonely footsteps, at the silent hour,  
To pay the mournful tribute of his tears?  
O! he will tell thee, that the wealth of worlds  
Should ne'er seduce his bosom to forego  
That sacred hour, when stealing from the noise  
Of care and envy, sweet remembrance soothes,  
With Virtue's kindest looks, his aching breast,  
And turns his tears to rapture. Ask the croud,  
Which flies impatient from the village-walk  
To climb the neighbouring cliffs, when far below  
The cruel winds have hurled upon the coast  
Some helpless bark: whilst sacred Pity melts  
The general eye, or Terror's icy hand  
Smites their distorted limbs, or horrenous hair,  
While every mother closer to her breast  
Catches her child; and, pointing where the waves  
Foam through the shattered vessel, shrieks aloud,  
As one poor wretch, that spreads his piteous arms  
For succour, swallowed by the roaring surge,  
As now another, dashed against the rock,  
Drops lifeless down. O dearest thou indeed  
No kind endearment here, by nature given,  
To mutual terror, and compassion's tears?  
No sweetly melting softness, which attracts  
O'er all that edge of pain, the social powers.  
To this their proper action, and their end?”

The Poet pursues the sentiment in the same animated imagery, describing the strong, but pleasurable sensations

sensations, which the soul feels, in reading the sufferings of heroes, who nobly died in the cause of liberty, and their country :

————— “ When the pious band  
Of youths, who fought for freedom, and  
their fires,  
Lie side by side in gore.”

Or, in the strong movements of indignation and revenge against the tyrant, who invades that liberty, and enslaves that country.

————— “ When the patriot’s tear  
Starts from thine eye, and thy extended  
arm  
In fancy hurls the thunderbolt of Jove,  
To fire the impious wreath on Philip’s  
brow,  
Or dash Octavius from his trophied car;  
Say—Does thy secret soul repine to taste  
The big distress? Or, would’st thou then  
exchange  
Those heart-ennobling sorrows for the lot  
Of him, who sits amid the gaudy herd  
Of mute barbarians, bending to his nod,  
And bears aloft his gold-invested front,  
And says within himself, “ I am a king,  
And wherefore should the clamorous voice  
of woe  
Intrude upon mine ear?”

“ The sentiment of this charming and moral poet is, that sympathetic feelings are virtuous, and therefore pleasant. And from the whole, he deduces this important conclusion; that every virtuous emotion must be agreeable, and that this is the sanction, and the reward of virtue. The thought is amiable. The conclusion noble. But still the solution appears to me to be imperfect.

“ We have already said, that the pleasure arising from the contemplation of distressful scenes is a compounded feeling, arising from several distinct sources in the human breast. The kind and degree of the sensation must depend upon the various blendings of the several ingredients which enter into the composi-

tion. The cause assigned by Mr. Addison, the sense of our own security, may be supposed to have some share in the mass of feelings. That of Dr. Akenfield may be allowed to have a still larger proportion. Let us attempt to trace some of the rest.

“ There are few principles in human nature of more general and important influence, than that of sympathy. A late ingenious writer, led by the fashionable idea of simplifying all the springs of human nature into one source, has, in his beautiful Theory of Moral Sentiments, endeavoured to analyse a very large number of the feelings of the heart into sympathetic vibration. Though it appears to me most probable, that the human mind, like the human body, possesses various and distinct springs of action and of happiness, yet he has shewn, in an amazing diversity of instances, the operation and importance of this principle of human nature. Let us apply it to our present subject.

“ We naturally sympathize with the passions of others. But, if the passions they appear to feel be not those of mere distress alone; if, midst the scenes of calamity, they display fortitude, generosity, and forgiveness; if, “ rising superior to the cloud of ills which covers them,” they nobly stand firm, collected, and patient; here, a still higher source of pleasure opens upon us, from complacence, admiration, and that unutterable sympathy, which the heart feels with virtuous and heroic minds. By the operation of this principle, we place ourselves in their situation; we feel, as it were, some share of that conscious integrity and peace, which they must enjoy. Hence, as before observed, the pleasure will vary, both

both as to its nature and degree, according to the scene and characters before us. The shock of contending armies in the field,—the ocean wrought to tempest, and covered with the wreck of shattered vessels,—and a worthy family silently, yet nobly bearing up against a multitude of surrounding sorrows, will excite very different emotions, because the component parts of the pleasurable sensation consist of very different materials. They all excite admiration; but admiration, how diversified, both as to its degree and its cause! These several ingredients may, doubtless, be so blended together, that the pleasure shall make but a very small part of the mixed sensation. The more agreeable tints may bear little proportion to the terrifying red, or the gloomy black.

“In many of the instances which have been mentioned, the pleasure must arise chiefly, if not solely, from the circumstances, or accompaniments of the scene. The sublime feelings excited by the view of an agitated ocean, relieve and soften those occasioned by the shipwreck. And the awe excited by the presence of thousands of men, acting as with one soul, and displaying magnanimity and firmness, in the most solemn trial, tempers those sensations of horror and of pain, which would arise from the field of battle.

“The gratification we are attempting to account for, depends also, in a very considerable degree, upon a principle of human nature, implanted in it for the wisest ends; the exercise which it gives to the mind, by rousing it to energy and feeling. Nothing is so insupportable, as that languor and *ennui*, for the full expression of which, our language does not afford a

term. How agreeable it is, to have the soul called forth to exertion and sensibility, let the Gamester witness, who, unable to endure the lassitude and sameness of unanimated luxury, runs with eagerness to the place where, probably, await him all the irritation and agony of tumultuous passions.

“Again; it is a law of our nature, that opposite passions, when felt in succession, and, above all, when felt at the same moment, heighten and increase each other. Ease succeeding pain, certainty after suspense, friendship after aversion, are unspeakably stronger than if they had not been thus contrasted. In this conflict of feelings, the mind rises from passive to active energy. It is roused to intense sensation; and it enjoys that peculiar, exquisite, and complex feeling, in which, as in many articles of our table, the acid and the sweet, the pleasurable and painful pungencies are so happily mixed together, as to render the united sensation amazingly more strong and delightful.

“We have not yet mentioned the principle of curiosity, that busy and active power, which appears so early, continues almost unimpaired so long, and to which, for the wisest ends, is annexed so great a sense of enjoyment. To this principle, rather than to a love of cruelty, would I ascribe that pleasure, which children sometimes seem to feel from torturing flies and lesser animals. They have not yet formed an idea of the pain they inflict. It is, indeed, of unspeakable consequence, that this practice be checked as soon and as effectually as possible, because it is so important, that they learn to connect the ideas of pleasure and pain, with the motions and actions of the animal creation. And, to this principle may

we also refer, no small share of that pleasure in the contemplation of distressful scenes, the springs of which, in the human heart, we are now endeavouring to open.

“ To curiosity, then—to sympathy—to mental exertion—to the idea of our own security—and to the strong feelings occasioned by viewing the actions and passions of mankind in interesting situations, do we ascribe that gratification, which the mind feels from the survey of many scenes of sorrow. We have called it a pleasure; but it will approach towards, or recede from pleasure, according to the nature and proportion of the ingredients, of which the sensation is composed. In some cases, pain will predomi-

nate. In others, there will be exquisite enjoyment.

“ The final cause of this constitution of the human mind is probably, that by means of this strong sensation, the soul may be preserved in continual and vigorous motion—that its feelings may be kept lively and tender—that it may learn to practise the virtues it admires—and to assist those to whom its sympathy can reach—and that it may thus be led, by these social exercises of the heart, to soften with compassion—to expand with benevolence—and generously to assist in every case, in which assistance can be given. An end this sufficient,

— “ To assert eternal Providence,  
And justify the ways of God to man.”

## O N C O M E D Y.

[ From HERON'S Letters of Literature. ]

“ **Y**OUR opinion of the comedy of *Le Mechant* I heartily subscribe to, though Mr. Gray has pronounced it the best comedy he ever read. It is perfectly in the style of the French tragedy, inactive, and declamatory. Yet I do not wonder at Mr. Gray's favourable opinion of it, when he admired the silly declamation of Racine so much as to begin a tragedy in his very manner; which however he was so fortunate as not to go through with.

“ Our stage, thank heaven, refuses the insipidity of the French drama; and requires an action, a business, a vigour, to which the run of *Gerontes* and *Damons*, which all their comedies are stuffed with, are mere strangers. Moliere, in attempting to introduce laughter into the French comedy, has blundered upon mere

farce; for it is the character of that nation always to be in extremes. In short, if we except Fontaine, I know of no writer in the French language who has real claim to poetical merit. Their language is not the language of verse; nor are their thoughts, or their costume, those of poetry. Fontaine uses their language familiarly, in which way only it can be used to advantage. His thoughts are likewise in the style of mere familiar humour. Comic tales may be well written in French, but nothing else. Their prose writers, I readily allow, yield to none in the world; but of their poetry the *bon mot* said by one of themselves to Voltaire, which was, *Les François n'ont pas la tête espiquée*, may be with great justice enlarged thus, *Les François n'ont pas la tête poétique*.

“ In

“ In English comedy Congreve, I believe, stands without a rival. His plots have great depth and art; perhaps too much: his characters are new and strong: his wit genuine; and so exuberant, that it has been alledged as his only fault, that he makes all his characters inherit his own wit. Yet this fault will not be imputed by adepts, who know that the dialogue of our comedy cannot possibly be too spirited and epigrammatic, for it requires language as well as characters stronger than nature.

“ Shakspeare excels in the strength of his characters and in wit; but as plot must be regarded as an essential of good comedy, he must not be erected as a model in the comic academy; a loss sufficiently compensated by the reflection, that it were vain to place him as a model whose beauties transcend all imitation.

“ Tragedy and comedy both ought certainly to approach as near the truth of life as possible; in so much that we may imagine we are placed with *Le Diable Boiteux* on the roof of the house, and perceive what passes within. This rule in tragedy cannot be too strictly observed, though it has escaped almost every writer of modern tragedy; the characters of which speak similes, bombast, and every thing except the language of real life; so that we are eternally tempted to exclaim, as Falstaff does to Pistol, “ Pr’ythee speak like a man of this world.”

“ In comedy this rule ought by no means to be adhered to; as insipidity is the worst fault writing can have, but particularly comedy; whose chief quality it is to be poignant. Now poignancy cannot be effected without strong character; but an excellent tragedy may be

written without a strong character in it, witness *Douglas*. The characters of tragedy therefore cannot have too much truth: but those of comedy ought to resemble the painted scenes, which, if examined too nearly, are mere daubings; but at a proper distance have the very truth of nature, while the beauties of more delicate paintings would not be perceived.

“ Sentimental comedy, as it is called, though of late birth in England, is yet the comedy of *Menander* and of *Terence*. *Terence* is quite full of sentiment, and of a tenderness which accompanies it; and so barren of wit and humour, that I only remember two passages in his six comedies that provoke a smile; for a smile is all they can provoke. The one is that scene which passes after the eunuch is supposed to have ravished a young lady. This is the only proof of the humour of *Terence*: and the only sample of his wit we have in the reply of an old miser to one who he expected brought him tidings of a legacy, but who instead thereof makes very gravely a moral observation to the impatient old man, who peevishly retorts, “ What! hast thou brought nothing here but one maxim?”

“ Sentimental comedy bore a very short sway in England. Indeed it was incompatible with the humour of an English audience, who go to a comedy to laugh, and not to cry. It was even more absurd, it may be added, in its faults than that of which Congreve is the model; for sentiments were spoken by every character in the piece, whereas one sentimental character was surely enough. If a man met with his mistress, or left her; if he was suddenly favoured by fortune, or suddenly the object of her ha-

tred ; if he was drunk, or married ; he spoke a sentiment : if a lady was angry, or pleased ; in love, or out of it ; a prude, or a coquet ; make room for a sentiment ! If a servant girl was chid, or received a present from her mistress ; if a valet received a purse, or a horsewhipping ; good heavens, what a fine sentiment !

“ This fault I say was infinitely more absurd than that of Congreve ; for a peasant may blunder on wit, to whose mind sentiment is totally heterogeneous. Besides, Congreve’s wit is all his own ; whereas most of the said sentiments may be found in the Proverbs of Solomon.

“ No wonder then this way of writing was soon abandoned even by him who was its chief leader. Goldsmith in vain tried to stem the torrent by opposing a barrier of low humour, and dullness and absurdity, more dull and absurd than English sentimental comedy itself.

“ It is very much to the credit of that excellent writer Mr. Colman, that, while other dramatists were lost in the fashion of sentiment, his comedies always present the happiest mediums of nature ; without either affectation of sentiment, or affectation of wit. That the able translator of Terence should yet have sufficient force of mind to keep his own pieces clear of the declamatory dulness of that ancient, is certainly a matter deserving of much applause. The *Jéalous Wife*, and the *Clandestine Marriage*, with others of his numerous dramas, may be mentioned as the most perfect models of comedy we have : to all the other requisites of fine comic writing they always add just as much sentiment and wit as does them good. This happy medium is the most difficult to hit in all com-

position, and most declares the hand of a master.

“ By the *School for Scandal* the style of Congreve was again brought into fashion ; and sentiment made way for wit, and delicate humour. That piece has indeed the beauties of Congreve’s comedies, without their faults : its plot is deeply enough perplexed, without forcing one to labour to unravel it ; its incidents sufficient, without being too numerous ; its wit pure ; its situations truly dramatic. The characters however are not quite so strong as Congreve’s ; which may be regarded as the principal fault of this excellent piece. Lesser faults are Charles’s sometimes blundering upon sentiments ; nay sometimes upon what are the worst of all sentiments, such as are of dangerous tendency, as when Rowley advises him to pay his debts, before he makes a very liberal present, and so to act as an honest man ere he acts as a generous one.

“ *Rowley*. Ah, sir, I wish you would remember the proverb—

“ *Charles*. Be just before you are generous.—Why so I would if I could, but Justice is an old lame hobbling beldame, and I can’t get her to keep pace with Generosity for the soul of me.”

“ This sentiment, than which nothing can be more false and immoral, is always received by the silly audience with loud applause, whereas no reprobation can be too severe for it. A lesser blemish lies in the verses tagged to the end of the play, in which one of the characters addresses the audience. The verses are an absurdity, the address a still greater ; for the audience is by no good actor supposed to be present : and any circumstance that contributes to destroy the apparent  
reality



reality of theatrical representation, cannot meet with too sharp censure. But it gives me pain to remark any faults in a piece that in general so well merits the applause it constantly receives. I shall only observe that the sentiment put into Charles's mouth in the last scene, though not liable to the objections brought against the former, is yet incompatible with the character, which is set in strongest opposition to the sentimental one of Joseph. The words I mean are, "If I don't appear mortified at the exposure of my follies, it is because I feel at this moment the warmest satisfaction at seeing you my liberal benefactor."

"It may be observed that every thing like a sentiment is sure to meet

with applause on our theatre; which the actors well express by calling sentiments *clap-traps*. This trick of securing applause by sentiments lately proved the salvation of the very worst tragedy that ever appeared on any stage: for the audience had so much applauded the two first acts, from the number of those *clap-traps*, that they were ashamed to retract, so that the piece took a little run very quietly, to the disgrace of our taste, it being one of those very farragos of nonsense that the Rehearsal was written to expose to due scorn: and had it been fabricated before the æra of that witty performance, it would certainly have had the honour of being placed in the first shelf of absurdity."

### DISCUSSION of the QUESTION, "In what Quality does the universal and perpetual Excellence of Writing consist?"

[From the same Work.]

"**P**ERHAPS no question of criticism may afford room for more curious investigation than this: "In what quality does the perpetual and universal excellence of writing consist?" or, in other words, "What property of composition is certain to procure it the classic and legitimate admiration of all ages and countries?"

"To decide on this point it is certainly the surest method to judge of the future by the past, and to pronounce that the same perfections which have secured to an author of three thousand years standing his due applause, will most infallibly effect the same end to a modern writer.

"A poet of fine talents, but of far superior taste, has pronounced

wisdom or good sense to be the very fountain of perfect composition.

*Scribendi recte sapere est et principium  
et fons.* Hor.

And this maxim will be found to hold true in every species of writing whatever. Good sense may be called the salt that preserves the other qualities of writing from corruption. This property is alike required in every branch of the belles lettres; but there are others which may be considered as confined to one particular path of writing.

"Such is imaginary invention with respect to poetry: I say, imaginary invention, to distinguish it here from that scientific invention which belongs to the judgment. This invention, as the parent of novelty,

velty, is the superlative qualification of poetry, and nothing can contribute more to procure it permanent admiration. Yet invention itself is inferior to strong sense even in poetry; for there are poems in which the invention is rich, yet disgusts by its futility; not being conducted by that *acer aximi vis*, that keen force of mind, which always accompanies true genius.

“ If good sense is therefore a praise superior to invention itself in poetry, we may with great safety pronounce it one of the very first qualities that ensures applause to composition.

“ A beautiful work of genius may be aptly compared to a beautiful woman. Good sense may be called its health, without which it cannot live, charming as its other powers may be. But though a woman has good health, it does not follow that she is fair; nay we often applaud a *morbidesca*, or an appearance of sickly delicacy, as an improver of female beauty; and in this the comparison fails. A work, as well as its present parallel, must have the bloom and the features of beauty, with grace and elegance in its motions, to attract admiration. The bloom and fine features, the grace and elegance, of a work consist in its style; which is the part that is most recommendatory of it, as outward beauty and grace are of a woman considered as an object of sight.

“ The bloom and the features of composition lie in the verbage and figures of its style; the grace in the manner and movement of that style.

“ A work, immoral and unwise, has yet been found to live by its style, in spite of these defects. Style is therefore a quality of writing equal, if not superior, to good sense: for the latter without the former will by no means preserve a work, though the reverse of the rule is true. Indeed a fine style is commonly joined with good sense; both being the offspring of the same luminous mind.

“ Can a work live long which is defective in style? Impossible. Homer's style is the richest in the Greek language. Style has preserved Herodotus in spite of his absurdities. Every ancient, who has reached us, has an eminent style in his respective walk and manner. Style has saved all the Latin writers, who are only good imitators of the Greeks. Terence is only the translator of Menander; Sallust an imitator of Thucydides; Horace is an imitator and almost a translator in all his odes, as we may boldly pronounce on comparing them with such very minute fragments of Grecian lyric poetry as have reached us. Yet it was he who exclaimed

• O imitatores servum pecus!

Style has saved Virgil entirely, who has not the most distant pretence to any other attribute of a poet.

“ Good sense I have called the health of a work, without which it cannot live; but a work may live without much applause: and the first quality of writing that attracts universal and permanent fame was the subject of the present discussion. This we have found to be style.”

## OBSERVATIONS ON MILTON'S LATIN POETRY.

[ From Mr. WARTON'S Edition of MILTON'S POEMS on several Occasions. ]

“OUR author is said to be the first Englishman, who, after the restoration of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance. But we must at least except some of the hendecasyllables and epigrams of Leland, one of our first literary reformers, from this hasty determination.

“In the Elegies, Ovid was professedly Milton's model for language and versification. They are not, however, a perpetual and uniform tissue of Ovidian phraseology. With Ovid in view, he has an original manner and character of his own, which exhibit a remarkable perspicuity of contexture, a native facility and fluency. Nor does his observation of Roman models oppress or destroy our great poet's inherent powers of invention and sentiment. I value these pieces as much for their fancy and genius, as for their style and expression.

“That Ovid among the Latin poets was Milton's favourite, appears not only from his elegiac but his hexametric poetry. The versification of our author's hexameters has yet a different structure from that of the *Metamorphoses*: Milton's is more clear, intelligible, and flowing; less desultory, less familiar, and less embarrassed with a frequent recurrence of periods. Ovid is at once rapid and abrupt. He wants dignity: he has too much conversation in his manner of telling a story. Prolixity of paragraph, and length of sentence, are peculiar to Milton. This is seen, not only in some of his exordial invocations in the *Paradise Lost*, and in many

of the religious addresses of a like cast in the prose-works, but in his long verse. It is to be wished that in his Latin compositions of all sorts, he had been more attentive to the simplicity of Lucretius, Virgil, and Tibullus.

“Dr. Johnson prefers the Latin poetry of May and Cowley to that of Milton, and thinks May to be the first of the three. May is certainly a sonorous dactylist, and was sufficiently accomplished in poetical declamation for the continuation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. But May is scarcely an author in point. His skill is in parody; and he was confined to the peculiarities of an archetype, which, it may be presumed, he thought excellent. As to Cowley, when compared with Milton, the same critic observes, “Milton is generally content to express the thoughts of the ancients in their language: Cowley, without much loss of purity or elegance, accommodates the diction of Rome to his own conceptions. The advantage seems to lie on the side of Cowley.” But what are these conceptions? Metaphysical conceits, all the unnatural extravagancies of his English poetry; such as will not bear to be clothed in the Latin language, much less are capable of admitting any degree of pure Latinity. I will give a few instances, out of a great multitude, from the *Davidicis*.

*Hic sociatorum sacra constellatio vaturn,  
Quos felix virtus evehit ad aethera, nubes*

*Luxuriae supra, tempestatesque laborum.*

Again,

*H 4*

*Temporis*

Temporis ingreditur penetralia celsa fu-  
turi,  
Implumesque videt nidis caelestibus an-  
nos.

And, to be short, we have the *plus-  
quam visus aquilinus* of lovers, *Na-  
tio verborum*, *Exuit vitam aeriam*,  
*Menti auditur symphonia dulcis*, *Na-  
turae archiva*, *Omnes symmetria sen-  
sus congerit*, *Condit aromatica probi-  
betque putrescere laude*. Again, where  
*Aliquid* is personified, *Monogramma  
exordia mundi*.

“ It may be said, that Cowley is  
here translating from his own Eng-  
lish Davideis. But I will bring ex-  
amples from his original Latin po-  
ems. In praise of the spring.

Et resonet toto musica verna libro;  
Uncione laudis odor dulcissimus halet,  
&c.

And in the same poem, in a party  
worthy of the pastoral pencil of Wat-  
teau.

Hauserunt avide Chocolatam Flora Ve-  
nusque.

Of the Fraxinella.

Tu tres metropoles humani corporis, ar-  
mis  
Propugnās, uterum, cor, cerebrum-  
que, tuis.

He calls the Lychnis, *Candelabrum  
ingens*. Cupid is *Arbiter formae cri-  
ticus*. Ovid is *Antiquarius ingens*.  
“ An ill smell is smuned! *Olfactus te-  
tricitate sui*. And in the same page,  
is *nugatoria pestis*.

“ Put all his faults are conspi-  
cuously and collectively exemplified  
in these stanzas, among others, of  
his Hymn on Light,

Paichra de nigro soboles parente,  
Quam Chaos fertur peperisse primam,  
Cujus ob formam bene risit olim  
Massa severa!  
Rifus O terræ sater et polorum,  
Aureus vere pluvius Tonantis,  
Quæque de caelo fluis inquieto  
Gloria rivo!—

Te bibens arcus Jovis ebriosus  
Mille formosos revomit colores,  
Pave celestis, variamque pascis  
Lumine caudam.

And afterwards, of the waves of the  
sea, perpetually in motion.

Lucidum trudis properanter agmen:  
Sed resistendum super ora rerum  
Leniter stagnas, liquidoque inundas  
Cuncta colore:

At mare immensum oceanusque Lucis  
Jugiter caelo fluit empyreo;  
Hinc inexhausto per utrumque mundum  
Funditur ore.

“ Milton's Latin poems may be  
justly considered as legitimate clas-  
sical compositions, and are never  
disgraced with such language and  
such imagery. Cowley's Latinity,  
dictated by an irregular and unre-  
strained imagination, presents a  
mode of diction half Latin and half  
English. It is not so much that  
Cowley wanted a knowledge of the  
Latin style, but that he suffered  
that knowledge to be perverted and  
corrupted by false and extravagant  
thoughts. Milton was a more per-  
fect scholar than Cowley, and his  
mind was more deeply tinged  
with the excellencies of ancient li-  
terature. He was a more just think-  
er, and therefore a more just writer.  
In a word, he had more taste, and  
more true poetry, and consequently  
more propriety. If a fondness for  
the Italian writers has sometimes in-  
fected his English poetry with false  
ornaments, his Latin verses, both  
in diction and sentiment, at least are  
free from those depravations.

“ Some of Milton's Latin poems  
were written in his first year at Cam-  
bridge, when he was only seven-  
teen: they must be allowed to be  
very correct and manly perform-  
ances for a youth of that age. And  
considered in that view, they disco-  
ver an extraordinary copiousness and  
command of ancient fable and hi-  
story,

story. I cannot but add, that Gray resembles Milton in many instances. Among others, in their youth they were both strongly attached to the cultivation of Latin poetry."

Whence MILTON drew some HINTS for his COMUS.

[ From the same Work. ]

"IN Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess, an Arcadian comedy recently published, Milton found many touches of pastoral and superstitious imagery, congenial with his own conceptions. Many of these, yet with the highest improvements, he has transferred into Comus; together with the general cast and colouring of the piece. He caught also from the lyric rhymes of Fletcher, that Dorique delicacy, with which sir Henry Wootton was so much delighted in the songs of Milton's drama. Fletcher's comedy was coldly received the first night of its performance. But it had ample revenge in this conspicuous and indisputable mark of Milton's approbation. It was afterwards represented as a mask at court, before the king and queen on twelfth-night, in 1633. I know not, indeed, if this was any recommendation to Milton; who in the Paradise Lost speaks contemptuously of these interludes, which were among the chief diversions of an elegant and liberal monarch. B. iv. 767.

——— Court amours,  
Mix'd dance, and wanton mask, or  
midnight-ball, &c.

I believe the whole compliment was paid to the genius of Fletcher. Yet it should be remembered that Milton had not yet completed his career of puritanism. In the mean time, it is true that Milton, as an author, gave countenance to this

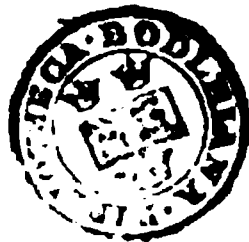
species of entertainment. But Charles's masks did not, like Comus, abound with Platonic recommendations of the doctrine of chastity.

"The ingenious and accurate Mr. Reed has pointed out a rude outline, from which Milton seems partly to have sketched the plan of the fable of Comus. See Biograph. Dramat. ii. p. 441. It is an old play, with this title, "The Old Wives Tale, a pleasant conceited Comedie, plaied by the Queenes Maiesties players. Written by G. P. [i. e. George Peele.] Printed at London by John Danter, and are to be sold by Ralph Hancock and John Hardie, 1595." In quarto. This very scarce and curious piece exhibits, among other parallel incidents, two brothers wandering in quest of their sister, whom an enchanter had imprisoned. This magician had learned his art from his mother Meroe, as Comus had been instructed by his mother Circe. The brothers call out on the lady's name, and Echo replies. The enchanter had given her a potion which suspends the powers of reason, and superinduces oblivion of herself. The brothers afterwards meet with an old man who is also skilled in magic; and by listening to his soothsayings, they recover their lost sister; but not till the enchanter's wreath had been torn from his head, his sword wrested from his hand, a glass broken, and a light

a light extinguished. The names of some of the characters, as Sacrapant, Chorebus, and others, are taken from the Orlando Furioso. The history of Meroe, a witch, may be seen in "The xi Bookes of the Golden Asse, containing the Metamorphosie of Lucius Apuleius interlaced with sundrie pleasant and delectable tales, &c. Translated out of Latin into English by William Adlington, Lond. 1566." See Chap. iii. "How Socrates in his returne from Macedony to Larissa was spoyled and robbed, and how he fell acquainted with one Meroe a witch." And Chap. iv: "How Meroe the witch turned diuers persons into miserable beasts." Of this book there were other editions, in 1571, 1596, 1600, and 1639. All in quarto and the black letter. The translator was of University College. See also Apuleius in the original. A Meroe is mentioned by Ausonius, Epigr. xix. I reserve a more distinct and particular view of Peele's play, with the use of which I have been politely favoured by Mr. Henderson of Covent-garden theatre, for an appendix to the notes on Comus. That Milton had his eye on this ancient drama, which might have been the favourite of his early youth, perhaps it may be at least ascribed with as much credibility, as that he conceived the Paradise Lost, from seeing a Mystery at Florence, written by Andreini, a Florentine, in 1617, entitled Adamo.

"In the mean time it must be confessed, that Milton's magician Comus, with his cup and wand, is ultimately founded on the fable of Circe. The effects of both characters are much the same. They are both to be opposed at first with force and violence. Circe is subdued by the virtues of the herb moly, which Mercury gives to Ulysses, and Comus by the plant haemony, which the Spirit gives to the two brothers. About the year 1615, a masque called the Inner Temple Masque, written by William Browne, author of Britannia's Pastorals, which I have frequently cited, was presented by the students of the Inner Temple. It has been lately printed from a manuscript in the library of Emanuel College: but I have been informed, that a few copies were printed soon after the presentation. It is formed on the story of Circe, and perhaps might have suggested some few hints to Milton. I will give some proofs of parallelism as we go along.

"The genius of the best poets is often determined, if not directed, by circumstances and accident. It is natural, that even so original a writer as Milton should have been biassed by the reigning poetry of the day, by the composition most in fashion, and by subjects recently brought forward, but soon giving way to others, and almost as soon totally neglected and forgotten."





## CHARACTER OF COMUS.

[ From the same Work. ]

“**W**E must not read *Comus* with an eye to the stage, or with the expectation of dramatic poetry. Under this restriction, the absurdity of the Spirit speaking to an audience in a solitary forest at midnight, and the want of reciprocity in the dialogue, are overlooked. *Comus* is a suite of speeches, not interesting by discrimination of character; not conveying a variety of incidents, nor gradually exciting curiosity: but perpetually attracting attention by sublime sentiment, by fanciful imagery of the richest vein, by an exuberance of picturesque description, poetical allusion, and ornamental expression. While it widely departs from the grotesque anomalies of the mask now in fashion, it does not nearly approach to the natural constitution of a regular play. There is a chastity in the application and conduct of the machinery: and *Sabrina* is introduced with much address, after the brothers had imprudently suffered the enchantment of *Comus* to take effect. This is the first time the old English mask was in some degree reduced to the principles and form of rational composition. A great critic observes, that the dispute between the lady and *Comus* is the most animated and affecting scene of the piece. Perhaps some other scenes, either consisting only of a soliloquy, or of three or four speeches only, have afforded more true pleasure. The action is said to be improbable: because the brothers, when their sister sinks with fatigue in a pathless wilderness, wander both away together in search

of berries, too far to find their way back, and leave a helpless lady to all the sadness and danger of solitude. But here is no desertion, or neglect of the lady. The brothers leave their sister under a spreading pine in the forest, fainting for refreshment: they go to procure berries or some other fruit for her immediate relief, and, with great probability, lose their way in going or returning. To say nothing of the poet's art, in making this very natural and simple accident to be productive of the distress, which forms the future business and complication of the fable. It is certainly a fault, that the brothers, although with some indications of anxiety, should enter with so much tranquillity, when their sister is lost, and at leisure pronounce philosophical panegyrics on the mysteries of virginity. But we must not too scrupulously attend to the exigencies of situation, nor suffer ourselves to suppose that we are reading a play, which Milton did not mean to write. These splendid insertions will please, independently of the story, from which however they result: and their elegance and sublimity will overbalance their want of place. In a Greek tragedy, such sentimental harangues, arising from the subject, would have been given to a chorus.

“On the whole, whether *Comus*, be or be not, deficient as a drama, whether it is considered as an epic drama, a series of lines, a mask, or a poem, I am of opinion, that our author is here only inferior to his own *Paradise Lost*.”

GENERAL

# GENERAL CHARACTER of the POEMS of the late JOHN SCOTT, Esq.

[ From Mr. HOOLE's Life of that Gentleman. ]

“THE greater part of Scott's Poems are turned on rural imagery, in which it will be found that his principal merit is novelty in description, and a laudable endeavour to introduce an occasional simplicity of style, perhaps too much rejected by the present fastidious readers of poetry. He was certainly no servile copyist of the thoughts of others: for living in the country, and being a close and accurate observer, he painted what he saw, though he must unavoidably sometimes fall on ideas and expressions common to all pastoral writers. He cultivated the knowledge of natural history and botany, which enabled him to preserve the truth of nature with many discriminating touches, perhaps not excelled by any descriptive poet since the days of Thomson.

“Having already noticed the Four Elegies, the Elegy of 1768, and the poem of Amwell, it remains to take a general view of the other pieces that compose the volume.

“Of these the Amœbean Eclogues seem to me the least happy of Mr. Scott's productions; for in his attempt at novelty, he has admitted such names and circumstances, as, in my opinion, no versification, however harmonious, can make poetical: these lines may, in some measure, shew the force of my objections.

Old oaken stubs tough saplings there adorn,  
There hedge-row plashes yield the knotty thorn;  
The twain for different uses these avail,  
And form the traveller's staff, the thrasher's flail.

Where yon brown hazels pendent catkins  
bear.—— Eclog. I.

Bid here dark peas or tangled vetches  
spread;  
There buckwheat's white flower faintly  
ting'd with red,  
Bid here potatoes deep green stems be born,  
And yellow cole th' enclosure there adorn.  
Eclog. II.

“The following lines are easy and affecting.

Beside his gate, beneath the lofty tree,  
Old Thyrsis' well known seat I vacant see;  
There, while his prattling offspring round  
him play'd,  
He oft, to please them, toys of ozers made:  
That seat his weight shall never more sustain,  
That offspring round him ne'er shall sport  
again. Eclog. I.

“In the Oriental Eclogues, he has, with judgment, made use of such circumstances as might give them an air of local truth. This couplet is happily inserted in allusion to the Eastern fable.

Soft as the night bird's amorous music  
flows,  
In Zibet's garden when she woos the rose,  
Zerad.

“The following is highly poetical.

There Thirst, fell demon, haunts the  
sultry air,  
And his wild eye-balls roll with horrid  
glare:  
There deadly Sumiel\*, striding o'er the  
land,  
Sweeps his red wing, and whirls the burn-  
ing sand. Zerad.

\* The fiery blasting wind of the desert.

“The Eclogue of Serim, or the Artificial Famine, has much poetical merit; but perhaps it were to be wished, that the philanthropy of

## CHARACTER of the POEMS of the late J. SCOTT, Esq. [175]

of the author had not led him to make choice of a story so apparently disgraceful to the British name in India, the circumstances of which have been, doubtless, greatly exaggerated, while the enormities of a few individuals have been swelled, by designing men, into a general and universal spirit of rapine, avarice, and cruelty. The poem opens with solemnity.

O! guardian genius of this sacred wave,  
O! save thy sons, if thine the power to save!

“The following image was a particular favourite with the author.

Sad on our ways by human foot unworn,  
Stalks the dim form of Solitude forlorn.

“The Chinese Eclogue, called Li-po, or the Good Governor, has picturesque touches of the country, and contains many amiable reflections political and moral. The Vision of Confucius is very poetical.

‘Midst palmy fields, with sunshine ever bright,  
A palace rear’d its walls of silvery white;  
The gates of pearl a shady hall disclos’d,  
Where old Confucius’ reverend form repos’d:  
Loose o’er his limbs the silk’s light texture flow’d,  
His eyes serene ethereal lustre show’d.

“The Odes, as the author informs us, were written at very different periods, and some appear to be his earliest effusions in poetry. The style of these odes is various; gay and familiar, pathetic and sublime. In the odes on Recruiting and Privateering, the thoughts are new, and singularly characteristic of Mr. Scott’s religious tenets; and what ought to reflect no little honour on those tenets, strictly conformable to the dictates of every feeling mind, uncorrupted with the maxims of human policy.

I hate that drum’s discordant sound,  
Parading round, and round, and round  
To thoughtless youth it pleasure yields,  
And lures from cities and from fields.—  
To me it talks of ravag’d plains,  
And burning towns, and ruin’d swains,  
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,  
And widows tears, and orphans moans.  
Ode XIII

How custom steels the human breast,  
To deeds that Nature’s thoughts detest!  
How custom consecrates to fame,  
That reason else would give to shame!  
Privateering, Ode XVII.

“The Mexican Ode may admit of much praise. It opens with a spirited abruptness.

From Cholula’s hostile plain,  
Left her treacherous legions slain,  
Left her temples all on flame,  
Cortez’ conquering army came.

“It ends with equal dignity after the prophecy of the Mexican idol.

Ceas’d the voice with dreadful sounds,  
Loud as tides that break their bounds;  
Roll’d the form in smoke away.—

“The vanishing of the demon is attended with circumstances not very dissimilar from the disappearance of the spirit of the Cape in Camoens.

“The two Epistles that follow the Odes, are written in a very familiar and easy strain of versification.

“The second Epistle describes the occupations and amusements of a contemplative mind in the country, and may be considered as a picture of the author’s own manner of living.

“The Essay on Painting is an elegant piece of versification, and shews, in the fullest light, Mr. Scott’s turn for the polite arts. He was always a great admirer of painting, and for many years never missed an annual exhibition. The poem is said to be addressed to a young painter,

painter, but has no reference to any particular person. It will perhaps be found, that not any very new remarks are introduced on a subject, relative to which so much has been written; but the rules and observations are at least delivered with taste and perspicuity.

“ The opening is poetical.

From sunny Adria's sea-surrounded  
towers,  
From Tyber's vales and Arno's viny  
bowers,  
The Muse of painting seeks Britannia's  
plain,  
And leads to Thames's bank her favourite  
train.

“ His observation is very just on the superiority and permanence of the reputation acquired by the higher style of painting and poetry, in the sublime and the pathetic, compared with the lower class of humour and common life.

'Tis general nature, in thy art and mine,  
Must give our fame in future times to  
shine :  
Sublime and pathos, like the sun's fix'd  
flame,  
Remain and please thro' every age the same :  
Humour's light shapes, like vapours in the  
sky,  
Rise, pass, and vary, and for ever fly :  
Hogarth and Swift, if living, might de-  
plore  
Half their keen jokes, that now are jokes  
no more.

“ Among several subjects point-  
ed out as proper for the pencil, he  
instances the Maria of Sterne, which  
passage, at the same time that it

does justice to the merit of that ad-  
mirable painter of manners, con-  
tains a censure, on which occasion  
he inserts the following note, in  
which every sober chaste judgment  
must heartily concur.

“ There probably never was a  
more striking instance of misappli-  
cation of talents than in him  
(Sterne) : with superior powers for  
the pathos, he chose to descend to  
ribaldry, that affronted the taste,  
and corrupted the morals of the  
public. What pity that the gold had  
not been separated from the dross,  
and the latter consigned to an obli-  
vion it so richly merits.”

“ He pays the following compli-  
ment to the memory of my ingeni-  
ous friend Mr. Mortimer.

O! where is he, whose thoughts such  
grandeur gave,  
To bold Fitzwalter, and the barons brave,  
When'raug'd in arms along their Thames's  
strand,  
They snatch'd their charter from a tyrant's  
hand ?  
Thro' all the scenes his rapid stroke be-  
stow'd,  
Rosa's wild grace and daring spirit glow'd;  
In him——ah! lost ere half his powers  
were shown,  
Britain perhaps an Angelo had known.

“ The volume is closed with a  
few sonnets, and other copies of  
verses written on temporary sub-  
jects, some of which are of a very  
early date (1766), and one dated as  
far back as 1756.”

## REMARKS ON DYER'S GRONGAR HILL.

[ From the late Mr. SCOTT'S Critical Essays on some of the Poems of  
several English Poets. ]

“ **G**RONGAR-Hill is a de-  
scriptive poem, of very  
considerable merit, spirited and pleas-

ing. Few poetical pieces have re-  
presented an extensive and beautiful  
prospect in so agreeable a manner.  
But

But it is not without its imperfections: there is a redundance of thought in some instances, and a carelessness of language in others. The versification, like that of Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, is an irregular mixture of iambick and trochaick lines: a circumstance rather displeasing to a nice ear. The poem opens thus:

*Silent Nymph, with curious eye!*  
Who, the purple ev'ning, lies  
On the mountain's lonely van,  
Beyond the noise of busy man,  
*Painting fair the form of things,*  
While the yellow linnet sings,  
Or the tuneful nightingale  
Charms the forest with her tale;  
Come with all thy *various hues*,  
Come and aid thy *sister Muse*;  
Now while Phœbus riding high  
Gives lustre to the land and sky!  
Grongar Hill invites my song,  
Draw the landscape bright and strong.

Dyer in general wrote with remarkable simplicity and clearness, but here is an instance in which his sense is almost inexplicable. What fictitious person is addressed by the appellation of *Silent Nymph*, it seems scarcely possible to discover. *Painting*, from the expressions *Sister Muse*, and *various hues*, might be meant; but why should painting be described as lying on the mountain's lonely van? Evening, as a prosopopeia, could not be intended; for evening cannot with any propriety be said to *paint the form of things*. Fancy may be thought to have a better claim to the title, but to her, some of the above circumstances are not applicable. That Fancy, however, was really designed, is a fact that can be fully ascertained. Few readers are perhaps apprized that Grongar Hill was originally written, and even printed, as an irregular ode. There is a Miscellany volume of poems, collected and published by the celebrated Rich-

ard Savage, in the year 1726, in which it appears in that form, very incorrect, and with the initial lines as follows:

Fancy, nymph that loves to lie  
On the lonely eminence;  
Darting notice through the eye,  
Forming thought and feasting sense:  
Thou that must lend imagination wings,  
And stamp distinction on all worldly things,  
Come, and with thy various hues,  
Paint and adorn thy sister muse.

As the passage stands at present, there must be either a designed violent ellipsis or accidental omission of the particle *at*, in the second line. It might be read thus:

Silent nymph with curious eye!  
Who at purple evening lies—

The following paragraph rather destroys the unity of design, by dividing attention between *past* action, and *present*, of which last the principal part of the poem consists. The image of the poet seated on a bank of flowers, by the side of a fountain, is nevertheless pretty, and has perhaps merit enough to justify its retention:

Grongar, in whose mossy cells  
Sweetly musing Quiet dwells;  
Grongar in whose silent shade,  
For the modest Muses made,  
So oft I *have*, the evening still,  
At the fountain of a rill,  
Sat upon a flowery bed,  
With my hand beneath my head;  
While *stray'd* my eyes o'er Towy's flood,  
Over mead and over wood,  
From house to house, from hill to hill,  
Till Contemplation had her fill.

“The author now agreeably describes the circumstance of ascending a hill, with the consequent gradual enlargement of the surrounding horizon. The trite simile of circles on water, is here happily applied. The comparison of material with metaphorical eminence, *unhappy fate*, &c. interrupts the description, and is not strictly just;  
moun-

mountains sinking in appearance from a spectator's change of situation, can have no real analogy with the degradation of a statesman, hero, or other elevated character. The ideas in these couplets, "Still the prospect, wider," &c. are so extensive, that they approach to the true sublime :

About his chequer'd sides I wind,  
And leave his brooks and meads behind,  
And groves and grottos where I lay,  
And vistas *shoot*ing beams of day :  
Wide and wider spreads the vale ;  
Like circles on a smooth canal :  
The mountains round, *unhappy fate*  
*Sooner or later of all height,*  
Withdraw their summits from the skies,  
And lessen as the others rise :  
Still the prospect wider spreads,  
Adds a thousand woods and meads,  
Still it widens, widens still,  
And sinks the newly-risen hill.

Some readers may think the following alterations no improvement ; but the arrangement is certainly preferable in point of correctness :

Wider and wider spreads the vale,  
As circles on a smooth canal ;  
The mountains round that reach the skies  
Subside, and others o'er them rise.  
Still the prospect, &c.

" Had all the next paragraph, except the first two lines, been suppressed, the poem would have suffered no material loss. After the landscape was said to *lie below*, it was surely needless to say that it spread *beneath the sight* : nor does the *face* of Nature, wearing the *hues* of the rainbow, convey to the mind any distinct or graphical idea :

Now I gain the mountain's brow,  
What a landscape lies *below* !  
No clouds, no vapours intervene,  
But the gay the open scene,  
Does the *face* of Nature *show*,  
In all the *hues* of heaven's bow !  
And swelling to embrace the light,  
Spreads around *beneath the sight*.

" We have now a scene almost

unexceptionably picturesque and beautiful :

Old castles on the cliffs arise,  
Proudly towering in the skies !  
Rushing from the woods the spires,  
Seem from hence ascending fires !  
*Half* his beams Apollo sheds,  
On the yellow mountain heads !  
Gilds the fleeces of the flocks,  
And glitters on the broken rocks !

" The downward view of Grongar itself, has equal merit ; the epithets of the different trees are well chosen :

Below me trees unnumber'd rise,  
Beautiful in various dyes ;  
The gloomy pine, the poplar blue,  
The yellow beech, the sable yew,  
The slender fir that taper grows,  
The sturdy oak with broad-spread boughs.

" This poem has been celebrated for the frequency of its moral reflections. After describing a ruined castle or palace, it was natural for such sentiments as the following to occur ; but they might have been expressed with more conciseness. The pen of expunction should have passed over the words marked in italics, as superfluous ; *rule* and *sway* are synonymous ; *pomp* and *sway* would have done better. The conclusion, this little defect excepted, is truly excellent :

Yet time has seen, *that lifts the low,*  
*And level lays the lofty brow,*  
*Has seen this broken pile complete,*  
Big with the vanity of state ;  
*But transient is the smile of fate !*  
A little *rule*, a little *sway*,  
A sun-beam in a winter's day,  
Is all the proud and mighty have,  
Between the cradle and the grave.

" The ensuing description of the rivers is agreeable, and prettily illustrates the course of human life. The thought of *Nature's vesture*, is not so happy : her dress could not be at once grave and gay ; and the same appearance which *instructs* or produces serious reflection, can scarcely



scarcely divert or *disperse* care :

And see the rivers how they run,  
Thro' woods and meads, in shade and sun,  
Sometimes swift, sometimes slow,  
Wave succeeding wave they go ;  
A various journey to the deep,  
Like human life to endless sleep !  
Thus is Nature's *vesture* wrought,  
To *instruct* our wand'ring thought ;  
Thus she dresses green and gay,  
To *disperse* our cares away.

“ Among the various component parts of a rural prospect, few are more pleasing than the disposition of cultivated ground, the different dimensions and forms of the inclosures, and the different colours of their productions. Dyer's observant eye had not missed this appearance ; and he has here introduced part of it, with the circumstance of diminution, occasioned by distance :

See on the mountain's southern side,  
*Where the prospect opens wide,*  
Where the evening gilds the tide ;  
How close and small the hedges lie !  
What streaks of meadows cross the eye !

The use of triplets arbitrarily introduced in couplet verse, should be sparingly indulged. There can be no apology for it, but where the sense is too extensive for two lines, and not sufficient for four. In the present instance, the second line might have been omitted without disadvantage. Every reader must recollect the poets supposed situation,

Still the prospect wider spreads, &c.

and of course know that *the prospect was wide*. But this paragraph requires consideration in another point of view :

How close and small the hedges lie !  
What streaks of meadows cross the eye !  
A step methinks may pass the stream,  
So little distant dangers seem ;  
*So we mistake the future's face,*  
*Ey'd through hope's deluding glass ;*  
As yon summits soft and fair,  
Clad in colours of the air

1785.

*Which* to those who journey near,  
Barren, brown, and rough appear ;  
Still we tread the same coarse way,  
The present's still a cloudy day.

By crowding too many thoughts together, writers often produce confusion. Part of the above is uncommonly ambiguous. There is in it one couplet, which seems, Janus like, to look both ways ; we know not whether to join it with those which precede, or with those that follow ; and there is no punctuation that can determine the matter. The supposed narrowness of the stream very well illustrates the sentiment, that danger in idea is diminished in proportion to its distance ; and that sentiment is simply, forcibly, and fully expressed in one line :

So little distant dangers seem.

If to this verse we add the two doubtful ones,

*So we mistake the future's face,*  
*Ey'd through hope's deluding glass,*

we have a superfluous expatiation on the thought : Hope's glass, also, to bear any relation to the natural circumstance, must be an inverted telescope, which removes and lessens the object. In this case the lines should have closed the sentence thus :

*So we mistake the future's face,*  
*Ey'd through hope's deluding glass.*

But here the context, by an improper introduction of the relative *which*, is rendered absolute nonsense : “ As yon summits *which* appear brown and rough, still we tread,” &c. But by substituting *still* for *which*, we may obtain propriety of expression : “ As yon summits soft and fair, *still* when approached appear brown and rough, so still we tread,” &c. This disputable couplet will, however, on the

the other hand, connect as easily with its successors :

*So we mistake the future's face,  
Ey'd through hope's deluding glass;  
As yon summits soft and fair,  
Clad in colours of the air,  
Which to those, &c.*

This reading, also, will give us grammatical construction :—" We mistake the future's face, as we mistake yon summits, which are airy and beautiful when distant, but when near, brown and rough." The thought in this passage is one that seems naturally to occur to the human mind : we feel the same kind of sensation when the eye views a delightful prospect, as when the imagination contemplates supposed future happiness : we think the place where we are, less pleasant than the place we behold ; we think the present hour less happy than the hours in expectation.

" There is a remarkable sprightliness in the movement of the verses, in which the poet exults in the enjoyment of his pleasant situation :

Now, even now, my joys run high,  
As on the mountain-turf I lie ;  
While the wanton zephyr sings,  
And in the vale perfumes his wings ;  
While the waters murmur deep ;  
While the shepherd charms his sheep ;  
While the birds untounded fly,  
And with music fill the sky ;  
Now, even now, my joys run high. }  
Be full ye courts, be great who will,  
Search for peace with all your skill :  
Open wide the lofty door,  
Seek her on the marble floor ;  
In vain you search, she is not there ;  
In vain ye search the domes of care !

Grongar-Hill, had Dyer written nothing else, would have obtained for him the name of a poet ; neverthe-

less, it is the smallest proof of his abilities. The Ruins of Rome, and the Fleece, however neglected by superficial readers, or degraded by injudicious critics, justly intitle him to the highest praise."

" Since the above was written, the author has seen a very ingenious work (Observations on the River Wye, by Mr. Gilpin), in which this poem has obtained considerable notice. Dyer is there considered as a landscape painter, painting with words instead of colours ; and is pronounced defective in his execution, as wanting contrast of foreground and distance. It is justly observed, that the objects immediately beneath his eye, and those more remote, are marked with equal strength and distinctness ; the trees close at hand, are distinguished by their *shapes* and *leaves*, and the castle afar off, by *ivy* creeping on its walls. Where the describer is supposed to stand, the former must be visible, the latter could not ; and therefore should not have been mentioned. When a man proposes much, and fails of doing it, he discovers inability or negligence ; when he professes nothing, and does little, we may wish he had done more, but we should not estimate his powers by his performance. Dyer's poem seems designedly without plan ; it is desultory and diffuse, sketching at random a number of unconnected objects. His hill's extensive view would probably have afforded *several* complete landscapes ; but it is not clear that he aimed at producing any."

## CHARACTER of HANDEL as a COMPOSER.

[ From Dr. BURNLEY's Sketch of his Life. ]

“ **T**HAT Handel was superior in the strength and boldness of his style, the richness of his harmony, and complication of parts, to every composer who has been most admired for such excellencies, cannot be disputed. And, while fugue, contrivance, and a full score, were more generally revered than at present, he remained wholly unrivalled.

“ I know it has been said that Handel was not the original and immediate inventor of several species of music, for which his name has been celebrated; but, with respect to originality, it is a term to which proper limits should be set, before it is applied to the productions of any artist. Every invention is clumsy in its beginning, and Shakspeare was not the first writer of plays, or Corelli the first composer of violin solos, sonatas, and concertos, though those which he produced are the best of his time; nor was Milton the inventor of epic poetry. The scale, harmony, and cadence of music, being settled, it is impossible for any composer to invent a genus of composition that is wholly and rigorously new, any more than for a poet to form a language, idiom, and phraseology, for himself. All that the greatest and boldest musical inventor can do, is to avail himself of the best effusions, combinations, and effects, of his predecessors; to arrange and apply them in a new manner; and to add, from his own source, whatever he can draw, that is grand, graceful, gay, pathetic, or, in any other way, pleasing. This Handel did, in a most ample and superior

manner; being possessed, in his middle age and full vigour, of every refinement and perfection of his time: uniting the depth and elaborate contrivance of his own country, with Italian elegance and facility; as he seems, while he resided south of the Alps, to have listened attentively in the church, theatre, and chamber, to the most exquisite compositions, and performers, of every kind, that were then existing.

“ And though we had cantatas by Carissimi, Alessandro Scarlatti, Gasparini, and Marcello; duets by Steffani and Clari; vocal chorusses, without instrumental accompaniments, by Palestrina, and our own Tallis, Bird, and Purcell; and, with accompaniments, by Carissimi as well as Paolo Colonna; with violin sonatas and concertos by Corelli and Geminiani; yet it may with the utmost truth be asserted, that Handel added considerable beauties to whatever style or species of composition he adopted, which, in a larger work, it would not be difficult to demonstrate, by examples. At present, I shall only venture to give it as part of my musical *profession de foi*, that his air or melody is greatly superior to any that can be found in the otherwise charming cantatas which Carissimi seems to have invented; that he is more natural in his voice-parts, and has given more movements to his bases than Ales. Scarlatti; that he has more force and originality than Gasparini or Marcello; that his chamber duets are, at least, equal to those of Steffani and Clari, who were remarkable for no other species of composition; and though

the late Dr. Boyce used to say that Handel had great obligations to Colonna for his chorusses with instrumental accompaniments, it seems indisputable that such chorusses were infinitely more obliged to Handel than he to Colonna, or, indeed, than they were to all the composers that have ever existed. It is my belief, likewise, that the best of his Italian opera songs surpass, in variety of style and ingenuity of accompaniment, those of all preceding and contemporary composers throughout Europe; that he has more fire, in his compositions for violins than Corelli, and more rhythm than Geminiani; that in his full, masterly, and excellent or-

gan-fugues, upon the most natural and pleasing subjects, he has surpassed Frescobaldi, and even Sebastian Bach, and others of his countrymen, the most renowned for abilities in this difficult and elaborate species of composition; and, lastly, that all the judicious and unprejudiced musicians of every country, upon hearing or perusing his noble, majestic, and frequently sublime full anthems, and oratorio chorusses, must allow, with readiness and rapture, that they are utterly unacquainted with any thing equal to them, among the works of the greatest masters that have existed since the invention of counterpoint."

# PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

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## NATURAL HISTORY OF LIONS.

[From Dr. SPARRMAN's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope.]

“ **I**T had not been dark two hours, before we heard the roaring of lions, which at times appeared to be pretty near us. This was the first time that I had heard this kind of music, and, as there were several performers, it might be properly called a concerto of lions. They continued roaring the whole night, whence my guide concluded, that they had assembled on the plains in order to copulate, and carry on their amours, by fighting and attacking each other after the manner of cats.

“ To describe the roaring of the lion as nearly as I can, I must inform the reader that it consisted in a hoarse inarticulate sound, which at the same time seemed to have a hollowness in it, something like that proceeding from a speaking trumpet. The sound is between that of a German u and an o, being drawn to a great length, and appearing as if it came from out of the earth; at the same time that, after listening with the greatest attention, I could not exactly hear from what quarter it came. The sound of the lion's voice does not bear the least resemblance to thunder, as M. de Buffon, tom. ix. p. 22. from the Voyage of Boullaye le Gouz, affirms it does. In fact, it appeared to me to be neither peculiarly piercing nor tremendous;

yet, from its slow prolonged note, joined with nocturnal darkness, and the terrible idea one is apt to form to one's self of this animal, it made one shudder, even in such places as I had an opportunity of hearing it in with more satisfaction, and without having the least occasion for fear. We could plainly perceive by our animals, when the lions, whether they roared or not, were reconnoitring us at a small distance. For in that case the hounds did not dare to bark in the least, but crept quite close to the Hottentots; and our oxen and horses shied deeply, frequently hanging back, and pulling slowly with all their might at the strong straps with which they were tied up to the wagon. They likewise laid themselves down upon the ground and stood up alternately, appearing as if they did not know what to do with themselves: and, indeed, I may say, just as if they were in the agonies of death. In the mean time, my Hottentots made the necessary preparations, and laid each of them their javelins by the side of them. We likewise loaded all our five pieces, three of which we distributed among those of our Hottentots who spoke Dutch.

“ Fire and fire-brands are universally reckoned, and indeed were said by my Hottentots, to be a  
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great preservative and defence against lions and other wild beasts: they could, however, themselves mention instances, in which the lion had leaped forward to the fire, and carried off some one of them, who had been sitting round it and warming themselves. The animal too has sometimes taken its prey to so short a distance, that the poor wretch's companions have plainly heard it champing and chewing his flesh. The Hottentots desired us who were placed in the waggon, not to be in too great haste to fire in case a lion should take a leap among them, for fear that in the dark we might at the same time hurt some of them. They had concerted matters so, that some of them should rather attempt to pierce him through with their hassagais or spears, while at the same instant the others should endeavour to cling about its legs.

"They looked upon it as a certain fact, and I have since heard the same from others, that a lion does not immediately kill the person he has got under him, unless he is excited to do so by the resistance he meets with. At length, however, it is reported, the royal tyrant gives the coup de grace on the victim's breast with a hideous roar. On this occasion I must do my Hottentots the justice to say, that they did not shew the least fear; though they conceived the old and commonly-received notion to be absolutely true, that both lions and tigers would attack a slave or a Hottentot before they will a colonist or a white man. Consequently Mr. Immelman and I had no such great reason to be in fear for our own persons, unless more than one lion should come to attack us, or that we should discharge our pieces too precipitately and miss him; for in

such a case, the lion always rushes on the marksman. In another respect, however, we that lay in the waggon and at a distance from the fire, were most liable to receive a visit from the lions; or at least to see our horses and oxen, which were tied up to the waggon, seized by them. Otherwise, for the singularity of the spectacle, I should have been glad to have seen an attack of this kind, if it had not cost me more than a couple of my oxen. In such a case, indeed, my horses would probably first have fallen a prey to this rapacious animal, as it is generally supposed that the lion gives them the preference.

"Among our oxen there was one which at this time, as well as since upon other similar occasions, appeared extremely disquieted and restless. It had, besides, a singular and astonishing habit of making an inward noise, which cannot be described; and this was the case likewise with the stone-horse, in his own peculiar way. This, in fact, was sufficient to make us keep ourselves in readiness, though it happened not to be absolutely necessary: however, we quickly got accustomed to it, and several times laid ourselves down to sleep, void of care, leaving our beasts to fight on unheeded. It is, indeed, a wonderful circumstance, that the brute creation should have been taught merely by nature to be in dread of the lion; for our horses and oxen were all from places, where I am certain they could have no knowledge of this dreadful adversary of theirs: so that in this we must admire the bounty of Providence, which, while it has sent such a tyrant as the lion amongst the animal creation, has likewise taught them to discern and distinguish it with trembling and horror.

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“ One would suppose, that the roaring of the lion would prove serviceable to the other animals, as being a warning for them to betake themselves to flight: but as when he roars, according to all report, he puts his mouth to the ground, so that the sound is diffused equally all over the place, without, as we have already mentioned, its being possible to hear from what quarter it comes, the animals are intimidated and scared to such a degree, as to fly about backwards and forwards in the dark to every side; in consequence of which, some of them may easily chance to run on to the very spot from whence the tremendous sound actually proceeds, and which they meant most to avoid.

“ A writer, in other respects extremely rational, who styles himself *Officier du Roi*, asserts, in his *Voyage à l'Isle de France*, &c. p. 63, that in Africa there are found whole armies of lions; a fact of which, he says, he was informed, by three persons of consequence in the government, whose names he mentions.

“ This author, as well as his informers, and those, if such there be, who have given any credit to him, may be easily made to conceive the palpable absurdity of the idea by this single consideration, that to support armies of lions, it would require a greater quantity of quadrupeds and game, as it is called, than is to be found not only in Africa, but in all the world besides. In order to confirm this assertion, we may appeal to a witty observation made by the Indians, and reported by Lafitau. “ It is a very fortunate circumstance, said they, that the Portuguese are as few in number as they are cruel in their dispositions; just as it is with the tigers and lions with respect to the rest of

the animal creation, or otherwise there would soon be an end of us men.”

“ With regard to the testimonies of the persons of consequence here appealed to, I must beg leave to observe, that we may at any time, without the least hesitation, call in question any position which militates against common sense. Besides, in the East Indies, knowledge and the appearance of truth are not always absolutely inseparable from authority. I myself have heard a man belonging to the council at the Cape, relate to strangers the most ridiculous absurdities concerning the country in which he lived. Stories of this kind often originate from the farmers and yeomen, who come from a great distance, and who often find their account in amusing their rulers with pleasing tales; which, the more wonderful they are, with the greater avidity they are swallowed. Another source of these false reports is in the depraved disposition of mankind, who are very prone to impose as much as they can on the credulity of the weak and simple. Admitting it to be true, that the Romans introduced into their public spectacles a great number of lions, which, indeed, they might easily collect from the extensive tracts of country they possessed in Africa and Asia, yet it never can be consonant either with truth or probability, that armies of lions should be found in these quarters of the globe, where only, according to the very probable position of M. de Buffon, they exist. So that when a later writer, the abbé de Manet, in his description of the northern part of Africa, affirms, that the same kind of lion is likewise found in America, we may safely consider this merely as a hasty assertion, which is not warranted

either by the authority of others or by his own experience : indeed, this author's testimony is much more to be credited when he informs us, that the " negroes in the northern parts of Africa, are used to catch lions in pits, but do not dare to eat any of the flesh, for fear lest the other lions should be revenged on them." In this particular, however, I have not found the Hottentots, or inhabitants of the southern parts of Africa, equally superstitious, as they told me, that they ate the flesh of lions, and looked upon it to be both good and wholesome. They likewise informed me, that the lions as well as hyænas, had been formerly much bolder than they are at present, as they used to seize them at night, and carry them off from their cottages : at the same time they assured me, that a lion that had once tasted human flesh would never after, if he could help it, prey upon any other. They added, that for the same reason they were obliged to fix benches up in trees to sleep on ; so that they could not so readily be caught unawares by the lions, and might likewise the easier defend themselves when they were attacked by them.

" So that, in fact, they were obliged to acknowledge, that with the assistance of the Christians and their fire-arms, they are at present much less exposed to the ravages of this fierce animal ; while, on the other hand, I could not but agree with them, that the colonists themselves were a much greater scourge to them than all the wild beasts of their country put together ; as the Hottentot nations, since the arrival of the colonists in this part of the world, have found themselves reduced to a much narrower space in their possessions, and their numbers very much decreased.

" In these times, at least, the lion does not willingly attack any animal openly, unless provoked, or extremely hungry ; in which latter case he is said to fear no danger, and to be repelled by no resistance. The method in which the lion takes his prey, is almost always to spring or throw himself on it, with one vast leap from the place of his concealment ; yet, if he chances to miss his leap, he will not, as the Hottentots unanimously assured me, follow his prey any farther ; but, as though he were ashamed, turning round towards the place where he lay in ambush, slowly, and step by step, as it were, measures the exact length between the two points, in order to find how much too short of, or beyond the mark he had taken his leap. One of these animals, however, was once known to pursue an elk-antelope with the greatest eagerness and ardour, without any one getting to see the end of the chace. It is singular, that the foxes in Europe, according to M. Colonn's Hist. Nouv. de l'Univers, tom. iv. p. 20. when they have leaped short of their mark, and their prey has got away from them, measure the length of their leap, in the same manner as the lion does.

" It is particularly near rivers and springs, that the lion finds it best answers his purpose to lie in wait. Any animal whatever that is obliged to go thither in order to quench its thirst, is in danger, *tamquam canis ad Nilum*, of becoming a victim to the irresistible power of this blood-thirsty tyrant.

" It should seem, that in case gazels, and other such animals, had scent of the lion when he was near them, as strong as it appeared to be in my horses and oxen, they might easily avoid the danger. I do not know how the fact really stands ; but

but it is possible that the lion, like the sportsmen of this country, may know so well how to chuse the place of its concealment, that the wind may drive its effluvia from the side whence it might be perceived by its prey.

“ Following the example of other travellers in such tracts of this part of Africa as are infested by lions, we always took the precaution to make loud cracks with our large ox-whip, whenever we were going to pass a river. These cracks of a whip, which, in fact, make a louder noise, and a greater vibration in the air than the discharge from a pistol, nay, are heard much farther than the report of a gun, is looked upon as a very efficacious method of scaring away wild beasts. These large whips seem, therefore, to have contributed not a little to the greater degree of dread which, since the arrival of the colonists, the lions have of mankind.

“ The lion’s method of taking its prey, as described above, is not, however, probably, so universal as to be without exception. Soon after my arrival at the Cape, I heard speak of a married woman, who, somewhere in the Carrow country, was killed at her own door by a lion, which likewise ate up her head; though others, indeed, thought she came by her death in a different manner. Several farmers related to me the following singular freak of a lion in Camdebo.

“ A few years ago a farmer on horseback, with a led horse in hand, met with a lion, which had laid itself down in the public road where the farmer was to pass. Thus circumstanced, he thought it most advisable to turn back, but found the lion had taken a circle, and laid itself in his way again; he was therefore obliged to turn back again, and

so alternately backwards and forwards. Whether the lion was scared away by several more travellers coming up or no, I cannot say that I recollect; for I find, that I have forgot to make a minute of the story, probably, because I did not think my authority sufficiently to be depended upon. The following occurrence, however, I think I may relate, as being tolerably well authenticated, and serving to shew the cowardice and insidious disposition of the lion.

“ An elderly Hottentot in the service of a Christian, near the upper part of Sunday river on the Camdebo side, perceived a lion following him at a great distance for two hours together. Thence he naturally concluded, that the lion only waited for the approach of darkness, in order to make him his prey: and in the mean time, could not expect any other than to serve for this fierce animal’s supper, inasmuch as he had no other weapon of defence than a stick, and knew that he could not get home before it was dark. But as he was well acquainted with the nature of the lion, and the manner of its seizing upon its prey, and at the same time had leisure between whiles to ruminate on the ways and means in which it was most likely that his existence would be put an end to, he at length hit on a method of saving his life, for which, in fact, he had to thank his meditations upon death, and the small skill he had in zoology (or, to speak plainly, his knowledge of the nature of animals). For this purpose, instead of making the best of his way home, he looked out for a *kilphrans* (so they generally call a rocky place level and plain at top, and having a perpendicular precipice on one side of it), and sitting himself down

on the edge of one of these precipices, he found, to his great joy, that the lion likewise made a halt, and kept the same distance as before. As soon as it grew dark, the Hottentot sliding a little forwards, let himself down below the upper edge of the precipice upon some projecting part or cleft of the rock, where he could just keep himself from falling. But in order to cheat the lion still more, he set his hat and cloak on the stick, making with it at the same time a gentle motion just over his head, and a little way from the edge of the mountain. This crafty expedient had the desired success. He did not stay long in that situation, before the lion came creeping softly towards him like a cat, and mistaking the skin-cloak for the Hottentot himself, took his leap with such exactness and precision, as to fall headlong down the precipice, directly close to the snare which had been set up for him; when the Hottentot is said, in his great joy, exultingly to have called out, *t'katsi!* an interjection of very extensive import and signification.

“ This is not the only instance of lions in Africa being ensnared in the midst of their leap. In the out-houses and waste grounds about farms, where a lion has been upon the watch for some animal and missed it, or where they have other reasons to expect him, they set up the figure of a man close by the side of several loaded guns; so that these discharge themselves into the body of the beast, at the very instant that he springs or throws himself upon the dressed figure.

“ As this is done with so much ease and success, and as they hardly ever think it worth while in Africa to take lions alive, they seldom give themselves the trouble of catching

them by means of pit-falls. From all the most credible accounts I could collect concerning the lions, as well as from what I saw myself, I think I may safely conclude, that this wild beast is frequently a great coward; that is, very deficient in point of courage comparatively to his strength. On the other hand, however, he often shews an unusual degree of intrepidity, of which I will just mention the following instance, as it was related to me.

“ A lion had broken into a walled inclosure for cattle through the latticed gate, and done a good deal of damage. The people belonging to the farm, were well assured of his coming again by the same way; in consequence of which, they stretched a line directly across the entrance, so thick set with loaded guns, that they must necessarily discharge themselves into the lion's body as soon as ever he should come, which they firmly expected he would, to displace the line with his breast. But the lion, which came in the daytime before it was yet dark, and probably had some suspicions with respect to the line, struck it away with his foot; and without betraying the least fear in consequence of the reports made by the loaded pieces, went on steadily and careless of every thing, and devoured the prey it had left untouched before.

“ M. Buffon (tom. ix. p. 7.) tells us, on the authority of Marmol and Thevenot, that the lions, which in the more cultivated and inhabited parts of Barbary and India, are used to experience man's superiority, sometimes suffer themselves to be intimidated with a few strokes of a stick (and that even by women and children) from carrying off their prey. This accords with several accounts that I heard at the Cape, of slaves who had had cou-  
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rage enough, with a knife or some other weapon still more insignificant, to defend their master's cattle, which had been attacked in the dark by a lion.

“ It is singular, that the lion, which, according to many, always kills his prey immediately if it belongs to the brute creation, is reported frequently, although provoked, to content himself with merely wounding the human species; or at least to wait some time before he gives the fatal blow to the unhappy victim he has got under him. A farmer, who the year before had the misfortune to be a spectator of a lion's seizing two of his oxen, at the very instant he had taken them out of the waggon, told me, that they immediately fell down dead upon the spot close to each other; though, upon examining the carcases afterwards, it appeared that their backs only had been broken. In several places through which I passed, they mentioned to me by name a father and his two sons, who were said to be still living, and who being on foot near a river on their estate in search of a lion, this latter had rushed out upon them, and thrown one of them under his feet: the two others, however, had time enough to shoot the lion dead upon the spot, which had lain almost across the youth so nearly and dearly related to them, without having done him any particular hurt.

“ I myself saw, near the upper part of Duyven-hoek-rivier, an elderly Hottentot, who at that time (his wounds being still open) bore under one eye and underneath his cheek-bone the ghastly marks of the bite of a lion, which did not think it worth his while to give him any other chastisement for having, together with his master (whom I

also knew) and several other Christians, hunted him with great intrepidity, though without success. The conversation ran every where in this part of the country upon one Bota, a farmer and captain in the militia, who had lain for some time under a lion, and had received several bruises from the beast, having been at the same time a good deal bitten by him in one arm, as a token to remember him by; but, upon the whole, had, in a manner, had his life given him by this noble animal. The man was said then to be living in the district of Artaquas-kloof.

“ I do not rightly know how to account for this merciful disposition towards mankind. Does it proceed from the lion's greater respect and veneration for man, as being equal to, or even a mightier tyrant than himself among the animal creation? or is it merely from the same caprice, which has sometimes induced him not only to spare the lives of men or brute creatures who have been given up to him for prey, but even to caress them, and treat them with the greatest kindness? Whims and freaks of this kind, have, perhaps, in a great measure, acquired the lion the reputation it has for generosity; but I cannot allow this specious name, sacred only to virtue, to be lavished upon a wild beast. Slaves, indeed, and wretches of servile minds, are wont with this attribute to flatter their greatest tyrants; but with what shew of reason can this attribute be bestowed upon the most powerful tyrant among quadrupeds, because it does not exercise an equal degree of cruelty upon all occasions?

“ That the lion does not, like the wolf, tiger, and some other beasts of prey, kill a great deal of game or cattle at one time, perhaps, proceeds from this, that while he is

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employed in attacking one or two of them, the remainder fly farther than it accords with the natural indolence of this beast to follow them. If this be called generosity, a cat may be styled generous with respect to the rats; as I have seen this creature in the fields among a great number of the latter, where she could have made a great havock at once, seize on a single one only, and run off with it. The lion and the cat, likewise, very much resemble each other, in partly sleeping out, and partly passing away in a quiet inactive state a great part of their time, in which hunger does not urge them to go in quest of their prey.

“ From what I have already related, and am farther about to mention, we may conclude, that it is not in magnanimity, as many will have it to be, but in an insidious and cowardly disposition, blended with a certain degree of pride, that the general character of the lion consists: and that hunger must naturally have the effect of now and then inspiring so strong and nimble an animal with uncommon intrepidity and courage. Moreover, being accustomed always itself to kill its own food, and that with the greatest ease, as meeting with no resistance, and even frequently to devour it reeking and weltering in its blood, it cannot but be easily provoked, and acquire a greater turn for cruelty than for generosity: but, on the other hand, not being accustomed to meet with any resistance, it is no wonder that when it does, it should sometimes be faint-hearted and crest-fallen; and, as I have already said, suffer itself to be scared away with a cudgel. Here follows another instance of this fact.

“ A yeoman, a man of veracity (Jacob Kok, of Zeekoe-rivier), re-

lated to me an adventure he had, in these words. One day, walking over his lands with his loaded gun, he unexpectedly met with a lion. Being an excellent shot, he thought himself pretty certain, in the position he was in, of killing it, and therefore fired his piece. Unfortunately he did not recollect, that the charge had been in it for some time, and consequently was damp; so that his piece hung fire, and the ball falling short, entered the ground close to the lion. In consequence of this he was seized with a panic, and took directly to his feet; but being soon out of breath, and closely pursued by the lion, he jumped up on a little heap of stones, and there made a stand, presenting the butt-end of his gun to his adversary, fully resolved to defend his life as well as he could to the utmost. My friend did not take upon him to determine, whether this position and manner of his intimidated the lion or not: it had, however, such an effect upon the creature, that it likewise made a stand; and what was still more singular, laid itself down at the distance of a few paces from the heap of stones seemingly quite unconcerned. The sportsman, in the mean while, did not dare to stir a step from the spot: besides, in his flight, he had the misfortune to lose his powder-horn. At length, after waiting a good half hour, the lion rose up, and at first went very slowly, and step by step, as if it had a mind to steal off; but as soon as it got to a greater distance, it began to bound away at a great rate. It is very probable, that the lion, like the hyæna, does not easily venture upon any creature that makes a stand against it, and puts itself in a posture of defence. It is well known, that it does not, like the hound, find out its prey by the scent,



scent, neither does it openly hunt other animals. At least, the only instance ever known of this, is that which I have mentioned before, in vol. i. p. 307, in which it is spoken of as having hunted an elk-antelope; though it might possibly be, that this wild beast was reduced by extreme hunger to such an extraordinary expedient. The lion, nevertheless, is swift of foot. Two hunters informed me, that an imprudent and fool-hardy companion of theirs, was closely pursued by a lion in their flight, and very nearly overtaken by it, though he was mounted on an excellent hunter.

“ The lion’s strength is considerable. This animal was once seen at the Cape to take an heifer in his mouth, and though the legs of this latter dragged on the ground, yet seemed to carry her off with the same ease as a cat does a rat. It likewise leaped over a broad dike with her, without the least difficulty. A buffalo perhaps would be too cumbersome for this beast of prey, notwithstanding his strength, to seize and carry off with him in the manner above mentioned. Two yeomen, upon whose veracity I can place some confidence, gave me the following account relative to this matter :

“ Being a-hunting near Boshiesman-rivier with several Hottentots, they perceived a lion dragging a buffalo from the plain to a neighbouring woody hill. They, however, soon forced it to quit its prey, in order to make a prize of it themselves; and found that this wild beast had had the sagacity to take out the buffalo’s large and unweildy entrails, in order to be able the easier to make off with the fleshy and more eatable part of the carcase. The wild beast, however, as soon as he saw, from the skirts of the wood, that

the Hottentots had begun to carry off the flesh to the waggon, frequently peeped out upon them, and probably with no little mortification.” The lion’s strength, however, is said not to be sufficient alone to get the better of so large and strong an animal as the buffalo; but, in order to make it his prey, this fierce creature is obliged to have recourse both to agility and stratagem; insomuch, that stealing on the buffalo, it fastens with both its paws upon the nostrils and mouth of the beast, and keeps squeezing them close together, till at length the creature is strangled, wearied out, and dies. A certain colonist, according to report, had had an opportunity of seeing an attack of this kind; and others had reason to conclude, that something of this nature had passed, from seeing buffaloes, which had escaped from the clutches of lions, and bore the marks of the claws of these animals about their mouth and nose. They asserted, however, that the lion itself risked its life in such attempts, especially if any other buffalo was at hand to rescue that which was attacked. It was said, that a traveller once had an opportunity of seeing a female buffalo with her calf, defended by a river at her back, keep for a long time at bay five lions which had partly surrounded her, but did not (at least as long as the traveller looked on) dare to attack her. I have been informed, from very good authority, that on a plain to the east of Kromme-rivier, a lion had been gored and trampled to death by a herd of cattle; having, urged probably by hunger, ventured to attack them in broad day-light.

“ This the reader will, perhaps, not so much wonder at, when he is told, that in the day-time, and upon an

an open plain, twelve or fifteen dogs will easily get the better of a large lion. There is no necessity for the dogs, with which the lion is to be hunted, to be very large and trained up to the sport, as M. Buffon thinks they should be, the business being perfectly well accomplished with the common farm-house dogs. When these have got pretty near the lion, the latter, from a greatness of soul, does not offer to fly any farther, but sits himself down. The hounds then surround him, and, rushing on him all at once, are thus, with their united strength, able to tear in pieces, almost in an instant, the strongest of all wild beasts. It is said, that he has seldom time to give more than two or three slight strokes with his paws (each of which strokes is instant death) to an equal number of his assailants. M. de Buffon asserts also, that the lion may be hunted on horseback, but that the horses as well as the dogs must be trained to it: this is probably a mere conjecture of that ingenious author, as he does not mention his informers on this point. In Africa the colonists hunt the lion with common hunting horses: indeed I do not know how they could easily be able to get horses trained up only to the chase of the lion.

“ It is said, that horses in battle, or in other dangerous enterprises, suffer themselves more willingly to be caparisoned by their riders than at other times; a circumstance which I think I have likewise remarked in these animals, on expeditions, where the danger indeed was not so great as in hunting the buffalo and rhinoceros, when they have passed rivers, and gone up and down steep places and precipices with the greatest alacrity.

Our horses, the very same as had several times, in the manner already mentioned, shown their disposition when the lion happened to be in the vicinity of them, and which were not in the least trained to the chase, once exhibited a spirit in the pursuit of two large lions, equal to that which they had shown at other times in chasing the small gazels. Though, in fact, hunting horses seem to partake much more of their master's pleasure in the chase: I remember, in particular, at Agter Brunjes Hooft, I rode a horse, which, by a tremendous sound issuing from its chest, cocking up its ears, and prancing and capering, discovered, in an unequivocal manner, its ardour for the chase, whenever it came in sight of the larger kind of game. There have even been instances of hunting horses, who, when the hunter has jumped off their backs in order to discharge his piece, but has missed his mark, have, in their eagerness for the chase, not allowed him time sufficient to mount again, but followed the game alone for hours together, close at its very heels, in all its turnings and windings.

“ The chase of the lion on horseback is, in fact, carried on in the same manner as that of the elephant, which I have already described, in vol. i. p. 315; but as various particulars, hitherto unknown, concerning the lion's disposition, may be learned from it, a description of it here will perhaps not be superfluous; and, in case I should be too minute and circumstantial, I shall hope for the indulgence of the candid reader; particularly of such of them as are sportsmen, and are conscious with what high glee and satisfaction they are wont to describe, with the utmost minuteness and prolixity, every

by turning and winding of a poor timid hare.

“ It is only on the plains that the hunters venture to go out on horseback after the lion. If it keeps in some coppice, or wood, on a rising ground, they endeavour to teize it with dogs till it comes out; they likewise prefer going together two or more in number, in order to be able to assist and rescue each other, in case the first shot should not take place.

“ When the lion sees the hunters at a great distance, it is universally allowed that he takes to his heels as fast as ever he can, in order to get out of their sight; but if they chance to discover him at a small distance from them, he is then said to walk off in a surly manner, but without putting himself in the least hurry, as though he was above shewing any fear, when he finds himself discovered or hunted. He is therefore reported likewise, when he finds himself pursued with vigour, to be soon provoked to resistance, or at least he disdains any longer to fly. Consequently he slackens his pace, and at length only tides slowly off, step by step, all the while eying his pursuers askant; and finally makes a full stop, and turning round upon them, and at the same time giving himself a shake, roars with a short and sharp tone, in order to shew his indignation, being ready to seize on them and tear them in pieces. This is now precisely the time for the hunters to be upon the spot, or else to get as soon as possible within a certain distance of him, yet so as at the same time to keep at a proper distance from each other; and he that is nearest, or is most advantageously posted, and has the best mark of that part of the lion's body which contains his heart

and lungs, must be the first to jump off his horse, and, securing the bridle by putting it round his arm, discharge his piece; then in an instant recovering his seat, must ride obliquely athwart his companions; and, in fine, giving his horse the reins, must trust entirely to the speed and fear of this latter, to convey him out of the reach of the fury of the wild beast, in case he has only wounded him, or has absolutely missed him. In either of these cases, a fair opportunity presents itself for some of the other hunters to jump off their horses directly, as they may then take their aim and discharge their pieces with greater coolness and certainty. Should this shot likewise miss, (which, however, seldom happens) the third sportsman rides after the lion, which at that instant is in pursuit of the first or the second, and, springing off his horse, fires his piece, as soon as he has got within a proper distance, and finds a sufficiently convenient part of the animal present itself, especially obliquely from behind. If now the lion turns upon him too, the other hunters turn again, in order to come to his rescue with the charge, which they loaded with on horseback, while they were flying from the wild beast.

“ No instance has ever been known of any misfortune happening to the hunters in chasing the lion on horseback. The African colonists, who are born in, or have had the courage to remove into the more remote parts of Africa, which are exposed to the ravages of wild beasts, are mostly good marksmen, and are far from wanting courage. The lion, that has the boldness to seize on their cattle, which are the most valuable part of their property, sometimes at their very doors, is as odious to them as he is dangerous

gerous and noxious. They consequently seek out these animals, and hunt them with the greatest ardour and glee, with a view to exterminate them. When the lion, therefore, comes upon their grounds, it is much the same as if they were going to fight *pro aris et focis*; and I have heard several yeomen at Agter Bruntjes Hoogte, when I was out a-hunting with them, merely express a wish to meet with the lions, in case there were any in that neighbourhood, without mentioning a word about shooting them; a sign that, with regard to that part of the business, they were pretty sure of their hands.

“The lion is by no means hard to kill. Those who have had occasion to shoot several of these animals, have assured me, that while buffaloes and the larger species of antelopes will now and then make their escape, and run fairly off with a ball in their bowels, or in the cavity of their abdomen, of which I myself have seen instances; the

lion, on the contrary, on being shot in this manner, will be thrown into a vomiting, and be disabled from running. But be that as it may, it is natural to suppose, that a well-directed shot that enters the heart or lungs, should suffice to kill the lion as well as the elephant and every other creature: therefore, as M. de Buffon acknowledges that the lion's hide cannot withstand either ball or dart, it is inconceivable how it should come into this author's head to assert, without having the least authority for it, that this furious beast is hardly ever to be killed with a single shot.

“The hides of lions are looked upon as being inferior to and more rotten than those of cows, and are seldom made use of at the Cape, excepting for the same purpose as horses hides. I met with a farmer, however, who used a lion's hide for the upper leathers to his shoes, and spoke highly of them, as being pliable and lasting.”

## ACCOUNT OF THE CAMELOPARDALIS.

[From the same Work.]

“THE camelopardalis is, as I have said above, at p. 149 of this volume, the tallest of all quadrupeds when measured in front; and though it is found only in those parts of the Cape colonies that lie farthest towards the north-west, merits, however, an accurate description, especially in this place, along with the other animals of Africa. The latest and best accounts concerning the real form and other properties of this beast have been given to the public by the present commandant at the Cape, major Gordon, who

shot one of these creatures in the district of Anamaquas; in consequence of which the public has been gratified with a very good drawing and description of it by M. Allamand, in his edition of M. de Buffon's History of Animals, Suppl. de la Giraffe, p. 46. Of this description I shall here present my reader with an abstract.

“The height of this animal, when it holds its neck strait and erect, is, from the crown of the head to the ground, fifteen feet two inches; the length of it, from the chest

chest to the anus, five feet seven inches; from the top of the shoulders to the ground, about ten feet; but from the loins only eight feet two inches; a difference which proceeds partly from the length of the shoulder-blades, which are two feet long, and partly from a sharp process of the first vertebra of the back, which projects above a foot beyond the rest. From the breast to the ground it measures five feet and a half; the neck, which is decorated with a mane like that of the zebra, is six feet long, and consequently twice the length of the camel's; the head is above two feet in length, and somewhat resembles the head of a sheep; the upper lip is rather larger and thicker than the under, but both of them are covered with stiff hairs; the eyes of this creature are large and beautiful; its fore-teeth small, and eight in number, and are only to be found in the lower jaw, though the animal has six grinders on both sides of each jaw. Directly before the horns there is a knob, which proceeds from an elevation of part of the cranium, and projects two inches above the surface; and behind them, or in the crag of the neck, there are two smaller ones, which are formed by the subjacent glands. The horns are seven inches long, i. e. a little shorter than the ears; they rather incline backwards, and are a little broader and rounded off at the ends, where they are encircled with long hairs, which reach beyond the horny part, forming a tuft. In fine, the horns are covered, like those of other animals, with a cutaneous and hairy substance; but the interior substance of them is said to resemble the heart or bony part of the horns of gazels and oxen, and to be processes

of the scull itself. On the horns of this beast, when aged, there have been observed small irregular elevations, which M. Allamand supposes to be the shoots of future branches.

“ The colour of this beast is a white ground, with large reddish spots, standing pretty close to each other; which spots, in the more aged animals, incline to a dark-brown or black, but in the others border upon the yellow. The tail is small and slender, and is terminated by a large tuft of very coarse and mostly black setaceous hairs; the fore parts of the hoofs are much higher than the back parts. This creature has no fetlocks, as all other hoofed animals have.

“ This animal when it goes fast does not limp, as some have imagined, but sometimes paces, and sometimes gallops. Every time it lifts up its fore feet it throws its neck back, which on other occasions it holds erect: notwithstanding this, it is by no means slow when pursued, as M. de Buffon supposes it to be, but, on the contrary, it requires a fleet horse to hunt it.

“ In eating the grass from off the ground, it sometimes bends one of its knees, as horses do; and in plucking leaves and small branches from high trees, it brings its fore feet about a foot and a half nearer than common to the hind feet. A camelopardalis which major Gordon wounded in the leg, so that it could not raise itself from the ground, nevertheless did not shew the least signs of anger or resentment; but when its throat was cut, spurned against the ground with a force far beyond that of any other animal. The viscera resembled those of gazels, but this animal had no *porus ceriferus*. The flesh of the young

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young ones is very good eating, but sometimes has a strong flavour of a certain shrub, which is supposed to be a species of mimosa. The Hottentots are particularly fond of the marrow, and chiefly

for the sake of this hunt the beast, and kill it with their poisoned arrows. Of the skin they make vessels, in which they keep water and other liquors."

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An ACCOUNT of an ARTIFICIAL SPRING of WATER. By  
ERASMUS DARWIN, M. D. F. R. S.

[From the Seventy-fifth Volume of the Philosophical Transactions.]

"CONFIDENT that every atom which may contribute to increase the treasury of useful knowledge, which you are so successfully endeavouring to accumulate, will be agreeable and interesting to the Society, I send you an account of an artificial spring of water, which I produced last summer near the side of the river Darwent, in Derby.

"Near my house was an old well, about one hundred yards from the river, and about four yards deep, which had been many years disused on account of the badness of the water, which I found to contain much vitriolic acid, with, at the same time, a slight sulphureous smell and taste; but did not carefully analyse it. The mouth of this well was about four feet above the surface of the river; and the ground, through which it was sunk, consisted of a black, loose, moist earth, which appeared to have been very lately a morass, and is now covered with houses built upon piles. At the bottom was found a bed of red marl, and the spring, which was so strong as to give up many hogheads in a day, oozed from between the morass and the marl: it lay about eight feet beneath the surface of the river, and

the water rose within two feet of the top of the well.

"Having observed that a very copious spring, called St. Alkmund's well, rose out of the ground about half a mile higher on the same side of the Darwent, the level of which I knew by the height of the intervening wier to be about four or five feet above the ground about my well; and having observed, that the higher lands, at the distance of a mile or two behind these wells, consisted of red marl like that in the well, I concluded, that, if I should bore through this stratum of marl, I might probably gain a water similar to that of St. Alkmund's well, and hoped that at the same time it might rise above the surface of my old well to the level of St. Alkmund's.

"With this intent a pump was first put down for the purpose of more easily keeping dry the bottom of the old well, and a hole about two and an half inches diameter was then bored about thirteen yards below the bottom of the well, till some sand was brought by the auger. A wooden pipe, which was previously cut in a conical form at one end, and armed with an iron ring at the other, was driven into the top of this hole, and stood up about



## ACCOUNT of an ARTIFICIAL SPRING of WATER. [147]

about two yards from the bottom of the well, and being surrounded with well rammed clay, the new water ascended in a small stream through the wooden pipe.

“ Our next operation was to build a wall of clay against the mossy sides of the well, with a wall of well-bricks internally, up to the top of it. This completely stopped out every drop of the old water; and, on taking out the plug which had been put in the wooden pipe, the new water in two or three days rose up to the top, and flowed over the edges of the well.

“ Afterwards, to gratify my curiosity in seeing how high the new spring would rise, and for the agreeable purpose of procuring the water at all times quite cold and fresh, I directed a pipe of lead, about eight yards long, and three-quarters of an inch diameter, to be introduced through the wooden pipe described above, into the stratum of marl at the bottom of the well, so as to stand about three feet above the surface of the ground. Near the bottom of this leaden pipe was sewed, between two leaden rings or flanches, an inverted cone of stiff leather, into which some wool was stuffed to stretch it out, so that, after having passed through the wooden pipe, it might completely fill up the perforation of the clay. Another leaden ring or flanch was soldered round the leaden pipe, about two yards below the surface of the ground, which, with some doubles of flannel placed under it, was nailed on the top of the wooden pipe, by which means the water was perfectly precluded from rising between the wooden and the leaden pipes.

“ This being accomplished, the bottom of the well remained quite dry, and the new water quickly

rose about a foot above the top of the well in the leaden pipe; and, on bending the mouth of this pipe to the level of the surface of the ground, about two hogsheds of water flowed from it in twenty-four hours, which had similar properties with the water of St. A'kmund's well, as on comparison both these waters curdled a solution of soap in spirit of wine, and abounded with calcareous earth, which was copiously precipitated by a solution of fixed alkali; but the new water was found to possess a greater abundance of it, together with numerous small bubbles of aerial acid or calcareous gas.

“ The new water has now flowed about twelve months, and, as far as I can judge, is already increased to almost double the quantity in a given time; and from the rude experiments I made, I think it is now less replete with calcareous earth, approaching gradually to an exact correspondence with St. A'kmund's well, as it probably has its origin between the same strata of earth.

“ As many mountains bear incontestable marks of their having been forcibly raised up by some power beneath them; and other mountains, and even islands, have been lifted up by subterraneous fires in our own times, we may safely reason on the same supposition in respect to all other great elevations of ground. Proofs of these circumstances are to be seen on both sides of this part of the country. Whoever will inspect, with the eye of a philosopher, the lime-mountain at Breedon, on the edge of Leicestershire, will not hesitate a moment in pronouncing, that it has been forcibly elevated by some power beneath it; for it is of a conical form, with the apex

cut off, and the strata, which compose the central parts of it, and which are found nearly horizontal in the plain, are raised almost perpendicularly, and placed upon their edges, while those on each side decline like the surface of the hill; so that this mountain may well be represented by a bur made by forcing a bodkin through several parallel sheets of paper. At Router, or Eagle-stone, in the Peak, several large masses of grit-stone are seen on the sides and bottom of the mountain, which by their form evince from what parts of the summit they were broken off at the time it was elevated; and the numerous loose stones scattered about the plains in its vicinity, and half buried in the earth, must have been thrown out by explosions, and prove the volcanic origin of the mountain. Add to this the vast beds of toad-stone or lava in many parts of this county, so accurately described, and so well explained, by Mr. Whitehurst, in his *Theory of the Formation of the Earth*.

“ Now as all great elevations of ground have been thus raised by subterraneous fires, and in a long course of time their summits have been worn away, it happens that some of the more interior strata of the earth are exposed naked on the tops of mountains; and that, in general, those strata, which lie uppermost, or nearest to the summit of the mountain, are the lowest in the contiguous plains. This will be readily conceived, if the bur, made by thrusting a bodkin through several parallel sheets of paper, had a part of its apex cut off by a pen-knife, and is well explained by Mr. Michell, in an ingenious paper on the *Phænomena of Earthquakes*, published a few years ago in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

“ And as the more elevated parts of a country are so much colder than the vallies, owing perhaps to a concurrence of two or three causes, but particularly to the less condensed state of the air upon hills, which thence becomes a better conductor of heat, as well as of electricity, and permits it to escape the faster; it is from the water condensed on these cold surfaces of mountains, that our common cold springs have their origin; and which, sliding between two of the strata above described, descend till they find or make themselves an outlet, and will in consequence rise to a level with the part of the mountain where they originated. And hence, if by piercing the earth you gain a spring between the second and third, or third and fourth stratum, it must generally happen that the water from the lowest stratum will rise the highest, if confined in pipes, because it comes originally from a higher part of the country in its vicinity.

“ The increasing quantity of this new spring, and its increasing purity, I suppose to be owing to its continually dissolving a part of the earth it passes through, and hence making itself a wider channel, and that through materials of less solubility. Hence it is probable, that the older and stronger springs are generally the purer; and that all springs were originally loaded with the soluble impurities of the strata, through which they transuded.

“ Since the above-related experiment was made, I have read with pleasure the ingenious account of the King's wells at Sheerness, in the last volume of the *Transactions*, by sir Thomas Hyde Page, in which the water rose three hundred feet above its source in the well; and have

have also been informed, that in the town of Richmond, in Surrey, and at Inship near Preston, in Lancashire, it is usual to bore for water through a lower stratum of earth to a certain depth; and that when it is found at both those places, it rises so high as to overflow the surface of the well: all these facts contribute to establish the theory

above mentioned. And there is reason to conclude, that if similar experiments were made, artificial springs, rising above ground, might in many places be thus produced at small expence, both for the common purposes of life, and for the great improvement of lands by occasionally watering them."

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EXTRACT from the Rev. Mr. MORGAN'S OBSERVATIONS and EXPERIMENTS on the LIGHT of BODIES in a STATE of COMBUSTION.

[From the same Publication.]

"THE discussion which I now wish to lay before the Royal Society is nothing more than a series of facts, and of conclusions which seem to flow from those facts, and from an attention to the following data.

" I. That light is a body, and, like all other bodies, subject to the laws of attraction.

" II. That light is an heterogeneous body, and that the same attractive power operates with different degrees of force on its different parts.

" III. That the light which escapes from combustibles when decomposed by heat, or by any other means, was, previously to its escape, a component part of those substances.

" It is an obvious conclusion from these data, that when the attractive force, by which the several rays of light are attached to a body, is weakened, some of those rays will escape sooner than others. Those which are united with the least degree of power will escape first, and those which adhere to it most strongly will (if I may be allowed

the expression) be the last to quit their basis. We may here have recourse to a familiar fact, which is analogous to this, and will illustrate it. If a mixture, consisting of equal parts of water, of spirits of wine, and of other more fixed bodies, be placed over a fire; the first influence of that heat, to which all the ingredients are alike exposed, will carry off the spirits of wine only. The next will carry off the spirits of wine blended with particles of water. A still greater degree of heat will blend with the vapour which escapes a part of the more fixed bodies, till at length what evaporates will be a mixture of all the ingredients which were at first exposed to the fire. In like manner, when the surface of a combustible is in a state of decomposition, those parts which are the least fixed, or which are united to it with the least force, will be separated first. Amongst these the indigo rays of light will make the earliest appearance. By increasing the heat we shall mix the violet with the indigo. By increasing it still more we shall add the blue and

the green to the mixture, till at length we reach that intensity of heat which will cause all the rays to escape at the same instant, and make the flame of a combustible perfectly white. It is not my present design to shew why the most refrangible rays are the first which escape from a burning body, but to enumerate the several facts which seem to shew, that such a general law takes place in combustion; and that the various colours of bodies in this state are uniformly regulated by that decrease of attractive force now described.

“ By examining the flame of a common candle we may observe, that its lowest extremities, or the part in which the black colour of the wick terminates, discharges the least heat; and that, as the vertex of the flame is approached, a successive order of parts is passed through, in which the lowest is continually adding to the heat of what is just above it, till we come to the top of the flame, near which all the heat is collected into a focus. At the lowest extremity, however, where the heat is inconsiderable, a blue colour may be always observed; and from this appearance, amongst others, it may, I think, be safely concluded, that the blue rays are some of those which escape from combustibles in an early period of their decomposition; and that if the decomposition could be examined in a period still more early, the colour of their flame would be violet. By an a priori deduction of this kind, I was led to watch the appearances of a candle more attentively; whence I found that to the external boundary of a common candle is annexed a filament of light, which, if proper care be taken to prevent the escape of too much smoke, will appear

most beautifully coloured with the violet and indigo rays. To the preceding instance of a common candle many facts may be added, which speak a similar language. If sulphur or æther is burned, or any of those combustibles whose vapour is kindled in a small degree of heat, a blue flame will appear, which, if examined by the prism, will be found to consist of the violet, the indigo, the blue, and sometimes a small quantity of the green rays. The best mode, however, of shewing the escape of some rays by that degree of heat which will not separate others till increased, is the following. Give a piece of brown paper a spherical form, by pressing it upon any hard globular substance. Gradually bring the paper, thus formed, to that distance from the candle at which it will begin to take fire. In this case a beautiful blue flame may be seen, hanging as it were by the paper till a hole is made in it, when the flame, owing to the increased action of the air upon all parts of it, becomes white, though the edges still continue of a blue or violet colour. As a confirmation of what I have concluded from the preceding facts, it may be observed, that the very flame which, when exposed to a certain degree of heat, emitted the most refrangible rays only, will, if exposed to a greater degree of heat, emit such as are less refrangible. The flames of sulphur, spirits of wine, &c. when suddenly exposed to the heat of a reverberatory, change their blue appearance for that which is perfectly white. But to gain a more striking diversity of this fact, I adopted Mr. Melvill's mode of examining bodies whilst on fire. I darkened my room, and placed between my eye and the combustible a sheet of paste-board,

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in the center of which I made a small perforation. As the light of the burning body escaped through this perforation, I examined it with a prism, and observed the following appearances. When the spirits of wine were set on fire, all the rays appeared in the perforation; but the violet, the blue, and the green, in the greatest abundance. When the combustion of the spirits was checked, by throwing some sal ammoniac into the mixture, the red rays disappeared; but when, by the long continuance of the flame, the sal ammoniac was rendered so hot as to increase rather than diminish the combustion, the red rays again appeared at the perforation. If the screen was managed so that the different parts of the flame might be examined separately, I always observed that the colours varied according to the degree of heat. At the base of the flame, or where the heat was least, the indigo, the violet, and a very small tinge of the blue and green appeared. As I approached the vertex of the flame, the rays which escaped became more and more numerous till I reached the top, when all the rays appeared in the prism. It should be attended to, that when the red rays first made their appearance, their quantity was small, and gradually increased as the eye in its examination approached that part where the heat was greatest. Mr. Melvill, when he made some of the preceding experiments, observed that the yellow rays frequently escaped in the greatest abundance; but this singularity proceeded from some circumstances which escaped his attention. In consequence of mixing acids or salts with the burning spirits, a very dense fume of unignited particles arises, and before the rays of

the burning body arrive at the perforation where the prism catches them, they must pass through a medium which will absorb a great part of the indigo and the violet. On the other hand, owing to the imperfection of the decomposition, very few of the red rays are separated from their basis, and consequently the yellow and the orange rays are those alone which pass through the unburnt smoke of the flame.

“ I would now proceed with observing, that, besides the increase or decrease of heat, there are other modes of retarding or accelerating the combustion of bodies, by which also may be examined some of the preceding illustrations.

“ 1. A candle burns most rapidly and brilliantly in dephlogisticated air. -

“ 2. The blue colour of a sulphurous flame in pure air is changed into a dazzling white.

“ 3. The flame of inflammable air, when mixed with nitrous air, is green. It is white strongly tinged with the indigo and violet when mixed with common air; but when mixed with dephlogisticated air, or surrounded by it, the brilliancy of its flame is most singularly beautiful.

“ If the preceding facts prove that light, as an heterogeneous body, is gradually decomposed during combustion; if they prove likewise, that the indigo rays escape with the least heat, and the red with the greatest; I think we may rationally account for several singularities in the colours of different flames. If a piece of paper, impregnated with a solution of copper in the nitrous acid, be set on fire, the bottom and sides of the flame are always tinged with green. Now this flame is evidently in that weak

State of decomposition, in which the most refrangible rays escape in the greatest abundance; but of these rays the green escape most plentifully through the unignited vapour and that portion of the atmosphere which separates the eye from the flame. The peculiarity which I have now endeavoured to account for may be observed in the greatest perfection in brass founderies. The heat in this instance, though very strong, is scarcely adequate to the decomposition of the metallic vapour which escapes from the melted brass. A very singular flame therefore appears to the eye; for while its edges are green, its body is such as to give the objects around a very pallid or ghastly appearance, which is the consequence of its wanting that portion of red rays which is necessary to make a perfect white.

“ The most singular phenomenon attending a burning body is perhaps the red appearance it assumes in its last stage of combustion. The preceding facts and observations may, I think, help us to explain it.

“ 1. After a body has continued to burn for some time, its external surface is to be regarded as having lost a great portion, if not the whole of those rays which the first application of heat was able to separate. But these rays were the indigo, the violet, the blue, and perhaps the green. Nothing, therefore, will remain to be separated, but the yellow, the orange, and the red. Consequently the combustion of the body, in its last state of decomposition, can assume no other than a reddish appearance. But,

“ 2. Let us consider the external surface of the combustible as annexed to an inner surface, which

may be partly, but not so perfectly decomposed as itself; for the violence of the heat will be found to lessen in its effects the nearer it approaches to the centre of the substance which is exposed to it. Hence we are to consider the parts which are just covered by the external surface as having lost less of their component light than the external surface itself. Or the former may retain the green rays when the latter has lost both indigo, violet, blue, and green.

“ 3. Those parts which are nearer the center of the body than either of the preceding must, as they are farther from the greatest violence of the heat, have lost proportionably fewer of their rays. Or while the more external parts may have lost all but the red, these may have lost only the indigo and violet.

“ 4. The most central parts may be unaffected by the heat; and whenever the fire does reach these parts, they will immediately discharge their indigo rays, and be decomposed in the gradual manner which I have already described. A piece of rotten wood, whilst burning, will exemplify and confirm the preceding illustration. When influenced by the external air only, if examined through a prism, no rays will be found to escape but the orange and the red. By blowing upon the burning wood with a pair of bellows, the combustion, being increased, will affect those internal parts of the body which were not acted upon before. These parts, therefore, will begin to lose their light, and a prism will shew the green, the blue, the violet, and indigo, all appearing in succession. Appearances similar to the preceding may be observed in a common kitchen fire. When it is faintest,



its colour is most red, the other rays having been emitted, and the combustion at a stand; but by blowing upon it in this state, its brightness will be increased, and more and more of the rays which are yielded by the internal parts of the body will come to the eye, till at length, by continuing to blow, the combustion will be made so complete as to yield all the rays, or to make it appear perfectly white.

“Many are the varieties discoverable in the flames and in the appearances of fixed burning bodies to which the preceding observations may be applied; but, to avoid unnecessary amplification, I will take notice only of what appears to me an imperfection in sir Isaac Newton’s definition of flame. He conjectures, that it may be a vapour heated red-hot. I think I should rather say, that flame is an instance of combustion, whose colour will be determined by the degree of de-

composition which takes place. If it be very imperfect, the most refrangible rays only will appear. If it be very perfect, all the rays will appear, and its flame will be brilliant in proportion to this perfection. There are flames, however, which consist of burning particles, whose rays have partly escaped before they ascended in the form of vapour. Such would be the flame of a red-hot coal, if exposed to such a heat as would gradually disperse it into vapour. When the fire is very low under the furnace of an iron foundery, at the upper orifice of the chimney a red flame of this kind may be seen, which is different from the flame that appears immediately after fresh coals have been thrown upon the fire; for, in consequence of adding such a supply to the burning fuel, a vast column of smoke ascends, and forms a medium so thick as to absorb most of the rays, excepting the red.”

EXTRACT from Mr. HERSCHEL’S PAPER on the CONSTRUCTION of the HEAVENS.

[ From the same Publication. ]

“THE subject of the construction of the heavens, on which I have so lately ventured to deliver my thoughts to this Society, is of so extensive and important a nature, that we cannot exert too much attention in our endeavours to throw all possible light upon it; I shall, therefore, now attempt to pursue the delineations of which a faint outline was begun in my former paper.

“By continuing to observe the heavens with my last constructed, and since that time much improved

instrument, I am now enabled to bring more confirmation to several parts that were before but weakly supported, and also to offer a few still farther extended hints, such as they present themselves to my present view. But first let me mention, that, if we would hope to make any progress in an investigation of this delicate nature, we ought to avoid two opposite extremes, of which I can hardly say which is the most dangerous. If we indulge a fanciful imagination, and build worlds of our own, we must not

not wonder at our going wide from the path of truth and nature; but these will vanish like the Cartesian vortices, that soon gave way when better theories were offered. On the other hand, if we add observation to observation, without attempting to draw not only certain conclusions, but also conjectural views from them, we offend against the very end for which only observations ought to be made. I will endeavour to keep a proper medium; but if I should deviate from that, I could wish not to fall into the latter error.

“ That the milky way is a most extensive stratum of stars of various sizes admits no longer of the least doubt; and that our sun is actually one of the heavenly bodies belonging to it is as evident. I have now viewed and gaged this shining zone in almost every direction, and find it composed of stars whose number, by the account of these gages, constantly increases and decreases in proportion to its apparent brightness to the naked eye. But, in order to develop the ideas of the universe, that have been suggested by my late observations, it will be best to take the subject from a point of view at a considerable distance both of space and of time.

#### *Theoretical View.*

“ Let us then suppose numberless stars, of various sizes, scattered over an indefinite portion of space in such a manner as to be almost equally distributed throughout the whole. The laws of attraction, which no doubt extend to the remotest regions of the fixed stars, will operate in such a manner as most probably to produce the following remarkable effects.

#### *Formation of Nebulae.*

“ Form I. In the first place, since we have supposed the stars to be of various sizes, it will frequently happen that a star, being considerably larger than its neighbouring ones, will attract them more than they will be attracted by others that are immediately around them; by which means they will be, in time, as it were condensed about a centre; or, in other words, form themselves into a cluster of stars of almost a globular figure, more or less regularly so, according to the size and original distance of the surrounding stars. The perturbations of these mutual attractions must undoubtedly be very intricate, as we may easily comprehend by considering what sir Isaac Newton says in the first book of his *Principia*, in the 38th and following problems. But, in order to apply this great author’s reasoning of bodies moving in ellipses to such as are here, for a while, supposed to have no other motion than what their mutual gravity has imparted to them, we must suppose the conjugate axes of these ellipses indefinitely diminished, whereby the ellipses will become straight lines.

“ Form II. The next case, which will also happen almost as frequently as the former, is where a few stars, though not superior in size to the rest, may chance to be rather nearer each other than the surrounding ones; for here also will be formed a prevailing attraction in the combined centre of gravity of them all, which will occasion the neighbouring stars to draw together; not indeed so as to form a regular or globular figure, but however in such a manner as to be condensed towards the common centre of gravity of the whole irregular

gular cluster. And this construction admits of the utmost variety of shapes, according to the number and situation of the stars which first gave rise to the condensation of the rest.

“ Form III. From the composition and repeated conjunction of both the foregoing forms, a third may be derived, when many large stars, or combined small ones, are situated in long extended, regular, or crooked rows, hooks, or branches; for they will also draw the surrounding ones, so as to produce figures of condensed stars coarsely similar to the former which gave rise to these condensations.

“ Form IV. We may likewise admit of still more extensive combinations; when, at the same time that a cluster of stars is forming in one part of space, there may be another collecting in a different, but perhaps not far distant quarter, which may occasion a mutual approach towards their common centre of gravity.

“ V. In the last place, as a natural consequence of the former cases, there will be formed great cavities or vacancies by the retreat of the stars towards the various centres which attract them; so that, upon the whole, there is evidently a field of the greatest variety for the mutual and combined attractions of the heavenly bodies to exert themselves in. I shall, therefore, without extending myself farther upon this subject, proceed to a few considerations, that will naturally occur to every one who may view this subject in the light I have here done.

### *Objections considered.*

“ At first sight then it will seem as if a system, such as it has been

displayed in the foregoing paragraphs, would evidently tend to a general destruction, by the shock of one star's falling upon another. It would here be a sufficient answer to say, that if observation should prove this really to be the system of the universe, there is no doubt but that the great author of it has amply provided for the preservation of the whole, though it should not appear to us in what manner this is effected. But I shall moreover point out several circumstances that do manifestly tend to a general preservation; as, in the first place, the indefinite extent of the sidereal heavens, which must produce a balance that will effectually secure all the great parts of the whole from approaching to each other. There remains then only to see how the particular stars belonging to separate clusters will be preserved from rushing on to their centres of attraction. And here I must observe, that though I have before, by way of rendering the case more simple, considered the stars as being originally at rest, I intended not to exclude projectile forces; and the admission of them will prove such a barrier against the seeming destructive power of attraction as to secure from it all the stars belonging to a cluster, if not for ever, at least for millions of ages. Besides, we ought perhaps to look upon such clusters, and the destruction of now and then a star, in some thousands of ages, as perhaps the very means by which the whole is preserved and renewed. These clusters may be the laboratories of the universe, if I may so express myself, wherein the most salutary remedies for the decay of the whole are prepared.

*Optical*

*Optical Appearances.*

“ From this theoretical view of the heavens, which has been taken, as we observed, from a point not less distant in time than in space, we will now retreat to our own retired station in one of the planets, attending a star in its great combination with numberless others; and, in order to investigate what will be the appearances from this contracted situation, let us begin with the naked eye. The stars of the first magnitude being in all probability the nearest, will furnish us with a step to begin our scale; setting off, therefore, with the distance of Sirius or Arcturus, for instance, as unity, we will at present suppose, that those of the second magnitude are at double, and those of the third at treble the distance, and so forth. It is not necessary critically to examine what quantity of light or magnitude of a star intitles it to be estimated of such or such a proportional distance, as the common coarse estimation will answer our present purpose as well; taking it then for granted, that a star of the seventh magnitude is about seven times as far as one of the first, it follows, that an observer, who is inclosed in a globular cluster of stars, and not far from the centre, will never be able, with the naked eye, to see to the end of it; for, since, according to the above estimations, he can only extend his view to about seven times the distance of Sirius, it cannot be expected that his eyes should reach the borders of a cluster which has perhaps not less than fifty stars in depth every where around him. The whole universe, therefore, to him will be comprised in a set of constellations, richly ornamented with scattered stars of all sizes. Or

if the united brightness of a neighbouring cluster of stars should, in a remarkable clear night, reach his sight, it will put on the appearance of a small, faint, whitish, nebulous cloud, not to be perceived without the greatest attention. To pass by other situations, let him be placed in a much extended stratum, or branching cluster of millions of stars, such as may fall under the third form of nebulae considered in a foregoing paragraph. Here also the heavens will not only be richly scattered over with brilliant constellations, but a shining zone or milky way will be perceived to surround the whole sphere of the heavens, owing to the combined light of those stars which are too small, that is, too remote to be seen. Our observer's sight will be so confined, that he will imagine this single collection of stars, of which he does not even perceive the thousandth part, to be the whole contents of the heavens. Allowing him now the use of a common telescope, he begins to suspect that all the milkiness of the bright path which surrounds the sphere may be owing to stars. He perceives a few clusters of them in various parts of the heavens, and finds also that there are a kind of nebulous patches; but still his views are not extended so far as to reach to the end of the stratum in which he is situated, so that he looks upon these patches as belonging to that system which to him seems to comprehend every celestial object. He now increases his power of vision, and, applying himself to a close observation, finds that the milky way is indeed no other than a collection of very small stars. He perceives that those objects which are called nebulae are evidently nothing but clusters of stars.

## DESCRIPTION OF A NEW MARINE ANIMAL. [157]

stars. He finds their number increase upon him, and when he resolves one nebula into stars, he discovers ten new ones which he cannot resolve. He then forms the idea of immense strata of fixed stars, till, going on with such interesting observations, he now perceives that all these appearances must naturally arise from the confined situation in which we are placed. *Confined* it may justly be called, though in no less a space than what before appeared to be the whole region of the fixed stars; but which now has assumed the shape of a crookedly branching nebula; not indeed one of the least, but perhaps very far from being the most considerable of these numberless clusters that enter into the construction of the heavens.

### *Result of Observations.*

“ I shall now endeavour to shew, that the theoretical view of the system of the universe, which has been exposed in the foregoing part of this paper, is perfectly consistent with facts, and seems to be con-

firmed and established by a series of observations. It will appear that many hundreds of nebulae of the first and second forms are actually to be seen in the heavens, and their places will hereafter be pointed out. Many of the third form will be described, and instances of the fourth related. A few of the cavities mentioned in the fifth will be particularised, though many more have already been observed; so that, upon the whole, I believe it will be found, that the foregoing theoretical view, with all its consequential appearances, as seen by an eye inclosed in one of the nebulae, is no other than a drawing from nature, wherein the features of the original have been closely copied; and I hope the resemblance will not be called a bad one, when it shall be considered how very limited must be the pencil of an inhabitant of so small and retired a portion of an indefinite system in attempting the picture of so unbounded an extent.”

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## DESCRIPTION of a NEW MARINE ANIMAL. In a LETTER from Mr. EVERARD HOME, Surgeon, to JOHN HUNTER, Esq. F. R. S.

[From the same Publication.]

“ I SENT you, about three years ago, a sea animal from Barbadoes, which was unlike any one I had ever seen. From the want of books and other information in that island, I was unable at the time to find out, whether it was a new acquisition, or had been described by any authors in natural history.

“ Since my arrival in England, I have examined the libraries of some men of science for an account of this animal, and have made other

enquiries among the naturalists, without success. The specimen I sent you was found on a part of the coast which had undergone very remarkable changes, in consequence of a violent hurricane. These changes were indeed the means of its being discovered, and present a probable reason why it was not discovered before. The extraordinary circumstances which brought it within our reach, and the silence of all the authors on natural history

story which I have been able to consult, incline me to believe it to be a non-descript. As the peculiarities of its structure may add to the knowledge of the natural history of other animals of this genus, at present so little understood, I have drawn out a more particular account of it; which, if you think it deserves attention, you may present to the Royal Society.

“ This animal was found on the south-east coast of Barbadoes, close to Charles Fort, about a mile from Bridge Town, in some shoal water, separated from the sea by the stones and sand thrown up by the dreadful hurricane, which happened in the year 1780, and did so much mischief to the island.

“ The wind, in the beginning of the storm, which was in the afternoon, blew very furiously from the north-west, making a prodigious swell in the sea; and in the middle of the night changing suddenly to the south-east, it blew from that quarter upon the sea, already agitated, forcing it upon the shore with so much violence, that it threw down the rampart of Fort Charles, which was opposed to it, although thirty feet broad, by the bursting of one sea. It forced up, at the same time, immense quantities of large coral rocks from the bottom of the bay, making a reef along this part of the coast for the extent of several miles, at only a few yards distance from the shore.

“ The foundings of the harbour were found afterwards to be intirely changed, by the quantity of materials removed from the bottom in different places. In the reef of coral was found an infinite number of large pieces of brain stone, containing the shell of this animal; but the animals had either been

long dead, or more probably destroyed by the motion of the rocks in the storm: some few of the brain-stones, however, that had been thrown beyond the reef, and lodged in the shoal water, receiving less injury, the animals were preserved unhurt.

“ The animal, with the shell, is almost intirely inclosed in the brain-stone, so that at the depth in which they generally lie, they are hardly discernible through the water from the common surface of the brain-stone; but when in search of food, they throw up two cones, with membranes twitted round them in a spiral manner, which have a loose fringed edge, looking at the bottom of the sea like two flowers; and in this state they were discovered.

“ The species of *Actinia*, called in Barbadoes the animal flower, and common to many parts of that island, although rarely before seen on this part of the coast, was now found in considerable numbers in this shoal water.

“ The animal was first observed by captain Hendie, the officer commanding Fort Charles, in looking for shells which were thrown up in great numbers from the bottom of the harbour. He found a piece of brain-stone containing three of them in different parts of it. Some little time after, I was lucky enough to find another brain-stone with two in it; one of them is the specimen in your possession; the other was destined for examination, of which the following is the account.

“ The animal, when taken out of the shell, including the two cones and their membranes, is five inches in length; of which the body is three inches and three-quarters, and the apparatus for catching its prey,



prey, which may be considered as its tentacula, about an inch and a quarter.

“ The body of the animal is attached to its shell, for about three-quarters of an inch in length, at the anterior part where the two cones arise, by means of two cartilaginous substances, with one side adapted to the body of the animal, the other to the internal surface of the shell: the rest of the body is unattached, of a darkish white colour, about half an inch broad, a little flattened, and rather narrower towards the tail. The muscular fibres upon its back are transverse; those on the belly longitudinal, making a band the whole length of the body, on the edge of which the transverse fibres running across the back terminate.

“ The two cartilaginous substances by which the animal adheres to its shell, are placed one on each side of the body, and are joined together upon the back of the animal at their posterior edges: they are about three quarters of an inch long, are very narrow at their anterior end, becoming broader as they go backwards; and at their posterior end they are the whole breadth of the body of the animal. Upon their external surface there are six transverse ridges, or narrow folds; and along their external edges, at the end or termination of each ridge, is a little eminence resembling the point of a hair pencil, so that on each side of the animal there are six of these little projecting studs, for the purpose of adhering to the sides of the shell in which the animal is inclosed. The internal surfaces of these cartilages are firmly attached to the body of the animal, in their middle part, by a kind of band or liga-

ment; but the upper and lower ends are lying loose.

“ From the end of the body, between the two upper ends of these cartilages, arise what I suppose to be the tentacula, consisting of two cones, each having a spiral membrane twining round it: they are close to each other at their bases, and diverge as they rise up, being about an inch and a quarter in length, and nearly one-sixth of an inch in thickness at their base, and gradually diminishing till they terminate in points. The membranes which twine round these cones also take their origin from the body of the animal, and make five spiral turns and a half round each, being lost in the points of the cones; they are loose from the cone at the lowest spiral turn which they make, and are nearly half an inch in breadth; they are exceedingly delicate, and have at small distances fibres running across them from their attachment at the stem to the loose edge, which gives them a ribbed appearance. These fibres are continued about one-tenth of an inch beyond the membrane, having their edges finely serrated, like the tentacula of the *Actiniae* found in Barbadoes: these tentacula shorten as the spiral turns become smaller, and are entirely lost in that part of the membrane which terminates in the point of the cone.

“ Behind the origin of these cones arises a small shell, which, for one sixth of an inch from its attachment to the animal, is very slender: it is about three-quarters of an inch in length, becoming considerably broader at the other end, which is flat, and about one-third of an inch broad; the flattened extremity is covered with a kind of hair, and has rising out of it

it two small claws, about one-sixth of an inch in length. If the hair, and mucus entangled in it, be taken away, this extremity of the shell becomes concave, is of a pink colour, and the two claws rising out from its middle part have each three short branches, not unlike the horns of a deer. The body of this shell has a soft cartilaginous covering, with an irregular but polished surface: on this the cones rest in their collapsed state, in which state the whole of the shell is drawn into the cavity of the brain-stone, excepting the flattened end with the two claws.

“ Before the cones there is a thin membrane, which appears to be of the same length with the shell just described. In the collapsed state it lies between the cones and the shell in which the animal is inclosed; but when the tentacula are thrown out, it is also protruded.

“ The shell of this animal is a tube, which is very thin, and adapted to its body: the internal surface is smooth, and of a pinkish white colour: its outer surface is covered by the brain-stone in which it is inclosed, and the turnings and windings which it makes are very numerous. The end of the shell, which opens externally, rises above the surface of the stone on one side half an inch in height, for about half the circumference of the aperture, bending a little forwards over it, and becoming narrower and narrower as it goes up, terminating at last in a point just over the centre of the opening of the shell: on the other side it forms a round margin to the surface of the brain-stone. This part of the shell is much thicker and stronger than that part which is inclosed in the brain-stone: its outer surface is of a darkish brown colour; its inner of a pinkish white.

“ The animal, when at rest, is wholly concealed in its shell; but when it seeks for food, the moveable shell is pushed slowly out with the cones and their membranes in a collapsed state; and when the whole is exposed, the moveable shell falls a little back, and the membrane round each of the cones is expanded, the tentacula at the bases of the cones having just room enough to move without touching one another. The thin membrane which lays between the cones and the inclosing shell is protruded in the form of a fold, and lies over the external shell which projects from the brain-stone.

“ The membranes have a slow spiral motion, which continues during the whole time of their being expanded; and the tentacula upon their edges are in constant action. The motion of the membrane of the one cone seems to be a little different from that of the other, and they change from the one kind of motion to the other alternately, a variation in the colour of the membrane at the same time taking place, either becoming a shade lighter or darker; and this change in the colour, while the whole is in motion, produces a pleasing effect, and is most striking when the sun is very bright. The membranes, however, at some particular times appear to be of the same colour.

“ While the membranes are in motion, a little mucus is often separated from the tentacula at the point of the cone. Upon the least motion being given to the water, the cones are immediately and very suddenly drawn in.

“ This apparatus for catching food is the most delicate and complicated that I have seen; but I shall not trouble you with any conjectures upon what that food may be, as I have

## ACCOUNT of the TREE AVERRHOA CARAMBOLA. [161]

I have not attained sufficient knowledge of the animal to speak with the smallest certainty.

“ I have endeavoured to describe the external appearances as I saw them; and have annexed two drawings of the animal in its two different states, one in search of

food, and one while lying at rest; these are a little magnified, to show the parts more distinctly.

“ I shall not say any thing of the internal parts, or their uses, as the animal is in your possession, who are so much better able to explain its internal œconomy.”

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## An ACCOUNT of the SENSITIVE QUALITY of the TREE AVERRHOA CARAMBOLA. By ROBERT BRUCE, M.D.

[ From the same Publication. ]

“ **T**HE Averrhoa Carambola of Linnæus, a tree called in Bengal the Camruc, or Camrunga, is possessed of a power somewhat similar to those species of Mimosa which are termed sensitive plants: its leaves, on being touched, move very perceptibly.

“ In the Mimosa the moving faculty extends to the branches; but, from the hardness of the wood, this cannot be expected in the Camrunga. The leaves are alternately pinnated, with an odd one; and in their most common position in the day-time are horizontal, or on the same plane with the branch from which they come out. On being touched, they move themselves downward, frequently in so great a degree that the two opposite almost touch one another by their under sides, and the young ones sometimes either come into contact or even pass each other.

“ The whole of the leaves of one pinna move by striking the branch with the nail of the finger, or other hard substance; or each leaf can be moved singly, by making an impression that shall not extend beyond that leaf. In this way the leaves of one side of the pinna may be made to move, one after

another, whilst the opposite continue as they were; or you may make them move alternately, or, in short, in any order you please, by touching in a proper manner the leaf you wish to put in motion. But if the impression, although made on a single leaf, be strong, all the leaves on that pinna, and sometimes on the neighbouring ones, will be affected by it.

“ What at first seemed surprising was, that, notwithstanding this apparent sensibility of the leaf, I could with a pair of sharp scissars make large incisions in it, without occasioning the smallest motion; nay, even cut it almost entirely off, and the remaining part still continue unmoved; and that then, by touching the wounded leaf with the finger or point of the scissars, motion would take place as if no injury had been offered. But, on farther examination, I found, that, although the leaf was the ostensible part which moved, it was in fact entirely passive, and that the petiolus was the seat both of sense and action; for, although the leaf might be cut in pieces, or squeezed with great force, provided its direction was not changed, without any motion being occasioned, yet,

the impression on the leaf was made in such a way as to affect the petiolus, the motion took place. When, therefore, I wanted to confine the motion to a single leaf, I either touched it so as only to affect its own petiolus, or, without meddling with the leaf, touched the petiolus with any small-pointed body, as a pin or knife.

“ By compressing the universal petiolus near the place where a partial one comes out, the leaf moves in a few seconds, in the same manner as if you had touched the partial petiolus.

“ Whether the impression be made by puncture, percussion, or compression, the motion does not instantly follow: generally several seconds intervene, and then it is not by a jerk, but regular and gradual. Afterwards, when the leaves return to their former situation, which is commonly in a quarter of an hour or less, it is in so slow a manner as to be almost imperceptible.

“ On sticking a pin into the universal petiolus at its origin, the leaf next it, which is always on the outer side, moves first; then the first leaf on the opposite side, next the second leaf on the outer, and so on. But this regular progression seldom continues throughout; for the leaves on the outer side of the pinna seem to be affected both more quickly, and with more energy, than those of the inner, so that the fourth leaf on the outer side frequently moves as soon as the third on the inner; and sometimes a leaf, especially on the inner side, does not move at all, whilst those above and below it are affected in their proper time. Sometimes the leaves at the extremity of the petiolus move sooner than se-

veral others which were nearer the place where the pin was put in.

“ On making a compression with a pair of pincers on the universal petiolus, between any two pair of leaves, those above the compressed part, or nearer the extremity of the petiolus, move sooner than those under it, or nearer the origin: and frequently the motion will extend upwards to the extreme leaf, whilst below it perhaps does not go farther than the nearest pair.

“ If the leaves happen to be blown by the wind against one another, or against the branches, they are frequently put in motion; but when a branch is moved gently, either by the hand or the wind, without striking against any thing, no motion of the leaves takes place.

“ When left to themselves in the day-time, shaded from the sun, wind, rain, or any disturbing cause, the appearance of the leaves is different from that of other pinnated plants. In the last a great uniformity subsists in the respective position of the leaves on the pinna; but here some will be seen on the horizontal plane, some raised above it, and others fallen under it; and in an hour or so, without any order or regularity, which I could observe, all these will have changed their respective positions. I have seen a leaf, which was high up, fall down; this it did as quickly as if a strong impression had been made on it, but there was no cause to be perceived.

“ Cutting the bark of the branch down to the wood, and even separating it about the space of half an inch all round, so as to stop all communication by the vessels of the bark, does not for the first day affect the leaves, either in their position or their aptitude for motion.

“ In

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" In a branch, which I cut through in such a manner as to leave it suspended only by a little of the bark no thicker than a thread, the leaves next day did not rise so high as the others; but they were green and fresh, and, on being touched, moved, but in a much less degree than formerly.

" After sun-set the leaves go to sleep, first moving down so as to touch one another by their under sides: they therefore perform rather more extensive motion at night of themselves than they can be made to do in the day-time by external impressions. With a convex lens I have collected the rays of the sun on a leaf, so as to burn a hole in it, without occasioning any motion. But when the experiment was tried on the petiolus, the motion is as quick as if from strong percussion, although the rays were not so much concentrated as to cause pain when applied in the same degree on the back of the hand; nor had the texture of the petiolus been any ways changed by this; for next day it could not be distinguished, either by its appearance or moving power, from those on which no experiment had been made.

" The leaves move very fast

from the electrical shock, even although a very gentle one; but the state of the atmosphere was so unfavourable for experiments of this kind, that I could not pursue them so far as I wished,

" There are two other plants mentioned as species of this genus by Linnæus. The first, the *Averrhoa Bilimbi*, I have not had an opportunity of seeing. The other, or *Averrhoa Acida*, does not seem to belong to the same class; nor do its leaves possess any of the moving properties of the *Carambola*. Linnæus's generic description of the *Averrhoa*, as of many other plants in this country which he had not an opportunity of seeing fresh, is not altogether accurate. The petals are connected by the lower part of the lamina, and in this way they fall off whilst the ungues are quite distinct. The stamina are in five pairs, placed in the angles of the germen. Of each pair only one stamen is fertile, or furnished with an anthera. The filaments are curved, adapted to the shape of the germen. They may be pressed down gently, so as to remain; and then, when moved a little upwards, rise with a spring. The fertile are twice the length of those destitute of antheræ."

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## AN ACCOUNT of some EXPERIMENTS on the LOSS of WEIGHT in BODIES, on being melted or heated. By GEORGE FORDYCE, M. D. F. R. S.

[ From the same Publication. ]

" **A**lthough I have made many experiments on the subject of the loss of weight in bodies on being melted or heated, I do not think it worth while to lay them all before the Society, as there has not appeared any circumstance of

contradiction in them. I shall content myself with relating the following one, which appears to me conclusive in determining the loss of weight in ice when thawed into water, and subject to the least fallacy of any I have hitherto made,

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in shewing the loss of weight in ice on being heated.

“ The beam I made use of was so adjusted as that, with a weight between four and five ounces in each scale,  $\frac{1}{800}$  part of a grain made a difference of one division on the index. It was placed in a room, the heat of which was 37 degrees of Fahrenheit’s thermometer, between one and two in the afternoon, and left till the whole apparatus and the brass weights acquired the same temperature.

“ A glass globe, of three inches diameter nearly, with an indentation at the bottom, and a tube at the top, weighing about 451 grains, had about 1700 grains of New-river water poured into it, and was hermetically sealed, so that the whole, when perfectly clean, weighed 2150  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a grain exactly; the heat being brought to 32 degrees, by placing it in a cooling mixture of salt and ice till it just began to freeze, and shaking the whole together.

“ After it was weighed it was again put into the freezing mixture, and let stand for about 20 minutes; it was then taken out of the mixture: part of the water was found to be frozen; and it was carefully wiped, first with a dry linen cloth, and afterwards with dry washed leather; and on putting it into the scale it was found to have gained about the  $\frac{1}{80}$  part of a grain. This was repeated five times: at each time more of the water was frozen, and more weight gained. In the mean time the heat of the room and apparatus had sunk to the freezing point.

“ When the whole was frozen, it was carefully wiped and weighed, and found to have gained  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a grain and four divisions of the index. Upon standing in the scale

for about a minute, I found it began to lose weight, on which I immediately took it out, and placed it at a distance from the beam. I also immediately plunged a thermometer in the freezing mixture, and found the temperature 10 degrees; and on putting the ball of the thermometer in the hollow at the bottom of the glass vessel, it shewed 12 degrees. I left the whole for half an hour, and found the thermometer, applied to the hollow of the glass, at 32°. Every thing now being at the same temperature, I weighed the glass containing the ice, after wiping it carefully, and found it had lost  $\frac{1}{2}$  and five divisions; so that it weighed  $\frac{1}{2}$ , all but one division, more than when the water was fluid.

“ I now melted the ice, excepting a very small quantity, and left the glass vessel exposed to the air in the temperature of 32 degrees for a quarter of an hour: the little bit of ice continued nearly the same. I now weighed it, after carefully wiping the glass, and found it heavier than the water was at first, one division of the beam. Lastly, I took out the weights, and found the beam exactly balanced as before the experiment.

“ The acquisition of weight found on water’s being converted into ice, may arise from an increase of the attraction of gravitation of the matter of the water; or from some substance imbibed through the glass, which is necessary to render the water solid.

“ Which of these positions is true may be determined by forming a pendulum of water, and another of ice, of the same length, and in every other respect similar, and making them swing equal arcs. If they mark equal times, then certainly ~~there~~ is some matter added



to the water. If the pendulum of ice is quicker in its vibrations, than the attraction of gravitation is increased. For there is no position more certain, than that a single particle of inanimate matter is perfectly incapable of putting itself in motion, or bringing itself to rest; and therefore that a certain force applied to any mass of matter, so as to give it a certain velocity, will give half the quantity of matter double the velocity, and twice the quantity, half the velocity; and generally a velocity exactly in the inverse proportion to the quantity of matter. Now, if there be the same quantity of matter in water as there is in ice, and if the force of gravity in water be  $\frac{1}{28000}$  part less than in ice, and the pendulum of ice swing seconds, the pendulum of water will lose  $\frac{1}{56000}$  of a second in each vibration, or one second in 28000, which is almost three seconds a day, a quantity easily measured.

“ I shall just take notice of an opinion which has been adopted by some, that there is matter absolutely light; or which repels instead of attracting other matter. I confess this appears absurd to me; but the following experiment would prove or disprove it. Supposing, for instance, that heat was a body, and absolutely light, and that ice gained weight by losing heat; then a pendulum of ice would swing through the same arc in  $\frac{1}{56000}$  less time than a similar pendulum of water; for the same power would not only act upon a less quantity of matter, but a counter-acting force would also be taken away.

“ Till the experiment of the pendulum can be made, or some other equally certain be suggested and made, it would be wasting time to enter into conjecture about the

cause of the gain of weight in the conversion of water into ice in a glass vessel hermetically sealed.

“ I shall only observe, that heat certainly diminishes the attractions of cohesion, chemistry, magnetism, and electricity; and if it should also turn out, that it diminishes the attraction of gravitation, I should not hesitate to consider heat as the quality of diminution of attraction, which would in that case account for all its effects.

“ We come, in the next place, to take notice of the second part of the experiment, viz. that the ice gained an eighth part of a grain on being cooled to 12 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. In this case, a variation may arise from the contraction of the glass vessel, and consequent increase of specific gravity in proportion to the air. But it is unnecessary to observe, that this would be so very small a quantity as not to be observable upon a beam adjusted only to the degree of sensibility with which this experiment was tried. In the second place, the air cooled by the ice above the scale becoming heavier than the surrounding atmosphere, would press upon the scale downward with the whole force of the difference. If a little more than half a pint of air was cooled over the scale to the heat of the ice and glass containing it, that is, 20 degrees below the freezing point, the difference, according to general Roy's table, would have been the eighth part of a grain, which was the weight acquired; but the air within half an inch of the glass vessel being only one degree below the freezing point, I cannot conceive, that even an eighth part of a pint of air could be cooled over the scale to 20 degrees below the freezing point; nor that the whole dif-

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ference of the weight of the air over the scale could ever amount to the 32d of a grain. I have, however, contrived an apparatus which is executing, in which this cause of fallacy will be totally removed. I shall, therefore, rest at present the state of this part of the subject; and leave it only proved, that water gains weight on being frozen."

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**SOME REMARKS on the OPINION that the ANIMAL BODY possesses the POWER of generating COLD. By GEORGE BELL, M. D.**

[From the *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Manchester.*]

"A Curious and important discovery was announced to the world in the sixty-fifth volume of the *Philosophical Transactions*. We are there informed, that Dr. Fordyce and other gentlemen, several different times, went into a room, the air of which was heated to a degree far above that of the human blood; and though they remained there, sometimes for the space of half an hour, yet the heat of their bodies was not increased by more than 3 or 4 degrees. From hence they concluded, that the living body possesses a peculiar power of generating cold by some occult operation. The experiments seem to have been made with sufficient accuracy; but the conclusion drawn from them is liable to strong objection. For, in forming it, several circumstances have been overlooked, which, in my opinion, afford an easy explanation of all the phenomena, on principles already known, without referring them to a new law of the animal body, which probably does not exist. These circumstances I shall endeavour to point out.

"I. The first cause which prevented their bodies from receiving a greater increase of heat was, *The*

*rarefaction of the air with which they were surrounded.*

"The quantity of heat which different substances contain, is, in general, in proportion to their density; and, in this proportion, they communicate more or less of it to others. A cubical foot of water contains a much greater quantity of heat, than a cubical foot of air, of the same temperature; and, if a third substance be added, its temperature will be considerably changed by the hot water, while by the hot air it will hardly be changed in any perceptible degree. Many facts may be adduced, which serve to illustrate, and, at the same time, are explained by this cause. Thus, the steam of boiling water will scald a person's hand, which can support the heat of air, of the same temperature. And thus perhaps the weather, when hazy and loaded with vapour, seems to our feeling, hotter than when pure and rare; although by the thermometer it is found to be equally warm in both instances.

"This also was the true reason, why, in making those experiments, Dr. Fordyce always found that he could bear a greater degree of heat in dry, than in moist air. But nothing

thing shews more clearly the slowness with which heat is imparted to a denser substance, from one that is highly rarefied, than a circumstance mentioned in the paper in question: "that even the small quantity of mercury, contained in a thermometer which the gentlemen carried with them into the room, did not arrive at the degree to which the air was heated, during the whole time they remained there."

"II. Another cause which, in the given situation, would diminish the effect of the heated air, is, *The evaporation made from the surface of the body.*

"That evaporation produces a considerable absorption of heat, is well known: and, in making the experiments, there is reason to believe, that it took place in a considerable degree. Dr. Fordyce, anxious perhaps to establish his general law, seems unwilling to allow its influence. But when it is considered, that by the operation of the heat, the force of the circulation was increased, the pores of the skin relaxed, and the pressure of the internal air diminished; when we are told, that a turgescence of the veins, and an universal redness of the surface of the body, took place; we are compelled to refuse credit to the assertion, even of Dr. Fordyce, that there was no evaporation. The evaporation must have been great, and would diminish the effect of the external heat by surrounding the surface with a cool atmosphere, from its temperature fit for the absorption of heat, and from its rarity, unfit for the ready transmission of it into the body.

"III. But another very powerful cause of the body's having preserved its temperature in the given situation, remains to be noticed; which is, *The successive afflux of blood*

*to the surface, at a temperature inferior to that of the surrounding air.* By this means the small quantity of heat which penetrated the skin would be immediately carried off, and transferred throughout the body: and it would have required the space of many hours, before the whole mass could have received any considerable increase of heat.

"It has been adduced, in proof of the existence of the power of the living body to generate cold, that frogs, lizards, and other animals of the same sort, possess it; for if touched, they feel cold. This proves only, that their heat is less than that of the hand, with which they are felt; and perhaps less than that of the air, when the trial is made.

"But it is extremely probable, that no animal whatever can live in health, for any considerable time, in an atmosphere of a temperature superior in heat to that of its own blood. Thus we find, that the animals in question hide themselves in the day-time among thick grass, where there is a great evaporation; and in places into which the rays of the sun cannot penetrate. Worms, in hot weather, during the day, lie deep in the ground; but in the night-time, when it is cool, rise to the surface to refresh themselves in the dew. When frogs, worms, and such other animals, are exposed to air warmer than their blood, its influence is counteracted by the same causes which counteract its influence on the human body, the evaporation from the surface of their bodies, and the coldness of their blood. Such accidental exposure happens more frequently to them, than to the human species; and, from the inferiority of their size, they would be sooner heated through, and less able to resist the

noxious effects of the hot air, were not their power of resisting it made up in another respect. In such situations, the evaporation from the surface of their bodies is greater; for the skin is more lax, and is always covered with moisture. It is, perhaps, for this purpose also, that it is rough and uneven; which, by extending the surface, causes a greater evaporation.

“ These may be said to be the means through which the human body is preserved, in nearly the same temperature, when it happens to be placed, for a time, in an atmosphere of a superior degree of heat. They seem to me so adequate to this effect, that I would even venture to impute the increase of the temperature of the body, from

96 to 100 degrees, which happened in the experiments, rather to the acceleration of the blood, than to the influx of heat from the external air. While the cause of animal heat remains unknown, it would be presumption to assert, that these are the only means by which the body is enabled to resist the effects of external heat. There may be others; and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that as external cold, perhaps by its tonic influence, increases the power of the body to generate heat, so external heat may diminish that power, and thus lessen the quantity of heat generated within, while the evaporation, produced by the same cause, guards it against receiving any accession from without.”

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AN ESSAY on the ASCENT of VAPOUR. By ALEXANDER EASON, M. D.

[ From the same Publication. ]

“ THERE are few phenomena in nature, which have puzzled philosophers more, than the ascent of vapour: and the different theories laid down by doctors Halley and Desaguliers, have been rejected, while another, not less liable to objections, has been almost universally received.

“ This theory, which I shall presently mention, was at first invented by a French gentleman, Monsieur le Roi, and afterwards revived by Lord Kaimes, and doctor Hugh Hamilton. It is this—that the air dissolves water, as water does saline substances: the solution being perfect, the air will become transparent.

“ Objections. 1. Were this theory true, evaporation could not be

performed without air; but Mr. Watt, contrary to the theory supported by Lord Kaimes and Dr. Hamilton, has proved, that when water in vacuo was boiled with a degree of heat very little greater than that of the human body, the steam came over, and was condensed in the refrigeratory. But he relates, that the evaporation was not quicker than in the open air.

“ 2. Were the doctrine of solution true, the air would be heavier, the more water it contained; and, as clouds contain a great portion of water, they ought to float on the surface of the earth, and not in the higher regions, as we daily observe.

“ 3. We never could expect any rain, unless the air were super-saturated.

tated with water; and it would only yield to us, what it could not retain in solution.

“ 4. It is universally allowed, that heat contributes very much towards converting water into vapour, which is again condensed by cold. In what manner will the doctrine of solution account for the spontaneous evaporation of water, and its being suspended in air, in the coldest weather, even when the thermometer is below the freezing point? Though I cannot allow of such a solution as above mentioned, I can, however, readily admit of a strong attraction betwixt air and water: for no air is found without water, and no water without air.

“ Water, which is eight hundred times heavier than air; by a very small degree of heat may be converted into vapour, which vapour is one thousand eight hundred times lighter than air, according to Mr. Watt. It consequently follows, that vapour will rise up in the atmosphere, to the height of its own specific gravity; but, long before it could reach to so high a region, it would be condensed by cold, and return to the earth in rain, were it not for the latent heat it contains, and the electric matter in the air.

“ Whatever I mention concerning electricity is from facts, and not from any theory written about it, which is above my comprehension. But as the terms now in use, viz. positive and negative, or plus and minus, are generally best understood, I shall express myself by them. The able Nollet has proved, that water electrified, will evaporate faster, than water which is not electrified. Does it not follow, that the more electric matter is in the air, the quicker the evaporation of water will be? And Mr. Cavallo has proved, that at all times the at-

mosphere is electrified, but much stronger in frosty, than in warm weather, and by no means less in the night than in the day: it is likewise stronger in elevated than in low places. From these facts we may be enabled to account, why evaporation is carried on during very cold weather. All the heat contained in water, above what is sufficient to keep it in a fluid state, will convert it into vapour; which, in a north or north-east wind, when the electric matter greatly abounds, will be carried off with much rapidity; and, by the power of electricity, will be rendered still lighter, the higher it ascends; each particle repelling each other, and preventing the cold from condensing the vapour, in its ascent through the cold regions of the atmosphere. The higher it rises, the more space there is for expansion; and the more it is expanded, the clearer will the atmosphere appear, and, probably, the higher the mercury will rise in the barometer.

“ It likewise appears, that the electric matter is more sensible near the surface of the earth, in cold northern countries, than in warm southern places. M. Volta, with a very simple apparatus, on the upper gallery of St. Paul's, produced an electric spark, which, he told me, in Italy, could not be done, but on a very high mountain, or in a situation greatly elevated. This seems a wise provision in nature, that the electric matter should appear near the surface of the earth in cold climates, to raise up and suspend the vapour in the air, which otherways would be condensed by the cold; whereas, in warm countries, the heat of the earth will be sufficient to raise vapours to a great height, which are afterwards carried still higher, by the electric matter

ter in the upper regions. This, perhaps, is the cause, why the air is so clear and transparent in warm climates.

“ By making some observations on the falling of rain, we shall have other proofs, that the electric matter is the great cause by which vapour is supported in the atmosphere. Here I must observe a fact, well known to all present, that bodies electrified, by the same electric power (no matter whether positive or negative) repel each other; and, when electrified by the different powers, that is, the one plus and the other minus, attract each other: on coming into contact, an equilibrium is restored, and neither of them will shew any signs of electricity.

“ From this it follows: if two clouds are electrified by the same power, they will repel each other, and the vapour be suspended in both; but, when one is positive and the other negative, they will attract each other, and restore an equilibrium. The electric power, by which the vapour was suspended, being now destroyed by the mutual action of the clouds on each other, the particles of water will have an opportunity of running together into each other, and, as they augment in size, will gain a greater degree of gravity, descending in small rain, or a heavy shower, according to circumstances.

“ A cloud, highly electrified, passing over a high building or mountain, may be attracted by, and be deprived of its electricity, without or with a violent explosion of thunder. If the cloud is electrified plus, the fire will descend from the cloud to the mountain; but, if it be electrified minus, the fire will ascend from the mountain to the cloud. In both cases, the effect is

the same, and generally, heavy rain immediately, or soon after, follows: this is well known to the inhabitants of, and travellers among, mountains.

“ From this we can easily account, why thunder-showers are often partial, falling near, or among mountains, and the rain in such quantities, as to occasion rivers to be overflowed; whilst, at the distance of a few miles, the ground continues parched up with drought, and the roads covered with dust.

“ It often happens, that one clap of thunder is not sufficient to produce rain from a cloud, nor even a second: in short, the claps must be repeated, till an equilibrium is restored, and then the rain must, of consequence, fall. Sometimes we may have violent thunder and lightning without rain, and the black appearance of the heavens may be changed to a clear transparent sky, especially in warm weather. To account for this, it must be remembered, as I lately said, that one or more claps of thunder are not always sufficient to produce rain from the clouds: so, if an equilibrium be not restored, little or no rain will fall, and in a short time the electric matter, passing from the earth to the clouds, or the superabundant quantity in the air, will electrify those black clouds, by which means the particles of vapour will be expanded, raised higher, and the air become clear. Clouds may be melted away, even when we are looking at them, by another cause, that is, by the heat of the sun. We know, that transparent bodies are not heated by the sun, but opaque ones are; the clouds being opaque bodies, are warmed by the rays of the sun shining on them, and any additional quantity of heat will rarify the vapour, and occasion its expanding in the



the air, which will soon become transparent. When vapour is made to expand more than it would otherwise do, a certain quantity of absolute heat is necessary to keep it in the form of vapour; therefore, when the receiver of an air-pump is exhausting, it appears muddy, and a number of drops are found within it; the moisture contained in the air, in the form of vapour, being made to occupy a greater space than what is natural to it, and receiving no addition of heat, a part of it is condensed.

“ If, therefore, the air is suddenly rarified, a few drops of rain will descend, as may often be observed in the summer season.

“ I have repeatedly observed, especially during the summer, when the wind is at north-east, that the weather is, in general, cold and dry, with a clear atmosphere. Should the wind suddenly change to south-west, in a few hours, black clouds begin to gather, vegetables look sickly, and droop their leaves; and, soon after, comes on a violent storm of thunder, with heavy rain.

“ This change, I imagine, is not so much owing to the south-west wind bringing rain, as to the atmosphere's being changed from an electric state, capable of suspending vapour, to a state of parting with its moisture. As soon as the storm is going off, vegetables revive from their languid state, and the air recovers its usual aspect. From this we may conclude, that no instrument can be made to ascertain the quantity of moisture in the air: all that is, or ought to be expected from a hygrometer, is to shew, whether the air be in a state to retain or part with its moisture. In apparent dry weather it may point to rain; and when it rains, it may

point to fair. For this reason, the stones of halls, and smooth substances, are often bedewed with wet, in dry warm weather (that is, the air is in a state to part with its moisture), and, *vice versa*, they will dry in the time of rain.

“ Lest this paper should exceed the common limits of time in reading, I shall pass over those observations, which might be made on fogs or mists; a few excepted, which I shall here subjoin.

“ Fogs are produced by two causes as different as their effects are opposite. A fog may be produced by a precipitation of rain, in very small particles, like a cloud floating on the surface of the earth. In this case the air is moist and damp, and never fails to wet a traveller's cloaths; the stones of the street, painted doors, and hard, cool, smooth bodies, are generally covered with moisture, which often runs in large drops: this, I dare say, has been observed by every person. Secondly, a fog may be produced by the absorption of moisture, when the air is too dry, and differs from the other just described; for it will not impart any of its moisture even to dry bodies; no damp is to be met with on stones, polished marble, &c. This fact is well known to the inhabitants on the sea-coast of Fife-shire, who, during their summer months, have frequent opportunities of observing a fog in the afternoon, driving up the Firth of Forth, with a drying east wind, which often blasts the trees and young vegetables, and, therefore, in a small degree, resembles the Harmattan in drying up the ground, and robbing vegetables of their moisture.

“ I shall now conclude with a short summary of the whole.

“ 1. That heat is the great cause,  
by

gularity utterly irreconcilable to the common hypothesis : at least, I am acquainted with no plausible answer to this objection.

“ Should any one reply, “ that alphabetical characters may have been in existence many ages prior to the date of these specimens in the Scriptures, but that the more ancient memorials, in which they were exhibited, have perished by the desolations of ignorance and the vicissitudes of time :” I must demur at an argument that advances no premises of sufficient validity to authenticate this conclusion. For, 1. It is mere affirmation, without the least shadow of historical testimony to give it countenance. 2. To wave the authority of the Jewish scriptures upon this point (which, however, I must beg leave to observe, is corroborated by abundant evidence from philosophy and experience, as well as history); that simplicity of manners, predominant in the early ages, so observable in the accounts delivered down by sacred and profane historians; the confessed mediocrity of their intellectual acquirements, and the confined intercourse of nations with each other, which would render such an expedient less necessary, and therefore less likely to be discovered : all these considerations seem to argue with no little cogency, that so complex, so curious, so wonderful, so consummate a devise as that of alphabetical writing, could hardly be first detected by a race of men, whose wants were few, whose advantages were circumscribed, and whose ideas were commensurate to their situation. This position, therefore, conjectural as it is, and unsubstantial, seems unworthy of farther animadversion.

“ II. If alphabetical writing were a human invention, the natural re-

sult of ingenuity and experience, might we not expect that different nations would have fallen upon the same expedient, independently of each other, during the compass of so many ages : when the faculties of the mind are equally capable at all times, and in every corner of the universe, and when the habits of life and modes of thought inevitably bear so great a resemblance to each other in similar stages of society ? This, I say, were but a reasonable expectation : which, however, corresponds not to the event. For alphabetical writing, as now practised by every people in the universe, may be referred to one common original. If this proposition can be proved, the argument from successive derivation, without a single instance of independent discovery, must be allowed to amount to the very highest degree of probability in my favour : and the common supposition will appear perfectly gratuitous, with the incumbrance also of this great paradox : “ You tell us, I might say, of an invention, which is the regular consequence of refinement in society, nothing more than a gradual advancement from what is plain to what is complex ; by a similar process, pursued by the mind in all its exertions for improvement : and yet we can perceive no reason to conclude, that any community but one, and that in no wise distinguished by any vast superiority of inventive genius, or the improvements introduced by them into common life, ever compassed this discovery ; though the human powers have been uniformly the same, and the conduct of society has been greatly similar in different nations at different periods of time.”

“ Let us consider then, how the evidence stands in this case : only pre-

# ANTIQUITIES.

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## ON THE ORIGIN OF ALPHABETICAL CHARACTERS. By GILBERT WAKEFIELD, B. A.

[ From the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Manchester. ]

“ **A**T this period of time, when the human mind has acquired so much honour by the introduction of such astonishing improvements into the various departments of philosophy and science, beyond the example of former ages; those speculations, which tend to aggrandize the dignity of reason, are received with avidity, and admitted with a readier acquiescence. We are apt to conclude, that the same ingenuity and strength of faculties, which have been able to investigate the sublime laws of the planetary system, to adjust the tides, to disentangle the rays of light, to detect the electric fluid, and to extend their researches into the remotest regions of mathematic science, must be adequate to any attainments and discoveries whatsoever. Nor has any disputable topic of enquiry been accepted more implicitly of late, even by men accustomed to hesitate and to examine, than the gradual discovery of alphabetical characters by the successive exertions and accumulated experience of mankind. To call in question a maxim so generally believed, may appear, in the judgment of philosophers, to favour of superstition and credulity: but, perhaps, it will be found, that the evi-

dence in favour of this maxim, bears no proportion to the confidence with which it is embraced. As a man, I rejoice in whatever is honourable to our nature: but various scruples have ever forbidden my assent to this popular article of belief. I will state my objections to it in a plain and popular manner with all possible perspicuity and conciseness; and then submit the determination of this question to the judgement and candour of this audience.

“ I. The five first books of the Old Testament, are, I believe, acknowledged by all to be, not only the most ancient compositions, but also the most early specimens of alphabetical writing at present existing in the world. Now, if alphabetical writing be indeed the result of human ingenuity, one great peculiarity distinguishes it from all other human inventions whatsoever: the very first effort brought it to perfection. All the sagacity and experience of succeeding generations, illustrated as they have been by a vast influx of additional knowledge, beyond the most accomplished of their predecessors, have been unable to superinduce any real improvement upon the Hebrew alphabet. This seems to me a singularity

well as the art itself? To what purpose the trouble of inventing another system of characters?"

"Various answers may be returned to this objection.

"1. We know, from the instance of our own language, what diversities may be introduced in this respect merely by length of time, and an intercourse with neighbouring nations. And such an effect would be much more likely to take place before the art of printing had contributed to establish an uniformity of character. For, when every work was transcribed by the hand, we may easily imagine how many variations would arise from the fancy of the scribe, and the mode of writing so constantly different in individuals. What two persons write without the plainest symptoms of peculiarity?"

"2. Vanity might sometimes give occasion to this diversity. When an individual of another community had become acquainted with this wonderful artifice, he might endeavour to recommend himself to his own people, as the deviser of it: and, to evade detection, might have recourse to the substitution of new symbols. But let no more credit be given to this conjecture than it deserves.

"3. The characters of the alphabet might, sometimes, be accommodated, as much as possible, to the symbolical marks already in use amongst a particular people. These having acquired a high degree of sanctity, by the use of many generations, would not be easily superseded, without the aid of some such contrivance, by an adventitious practice.

"4. But I have more than conjecture to offer in support of this argument; even the testimony of an ancient historian; whose account

will serve as a general evidence in this case, and may lead us to conclude, that similar deviations may have taken place amongst other classes of men, as well as in that instance, which he particularly specifies from his own knowledge.

"Herodotus, in one part of his history, has the following relation.

"Those Phœnicians, who came with Cadmus, introduced many improvements among the Greeks, and alphabetical writing too, not known in my opinion to the Greeks before that period. At first they used the Phœnician character: but in process of time, as the pronunciation altered, the standard of the letters was also changed. The Ionian Greeks inhabited at that time the parts adjacent to Phœnicia: who, having received the art of alphabetical writing from the Phœnicians, used it, with an alteration of some few characters: and confessed ingenuously, that it was called Phœnician, from the introducers of it. And I have seen myself the characters of Cadmus in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes in Bœotia, engraven upon tripods, and very much resembling the Ionian characters."

"5. The old Samaritan is precisely the same as the Hebrew language: and the Samaritan Pentateuch does not vary by a single letter in twenty words from the Hebrew. But the characters are widely different: for the Jews adopted the Chaldaic letters, during their captivity at Babylon, instead of the characters of their forefathers. This difficulty then seems to have been sufficiently considered.

"III. What we know of those nations, who have continued for many centuries unconnected with the rest of the world, strongly militates against the hypothesis of the human invention of alphabetical writing.

writing. The experiment has been fairly made upon the ingenuity of mankind for a longer period than that which is supposed to have produced alphabetical writing by regular gradations; and this experiment determines peremptorily in our favour.

“ The Chinese, a people famous for their discoveries and mechanical turn of genius, have made some advances towards the delineation of their ideas by arbitrary signs; but have nevertheless been unable to accomplish this exquisite device: and after so long a trial, to no purpose, we may reasonably infer, that their mode of writing, which is growing more intricate and voluminous every day, would never terminate in so clear, so comparatively simple, an expedient, as that of alphabetical characters.

“ The Mexicans, also, on the new continent, had made some rude attempts of the same kind, but with less success than the Chinese.

“ We know also, that hieroglyphics were in use among the Egyptians, posterior to the practice of alphabetical writing by the Jews: but whether the epistolography, as it is called, of the former people, which was in vogue during the continuance of hieroglyphics, might not possibly be another name for alphabetical writing, I will not take upon me to decide.

“ Now what will our adversaries reply to this? They will pertinaciously maintain, that alphabetical writing is a human invention: and yet all those nations, who have been conversant with this expedient, are discovered to have derived it from the same original, from some one people in the East, whose means of attaining it we cannot now find out; but are compelled to conclude from analogy, and the experience

of other nations, that their imagination, as it was not more fertile, was not more successful, than that of their neighbours.

“ Again: where large communities have flourished for ages, but unconnected with those countries which enjoyed this advantage, their own solitary exertions were never capable of effecting this capital discovery. Is it possible for presumptive evidence to be more satisfactory than this?

“ IV. Lastly, we will consider the argument upon which the commonly received supposition entirely depends: that is, the natural gradation through the several species of symbols, acknowledged to have been in use with various people, terminating, at last, by an easy transition, in the detection of alphabetical characters. I cannot see this regularity of process, this ease of transition, so clearly as some others appear to do; but let every one determine for himself from the contemplation of the several stages of emblematical representation.

“ 1. The first method of embodying ideas, would be, by drawing a representation of the objects themselves. The imperfection of this method is very obvious, both on account of its tediousness, and its inability of going beyond external appearances, to the abstract ideas of the mind.

“ 2. The next method would be somewhat more general, and would substitute two or three principal circumstances for the whole transaction. So two kings, for example, engaging each other with military weapons, might serve to convey the idea of a war between two nations. This abbreviated method would be more expeditious than the former: but what it gained in conciseness, it would lose in perspicuity. The

great desideratum would still be un-  
 atchieved. This is only a descrip-  
 tion, more compendious indeed, but  
 still a description, of outward ob-  
 jects alone, by drawing their resem-  
 blance. To this head, if I mistake  
 not, the picture-writing of the Mex-  
 icans is to be referred.

“ 3. The next advance would  
 be, to the use of symbols: the in-  
 corporation, as it were, of abstract  
 and complex ideas in figures more  
 or less generalized, in proportion to  
 the improvement of it. Thus, in  
 the earlier stages of this device, a  
 circle might serve to express the sun,  
 a semicircle the moon: which is  
 only a contraction of the foregoing  
 method. This symbol writing in  
 its advanced state would become  
 more refined, but ænigmatical and  
 mysterious in proportion to its re-  
 finement. Hence it would become  
 less fit for common use, and, there-  
 fore, more particularly appropri-  
 ated to the mysteries of philosophy  
 and religion. Thus two feet, stand-  
 ing upon water, served to express  
 an impossibility: a serpent denoted  
 the oblique trajectories of the hea-  
 venly bodies: and the beetle, on  
 account of some supposed properties  
 of that insect, served to represent  
 the sun. Of this nature were the  
 hieroglyphics of the Ægyptians.

“ 4. But this method, being too  
 subtle and complicated for common  
 use, the only plan to be pursued,  
 was a reduction of the first stage of  
 the preceding method. Thus a dot,  
 instead of a circle, might stand for  
 the sun: and a similar abbreviation  
 might be extended to all the sym-  
 bols. Upon this scheme, every ob-  
 ject and every idea would have its  
 appropriated mark: these marks,  
 therefore, would have a multipli-  
 city commensurate to the works of  
 nature, and the operations of the

mind. This method was also prac-  
 tised by the Ægyptians, but has re-  
 ceived its highest perfection from  
 the Chinese. Their vocabulary is  
 consequently interminable, and al-  
 most infinite: so that the longest  
 life is said to be incompetent to a  
 complete acquaintance with it! and  
 who does not see, that it may be  
 extended to any assignable point  
 whatever? Now, if we compare  
 this amazingly tedious, and cum-  
 bersome, and prolix contrivance,  
 with the astonishing brevity and  
 perspicuity of alphabetical writing,  
 we must be persuaded, that no two  
 things can readily be conceived  
 more dissimilar; and that the tran-  
 sition, from a scheme constantly en-  
 larging itself, and growing daily  
 more intricate, to an expression of  
 every possible idea by the modified  
 arrangement of four and twenty  
 marks, is not so very easy and per-  
 ceptible as some have imagined.  
 Indeed, this seems to be still rather  
 an expression of things by correla-  
 tive characters, like the second stage  
 of symbol writing, than the notifi-  
 cation of ideas by arbitrary signs.  
 But, perhaps, we are not so inti-  
 mately acquainted with the Chinese  
 method, as will justify any conclu-  
 sions from it respecting the subject.  
 We know, however, that it is wide-  
 ly different from the art of alpha-  
 betical writing, and infinitely infe-  
 rior to it.

“ Till these objections, to the  
 human invention of alphabetical  
 characters, are refuted, there will  
 be no reason, I apprehend, to treat  
 a different supposition from that ge-  
 nerally admitted, as chimerical, and  
 destitute of philosophical propriety.

“ I will finish this imperfect dis-  
 sertation by two or three remarks  
 relating to the subject.

“ 1. Pliny asserts the use of let-  
 ters



ters to have been eternal. This shews the antiquity of the practice to extend beyond the æra of authentic history.

“ 2. The caballistical doctors of the Jews maintain, that alphabetical writing was one of the ten things which God created on the evening of the sabbath.

“ 3. Most of the profane authors of antiquity ascribe the first use of alphabetical characters to the Ægyptians; who, according to some, received the expedient from Mer-

cury; and according to others, from the god Teuth.

“ 4. Is there any reason to suppose, from the history of the human mind, that oral language, which has been long perfect, beyond any memorials of our species in heathen writers, and is coæval with man, according to the testimony of scripture: is there any reason, I say, to suppose, that even language itself is the effect of human ingenuity and experience?”

REMARKS on the KNOWLEDGE of the ANCIENTS respecting GLASS. By DR. FALCONER.

[ From the same Publication. ]

“ **T**HE most ancient of the Greek writers, that takes notice of glass, I believe, is thought to be Aristophanes, who, in his comedy of the Clouds, introduces Socrates, as instructed by Strepsiades, how to pay his debts, by placing a transparent substance between the sun and the writings, that served as a security for the sums borrowed, and thus consuming them. But it is not absolutely certain, that artificial glass was here meant, as the word *ἄλως* signifies crystal, and, as some say, transparent amber likewise. If glass, however, be here meant, it shews that it must have been brought to considerable perfection, both in point of clearness, and the art of grinding it into a convex form, so to transmit and collect the sun's rays as to produce this effect. Aristotle has two problems relative to glass: the first endeavouring to explain its transparency, and the other, its want of malleability. But the learned think them both to be spurious. Alex-

ander Aphrodisæus, another ancient Greek writer, speaks particularly of glass, and of its transparency.

“ Galen makes mention of glass in several places. He appears to have been well acquainted with it, and the method of making it. He tells us, that it was made from sand melted in furnaces, which was required to be pure, since, if any metallic substance was mixed therewith, the glass was spoiled. Those concerned in the manufacture knew, by looking at it, if it would serve their purpose. In other places, he advises medicines of a corrosive nature to be kept in glass vessels, as such are not liable to be affected, or to impart any bad qualities.

“ Glass was also used for cupping vessels, in the time of Galen, much in the same way as at present.

“ Dion Cassius relates, that a man, in the time of the emperor Tiberius, brought a glass cup into the presence of the latter, which he threw with great force upon the

ground without breaking it, and immediately repaired the bruise it had received, by hammering it out before all the spectators with his own hands. He adds, however, that he lost his life for his discovery.

“Plutarch also appears to have been acquainted with glass, since he informs us, that the wood of the tamarisk was the best to use for fuel in the melting of it.

“The Latin writers are more particular. Lucretius was, undoubtedly, acquainted with glass, and its qualities. In his fourth book, he remarks the difference between sounds and the images of objects: the former passing through any openings, however curved or winding, but the latter, being broken and confused, if the passages through which they come are not straight or direct. As an instance, he adduces glass, the pores of which he supposes to be direct or rectilinear. This, though only true with some limitations, shews him to have had no inconsiderable knowledge of the subjects in question.

“Horace likewise speaks of the clearness and brightness of glass, in terms that shew the art to have been arrived at a high degree of perfection. Martial mentions glass in such a manner, as shews it to have been not uncommon in his time for drinking vessels, and also of so clear and transparent a texture, as to admit an accurate examination of the liquor contained in them.

“Seneca well understood the magnifying powers of glass, when formed into a convex shape. A glass globe, he says, filled with water, makes letters viewed through it appear larger and brighter. The magnifying power of glass, considered as a more dense, and, of course, a more refrangible medium

than air, was not unknown to him. Fruits, says he, viewed through glass, appear much larger, and the intervals between pillars longer. The stars, also, appear magnified in a humid atmosphere. If a ring be put into a bowl of water, and viewed there, it seems to approach to the eye, or in other words is magnified, which, the same author observes, is the case with every body viewed through a fluid. Seneca says here expressly, that water, as a medium, has the same effect with glass.

“There is a remarkable passage in Seneca, relative to the effect of glass cut angularwise, or into a prismatic form, in separating the rays of light, when held transversely in the sun's rays. From the expression he uses concerning it, we may think such instruments were not uncommon. Pliny, however, seems to have had the most complete information concerning glass. He mentions its being of Phœnician origin, like many other great discoveries. It was first made of sand, found in the river Belus, or Belcus, a small river of Galilee, running from the foot of Mount Carmel, as is testified by a variety of authors. The invention of it is said to have been owing to some merchants, who, coming thither with a ship laden with nitre, or fossil alkali, used some pieces of it to support the kettles in which they were dressing their meat upon the sands. By this means a vitrification of the sand beneath the fire was produced, and thus afforded a hint for this manufacture.

“Clear pebbles, shells, and other kinds of fossil sand, were also employed. In India, rock crystal was used, and, on that account, the Indian glass was preferred to any other. It was first melted with the fossil alkali, in proportion of three

of the latter to one of the former (which has continued to be the flux for glass from the earliest to the present times) in furnaces, into masses of a dull black colour. These were again melted by the refiners, either into a colourless glass, or tinged of any hue they thought proper. The gross mass, from the first fusion, seems to have been called *ammonitrum*, and probably did not differ much from the *lapis obsidianus*, which is said to have been of *Æthiopian* or *Egyptian* origin. It is said to have been a kind of black vitreous substance, but still pellucid, which was used for casting into large works. Pliny says, he saw solid statues of the emperor Augustus made of this material; and the same emperor dedicated four elephants of the same substance in the Capitol. It appears to have been known from great antiquity, as Tiberius Cæsar, when he governed that country, found a statue of Menelaus of this composition. Xenocrates likewise, according to Pliny, speaks of the same composition, as in use in India, Italy, and Spain. Sidon in Phœnicia had been, in early times, famous for glass. In the time of Pliny, that of the Bay of Naples was preferred.

“ The Romans were acquainted with the art of engraving upon, or cutting glass, which is expressly mentioned by Pliny, and confirmed by the antique gems so frequently found. It was formed either by blowing it with a pipe, grinding it in a lathe, or casting it in a mould like metal. The colours principally in use were an obscure red glass, or perhaps rather earthen ware, called *hæmatinon*; one of various colours, called *myrrhinum*, a clear red, a white, a blue, and indeed most other colours.

“ The perfectly clear glass was, however, most valued. Nero gave for two cups, of no very extraordinary size, with two handles to each, upwards of six thousand sesteritia, or above fifty thousand pounds sterling. But, though the finest kinds of glass were so valuable and rare, yet I apprehend, from the frequent mention of glass in Martial, and from what Pliny says, that glass for drinking vessels had nearly superseded the use of gold and silver, that the inferior sorts must have been common enough.

“ Pliny likewise mentions the effects of hollow glass globes, filled with water, in concentrating the rays of light, so as to produce flame in any combustible substance upon which the focus fell, and relates, that some surgeons in his time made use of it as a caustic for ulcers and wounds.

“ He was also acquainted with the comparative hardness of gems and glass, as he observes, that the *lapis obsidianus* would not scratch gems. And he likewise mentions the counterfeiting of the natural gems by glass, as a very lucrative art, and in high perfection in his time; and the same seems to be confirmed by Trebellius Pollio. Vopiscus says, that Firmus furnished his house with square pieces of glass, fastened together with bitumen or other substances; but whether they were to serve for windows, or as reflectors of the light and objects, does not appear.

“ As specula, or metal reflectors, in the present age, bear some resemblance to glass, and as they were in considerable use among the ancients, I shall here subjoin a few words concerning them.

“ The antiquity of specula, or metal reflectors, must, according to Plutarch, have been very great.

He tells us in his Life of Numa, that it was one of the institutions of that prince, that if the sacred fire of the vestal virgins should, at any time, be extinguished, that it should be rekindled by means of the sun's rays, collected by a polished, concave metalline speculum.

"Aulus Gellius quotes some verses of Laberius, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar, which mention a metalline burning speculum being constructed by Democritus of Abdera, a contemporary of Hippocrates, the celebrated physician who lived about two hundred and fifty years after Numa. Reflecting specula were common in the time of Plautus, as appears from several passages, and were then, it seems, mostly made of silver, which, however, was much alloyed with copper\*, from its giving a smell to the hands of those who rubbed it.

"Vitruvius appears to have been well acquainted with the proper construction of specula, as he observes, it was necessary they should be of a considerable thickness, else they were apt to warp, and to reflect indistinct images of objects.

"Seneca was more completely informed on this subject. He knew the powers of reflecting concave specula in magnifying objects, and speaks of some other kinds that diminished, and exhibited other various distortions of the human figure. He also knew, that a portion of a hollow sphere was the proper figure for the magnifying specula. He was also acquainted with multiplying specula, which he particularly mentions.

"Pliny is still more particular in his account. He speaks of their composition, as being of tin and copper, which is the same with that generally used at present. He says, however, that silver specula were preferred, and were first introduced by Praxiteles, in the time of Pompey the Great. I suppose, he here means pure silver; for that silver was, at least, part of the composition of them in early times, appears from the passage of Plautus above quoted. Probably, as a white metal, it might be used with the same intent tin is at present, to whiten and harden the copper. Silver specula were however so frequent, Pliny says, as to be in common use with the maid servants. He mentions the proportion of the tin to the copper, to be two of the former to one of the latter, which seems to have been that most esteemed; other proportions were equal parts of copper, lead, and tin, and another of two parts of copper, two of lead, and one of tin; but these were held much inferior, as the lead debased the quality of the composition very much. He mentions various forms of them in use, as concave, convex, multiplying, distorting, &c. Their burning quality, when opposed to the sun's rays, was likewise known to Pliny.

"Aulus Gellius mentions several properties of specula, which shew the nature and construction of them to be well understood in his time, such as the non-inversion of objects, the appearance of an object in the centre of a concave speculum, and several others."

\* Ut speculum tenuisti, metum ne oleant argentum manus. Mos. Aët. l. 5. 3.

OBSERVATIONS on the PRACTICE of ARCHERY in ENGLAND. By the Honourable DAINES BARRINGTON.

[ From the Seventh Volume of the Archæologia. ]

“ **A**S some of our most signal victories in former centuries were chiefly attributed to the English archers, it may not be uninteresting to the Society if I lay before them what I have been able to glean with regard to the more flourishing state of our bowmen, till their present almost annihilation.

“ This fraternity is to this day called the artillery company, which is a French term signifying archery, as the king’s bowyer is in that language styled *artillier du roy*, and we seem to have learnt this method of annoying the enemy from that nation, at least with a cross-bow.

“ We therefore find that William the Conqueror had a considerable number of bowmen in his army at the battle of Hastings, when no mention is made of such troops on the side of Harold. I have upon this occasion made use of the term bowmen, though I rather conceive that these Norman archers shot with the *arbalest* (or cross-bow), in which formerly the arrow was placed in a groove, being termed in French a *quadrel*, and in English a bolt.

“ Though I have taken some pains to find out when the shooting with the long-bow first began with us, at which exercise we afterwards became so expert, I profess that I cannot meet with any positive proofs, and must therefore state such grounds for conjecture as have occurred.

“ Our chroniclers do not mention the use of archery as expressly applied to the cross, or long-bow, till the death of Richard the First,

who was killed by an arrow at the siege of Limoges in Guienne, which Hemmingford mentions to have issued from a cross-bow. Joinville likewise (in his *Life of St. Lewis*) always speaks of the Christian *ballistarii*.

“ After this death of Richard the First in 1199, I have not happened to stumble upon any passages alluding to archery for nearly one hundred and fifty years, when an order was issued by Edward the Third, in the fifteenth year of his reign, to the sherives of most of the English counties for providing five hundred white bows, and five hundred bundles of arrows, for the then intended war against France.

“ Similar orders are repeated in the following years, with this difference only, that the sheriff of Gloucestershire is directed to furnish five hundred painted bows, as well as the same number of white.

“ The famous battle of Cressy was fought four years afterwards, in which our chroniclers state that we had two thousand archers, who were opposed to about the same number of the French, together with a circumstance, which seems to prove, that by this time we used the long-bow, whilst the French archers shot with the *arbalest*.

“ Previously to this engagement, fell a very heavy rain, which is said to have much damaged the bows of the French, or perhaps rather the strings of them. Now our long-bow (when unstrung) may be most conveniently covered, so as to prevent the rain’s injuring it; nor is there scarcely any addition to the

weight from such a case ; whereas the arbalest is of a most inconvenient form to be sheltered from the weather.

“ As therefore in the year 1342, orders issued to the sherives of each county to provide five hundred bows, with a proper proportion of arrows, I cannot but infer that these were long-bows, and not the arbalest.

“ We are still in the dark indeed when the former weapon was first introduced by our ancestors ; but I will venture to shoot my bolt in this obscurity, whether it may be well directed or not, as possibly it may produce a better conjecture from others.

“ Edward the First is known to have served in the holy wars, where he must have seen the effect of archery from a long-bow to be much superior to that of the arbalest, in the use of which, the Italian states, and particularly the Genese, had always been distinguished.

“ This circumstance would appear to me very decisive, that we owe the introduction of the long-bow to this king, were it not to be observed, that the bows of the Asiatics (though differing totally from the arbalest) were yet rather unlike to our long-bows in point of form.

“ This objection therefore must be admitted ; but still possibly, as the Asiatic bows were more powerful than the arbalest, some of our English crusaders might have substituted our long-bows in the room of the Asiatic ones, in the same manner that improvements are frequently made in our present artillery. We might consequently, before the battle of Cressy, have had such a sufficient number of troops trained to the long-bow, as to be decisive in our favour, as they were

afterwards at Poitiers and Agincourt.

“ The battle of Poitiers was fought A. D. 1356, four years after which a peace took place between England and France.

“ When treaties are concluded, it generally happens that both nations are heartily tired of the war, and they are commonly apt to suppose, that no fresh rupture will happen for a considerable time ; whence follows the disuse of military exercises, especially in troops which were immediately disbanded upon the cessation of hostilities, and the officers of which had no half-pay.

“ We find accordingly, that in the year 1363, Edward the Third was obliged to issue an order, forbidding many rural sports, and enjoining the use of archery, which even in the space of four years had begun to be neglected. This order was again repeated in 1365.

“ The Black Prince died in 1373, and Edward survived him but four years : we cannot therefore expect any farther regulations for promoting archery, after the last order which I have stated, and which issued in 1363. During the six first years of this interval, the prince of Wales was in foreign parts, and the whole ten were the dregs of Edward's life.

“ Richard the Second, who succeeded, is well known to have little attended to the cares of government. In the fifteenth year however of his reign (A. D. 1392) he issued an order, directing all the servants of his household never to travel without bows and arrows, and to take every opportunity of using this exercise, which injunction seems to prove that it had during the greater part of his reign been much neglected.

“ Henry



“Henry the Fourth, though of a more warlike disposition, seems to have done little more for the encouragement of archery than his predecessor, as the only statute of his reign which relates to this head, goes no farther than obliging the arrowsmiths to point their arrows better than they had hitherto done.

“The wars during his reign were indeed confined to this country; but the use of archers seems to have been well known, as the duke of Exeter, at the beginning of his rebellion, entertained a considerable band of them. Four-score archers are said also to have contributed greatly to a victory of this same king over a large body of rebels at Cirencester, some of which seem to have been of an Amazonian disposition, as his majesty attributes this success to the good women, as well as men of this town, and for these their services, grants them annually six bucks and a hog-head of wine.

“I do not find any act of parliament of Henry the Fifth in relation to this exercise; and all the orders in Rymer, till the battle of Agincourt, relate to great guns, from which he seems at first to have expected more considerable advantage than from the training of bowmen.

“It should seem, however, that this sort of artillery, from its unwieldiness, bad and narrow roads, together with other defects, was as yet but of little use in military operations. In the year 1417 this king therefore ascribes his victory at Agincourt to the archers, and directs the sherives of many counties to pluck from every goose six wing feathers for the purpose of improving arrows, which are to be paid for by the king.

“A similar order again issues to

the sherives in the following year, viz. 1418.

“In 1421, though the French had been defeated, both at Cressly, Poitiers, and Agincourt, by the English archers, yet they still continued the use of the cross-bow, for which reason Henry the Fifth, as duke of Normandy, confirms the charters and privileges of the ballistarii, which had been long established as a fraternity in his city of Rouen.

“During the long reign of Henry the Sixth, I do not meet with any statute, or proclamation, concerning archery; which may be well accounted for, whilst this king was under age, or the weakness of mind which ensued, as far at least as relates to his personal interference in this matter; but it is rather extraordinary, that his uncles should not have enjoined this exercise, as they were so long engaged in wars with France, the loss of which kingdom may be perhaps attributed to this neglect.

“It was necessary for Edward the Fourth, who succeeded, to be prepared against the Lancastrians; and yet we find much earlier statutes for the promotion of archery in Ireland, than in England, which was more likely to become the scene of civil war.

“In the fifth year therefore of his reign an act passed, that every Englishman, and Irishman dwelling with Englishmen, shall have an English bow of his own height, which is directed to be made of yew, wych, hazel, ash, or awburne, or any other reasonable tree according to their power. The next chapter also directs that butts shall be made in every township, which the inhabitants are obliged to shoot up and down every feast day, under the penalty of a half-penny,

penny, when they shall omit this exercise.

“ In the fourteenth year however of this same king, it appears by Rymer's *Fœdera*, that one thousand archers were to be sent to the duke of Burgundy, whose pay is settled at six pence a day, which is more than a common soldier receives clear in the present times, when provisions are so much dearer, and the value of money is so much decreased. This circumstance seems to prove, very strongly, the great estimation in which archers were still held. In the same year, Edward preparing for a war with France, directs the sherives to procure bows and arrows, “ as most specially requisite and necessary.”

“ As bows and arrows were however finally disused by the introduction of fire-arms, it becomes necessary, in this investigation, to take some short notice of what may relate to ordnance, or musquetry, and that Edward soon afterwards directs all workmen who might be useful for artillery (as we should now term it), to be preferred. On the war taking place with Scotland, eight years after this, Edward provides both ordnance and archers, so that though the use of artillery was now gaining ground, yet that of the bow and arrow was not neglected.

“ The succeeding reign of Richard the Third opens with a similar statute to that of Edward the Fourth, but directs that all Venetian ships shall with every butt of Malmsey, or Tyre, import ten bow-staves, as the price had risen from forty shillings to eight pounds a hundred.

“ By this attention to archery, he was able to send one thousand bowmen to the duke of Bretagne in the year following, and availed himself of the same troops at the battle of Bosworth.

“ I do not find a single order of Henry the Seventh's (in Rymer's *Fœdera*) relative to gunpowder or artillery; whilst, on the other hand, in 1488, he directs a large levy of archers to be sent to Brittany, and that they shall be reviewed before they embark. In the nineteenth year of his reign, this same king forbids the use of the cross-bow, because “ the long-bow had been much used in this realm, whereby honour and victory had been gotten against outward enemies, the realm greatly defended, and much more the dread of all Christian princes by reason of the same.”

“ During the long reign of Henry the Eighth, no royal order issued which relates to archery, but there are several statutes which state the necessity of reviving this martial exercise. Edward the Sixth used to shoot himself with a bow.

“ In the reign of Philip and Mary, the statutes of Henry the Eighth for the promotion of archery are much commended, with directions to enforce them.

“ The 8 Eliz. c. 10. regulates the price of bows, and the 13 Eliz. c. 14. enacts, that bow-staves shall be brought into the realm from the Hanse-towns and the Eastward, so that archery still continued to be an object of attention in the legislature.

“ I find neither statute nor proclamation of James the First on this head; but it appears by Dr. Birch's *Life of his son* (prince Henry) that at eight years of age he learned to shoot both with the bow and gun, whilst at the same time this prince had in his establishment an officer who was styled bow-bearer.

“ To the best of my recollection also, though I cannot at present refer to my authority, this king granted a second charter to the Artillery

Com.

Company, by which the powers they had received from Henry the Eighth were considerably extended.

“ Charles the First seems, from the dedication of a treatise, entitled, “ The Bowman’s Glory,” to have been himself an archer; and in the eighth year of his reign he issued a commission to the chancellor, lord mayor, and several of the privy-council, to prevent the fields near London being so inclosed, as “ to interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of shooting,” as also to lower the mounds where they prevented the view from one mark to another.

“ The same commission directs that bridges should be thrown over the dykes, and that all shooting marks which had been removed, should be restored.

“ Charles the First likewise issued two proclamations for the promotion of archery, the last of which recommends the use of the bow and pike together.

“ Catherine of Portugal (queen to Charles the Second) seems to have been much pleased with the

fight at least of this exercise; for in 1676, by the contributions of sir Edward Hungerford and others, a silver badge for the marshal of the fraternity was made, weighing twenty-five ounces, and representing an archer drawing the long-bow (in the proper manner) to his ear, with the following inscription: *Reginæ Catharinæ Sagittarii*. The supporters are two bowmen with the arms of England and Portugal.

“ In 1682 there was a most magnificent cavalcade and entertainment given by the Finsbury archers, when they bestowed the titles of duke of Shoreditch, marquis of Illington, &c. upon the most deserving. Charles the Second was present upon this occasion, but the day being rainy, he was obliged soon to leave the field.

“ I do not find any thing relative to the state of archery during the short reign of James the Second; but it continued after this to be used for a manly exercise, as appears by the following epitaph on the south side of Clerkenwell church, which is still very legible.

Sir William Wood lies very near this stone,  
In’s time of archery excelled by none;  
Few were his equals, and this noble art  
Hath suffer’d now in the most tender part.  
Long did he live the honour of the bow,  
And his long life to that alone did owe;  
But how can art secure, or what can save,  
Extreme old age from an appointed grave?  
Surviving archers much his loss lament,  
And in respect bestow’d this monument,  
Where whistling arrows did his worth proclaim,  
And eternize his memory, and name.

Obiit Sept. 4. A. D. 1691. æt. 82.

There is a very good portrait of this famous archer, belonging to the Artillery Company, at a public-house which looks into the Artillery Ground.

“ Archery, however, did not entirely die with sir William Wood; for in 1696, a widow (named Mrs. Elizabeth Shakerley) left by her will thirty-five pounds to be distributed

buted in prizes to this fraternity. Possibly she had attended the Finsbury archers, from the same curiosity which Ovid ascribes to Penelope.

“ In the succeeding reign of queen Anne, I have been informed by general Oglethorpe, that together with the duke of Rutland, and several others of considerable rank, he used frequently to shoot in the neighbourhood of London. I do not presume to guess the general's age, but he must be advanced in years, as he was aid-de-camp to prince Eugene of Savoy, and still continues to handle his bow in such a manner, that there is little doubt but that he would distinguish himself in this manly exercise.

“ I do not find in the archives of the company any memoranda of consequence during the reign of George the First; but till the year 1753 targets were erected in the Finsbury fields, during the Easter and Whitsun holidays, when the best shooter was styled captain for the ensuing year, and the second, lieutenant. Of these there are only two now surviving, viz. Mr. Benjamin Poole and Mr. Philip Constable, who have frequently obtained these titles. The former of these is now rather aged and infirm, but the latter hath been so obliging as to shew me most of their marks in the Finsbury fields, as well as to communicate several anecdotes and observations relative to archery.

“ Having now deduced the history of the long-bow even to the present times, when it ceases to be used by the chartered company, I shall now endeavour to suggest the reasons, why this military weapon was so decisive in the battles of preceding centuries.

“ Before the introduction of fire-arms the enemy could only be

struck at a distance by slings, the bow used by the ancients, or the cross-bow; to all which the English long-bow was infinitely superior.

“ As for slings, they never have been used in the more northern parts of Europe by armies in the field: for which as there must have been some fundamental reasons, I will venture to suggest two, though possibly there may be many others.

“ It should seem, in the first place, that slingers cannot advance in a compact body, on account of the space to be occupied by this weapon in its rotatory motion; and in the second place, that the weight of the stones to be carried must necessarily impede the slingers greatly in their movements.

“ The bow of the ancients, as represented in all their reliefs, was a mere toy compared with that of our ancestors; it was therefore chiefly used by the Parthians, whose attacks (like those of the present Arabs) were desultory.

“ As for the cross-bow, it is of a most inconvenient form for carriage, even with the modern improvements; and, in case of rain, could not be easily secured from the weather. After the first shot moreover it could not be recharged under a considerable time, whilst the bolts were also heavy and cumbersome.

“ The English long-bow, on the other hand, together with the quiver of arrows, was easily carried by the archer, as easily secured from rain, and recharged almost instantaneously. It is not therefore extraordinary, that troops, who solely used this most effectual weapon, should generally obtain the victory, even when opposed to much more numerous armies.

“ But it may be urged, that their losses having been experienced by

our enemies, must have induced them to practise the same mode of warfare, which was actually attempted both by the French and Scots, though too late in the day.

“ I have endeavoured already to prove, that the long-bow was not commonly used even in England till the time of Edward the Third, when the victory at Cressy sufficiently proclaimed the superiority of that weapon.

“ It required, however, so much training before the archer could be expert, that we must not be surprised if soon afterwards this military exercise was much neglected, as appears by the preambles of several ancient statutes.

“ Whilst the military tenures subsisted, the sovereign could only call upon his tenants during war, who therefore attended with the weapons they had been used to, and which required no previous practice.

“ On the other hand, the English archers were obliged by acts of parliament, even in time of peace, to erect butts in every parish, and to shoot on every Sunday and holiday, after repairing perhaps to these butts from a considerable distance, whilst the expence of at least a yew-bow, is represented as being a charge, which they were scarcely equal to.

“ The king and parliaments of this country having thus compelled the inhabitants to such training, the English armies had (it should seem) the same advantage over our enemies, as the exclusive use of fire-arms would give us at present.

“ It appears also by what hath been already stated, that the long-bow continued to be in estimation for more than two centuries after gunpowder was introduced, which probably arose from musquets be-

ing very cumbersome and unwieldy. It is well known that rapid movements are generally decisive of the campaign, and for such the archers were particularly adapted, because, as they could not be annoyed at the same distance by the weapons of the enemy, they had scarcely any occasion for armour. The flower of ancient armies likewise was the cavalry, against which the long-bow never failed to prevail, as man and horse were too large objects to be missed; and hence the great number of French nobility who were prisoners at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, for being dismounted (if not wounded) whilst they were also clad in heavy armour, they could not make their escape.

“ The same reason accounts for our obtaining these signal victories with so inferior numbers; for the nobility and gentry thus becoming prisoners, the other parts of the French army made little or no resistance.

“ Having mentioned so many advantages on the side of the English archers, I cannot but observe, that if the enemy gained the wind against them, it must have been almost as decisive in favour of our opponents, as when it is obtained in a sea-fight: I conclude, however, that our generals avoided engagements, if possible, when the wind was not favourable.

“ I shall now conclude this essay by a few anecdotes and general observations relative to the subject.

“ Though we hear of arrows at Cheviot Chase which were a yard long, yet it is by no means to be supposed that the whole band made use of such, or could draw them to the head.

“ The regulation of the Irish statute of Edward the Fourth, viz. that the bow shall not exceed the height

height of the man, is allowed by archers to have been well considered; and as the arrow should be half the length of the bow, this would give an arrow of a yard in length to those only who were six feet high. A strong man of this size in the present times cannot easily draw above twenty-four inches, if the bow is of a proper strength to do execution at a considerable distance. At the same time it must be admitted, that as our ancestors were obliged by some of the old statutes to begin shooting with the long-bow at the age of seven, they might have acquired a greater flight in this exercise than their descendants, though the latter should be allowed to be of equal strength.

“As the shooting with the long-bow was first introduced in England, and practised almost exclusively for nearly two centuries, so it hath occasioned a peculiar method of drawing the arrow to the ear, and not to the breast.

“That this is contrary to the usage of the ancients is very clear from their reliefs, and from the tradition of the Amazons cutting off one of their paps, as it occasioned an impediment to their shooting.

“As for Diana's not having suffered the same amputation, it must be remembered that she was not only a goddess, but most active huntress, and professed the most perfect chastity; she therefore could not be supposed to have been impeded by such an obstacle to archery, as Juno or Ceres.

“The Finsbury archer is therefore represented in this attitude of drawing to the ear, both in the Bowman's Glory, as also in the silver badge given by Catherine (queen of Charles the Second) to the Artillery Company.

“Several years ago there was a

man named Topham, who exhibited most surprizing feats of strength, and who happened to be at a public-house near Islington, to which the Finsbury archers resorted, after their exercise. Topham considered the long-bow as a play-thing, only fit for a child, upon which one of the archers laid him a bowl of punch, that he could not draw the arrow two-thirds of its length. Topham accepted this bet with the greatest confidence of winning, but bringing the arrow to his breast, instead of his ear, he was greatly mortified by paying the wager, after many fruitless efforts.

“As to the distance to which an arrow can be shot from a long-bow with the best elevation of forty-five degrees, that must necessarily depend much both upon the strength and flight of the archer; but as the longest distance I can find in the annexed plans is eleven score and seven yards, I conclude that such length is not often exceeded.

“There is indeed a tradition, that an attorney of Wigan, in Lancashire (named Leigh), shot a mile in three flights; but the same tradition states, that he placed himself in a very particular attitude, which cannot be used commonly in this exercise.

“The archers consider an arrow of an ounce weight to be the best for flight or hitting a mark at a considerable distance, and that asp also is the best material of which they can be made.

“As to the feathers, that of a goose is preferred; it is also wished, that the bird should be two or three years old, and that the feather may drop of itself.

“And here it may not perhaps be improper to explain the grey goose wing in the ballad of Cheviot Chase.

“Two



“ Two out of the three feathers in an arrow are commonly white, being plucked from the gander, but the third is generally brown or grey, being taken from the goose, and from this difference in point of colour, informs the archer when the arrow is properly placed. From this most distinguished part therefore the whole arrow sometimes receives its name.

“ Though archery continued to be encouraged by the king and legislature for more than two centuries, after the first knowledge of the effects of gunpowder, yet by the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it seems to have been partly considered as a pastime.

“ Arthur, the elder brother of Henry, is said to have been fond of this exercise, in so much, that a good shooter was styled prince Arthur.

“ We are also informed, that he pitched his tent at Mile End, in order to be present at this recreation, and that Henry his brother also attended.

“ When the latter afterwards became king, he gave a prize at Windsor to those who should excel in this exercise; and a capital shot having been made, Henry said to Barlow (one of his guards) “ if you still win, you shall be duke over all archers.” Barlow therefore having succeeded, and living in Shoreditch, was created duke thereof.

“ Upon another occasion, Henry and the queen were met by two hundred archers on Shooter’s Hill, which probably took its name from their assembling near it to shoot at marks.

“ This king likewise gave the first charter to the Artillery Company in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, by which they are per-

mitted to wear dresses of any colour, except purple and scarlet, to shoot not only at marks, but birds, if not pheasants or herons, and within two miles of the royal palaces. They are also enjoined by the same charter not to wear furs of a greater price than those of the martin. The most material privilege, however, is, that of indemnification from murder, if any person passing between the shooter and the mark is killed, provided the archers have first called out *FAST*.

“ As it appears by what hath been stated, that both Henry the Eighth and his queen sometimes attended the archers when they were shooting at marks, it is not at all extraordinary that their dresses began to be expensive, and that they studied much the gracefulness of the attitude.

“ Ascham, therefore, who wrote his *Toxophilus* at the end of this reign, hath several chapters on this head, in which he begins, by ridiculing the awkwardness of some archers in this respect, as in the following citation.

“ Another coureth downe, and layeth out his buttocks, as though he should shoot at crowes.”

“ Which last part moreover explains a passage in Shakespeare’s *King Lear*, act iv. sc. 6.

“ That fellow handles his bow like a crowkeeper.”

“ From the words above quoted it is to be inferred, that when gunpowder was yet very dear, fields were kept from crows by unskilful archers, who had no grace in their attitudes, and were therefore spoken of by the expert with the greatest contempt, so that to shoot like a crowkeeper, had become proverbial.

“ Ascham mentions another particular with regard to archery in his time,

time, which is, that (as it commonly happens in other pastimes) the bets at these shooting matches began to be considerable.

“ I shall conclude this essay by mentioning, that the long-bow continues to be used as a manly exercise by the inhabitants of Geneva,

and in many parts of Flanders ; nor is it totally neglected in Great Britain, particularly Lancashire, and London, where a society (of which our worthy member sir Ashton Lever is the president) frequently use this manly recreation.”

**OBSERVATIONS on the LANGUAGE of the PEOPLE commonly called GYPSIES. By Mr. MARSDEN.**

[ From the same Publication. ]

“ **I**T has long been surmised that the vagrant tribes of people called in this country Gypsies, and on parts of the continent of Europe, Cingari, Zingari, and Chingali, were of eastern origin. The former name has been supposed a corruption of Egyptian, and some learned persons have judged it not improbable that their language might be traced to the Coptic.

“ In the course of researches which I have had occasion to pursue on the subject of language, I observed that Ludolfus, in his History of Ethiopia, makes mention, incidentally, of the Cingari vel Errores Nubiani, and gives a specimen of words which he had collected from these people in his travels, with a view of determining their origin. He discusses the opinions of various writers concerning them, but forms no precise one of his own, concluding his observations with these words : “ *Eadem vocabula, cum maximam partem reperiam apud Vulcanium, à centum ferè annis tradita, non ficticia existimo, ut Megiserus putat, nec corrupta ex aliis linguis, neque Ægyptiaca sive Coptica.*”

“ I was surprised to find many of the words contained in the spe-

cimen familiar to my eye, and pointed out to sir Joseph Banks (in the latter end of the year 1783) their evident correspondence with the terms in the Hindostanic, or as it is vulgarly termed in India, the Moors language. This similitude appeared to me so extraordinary, that I was inclined to suspect an error in the publication, which might have arisen from a confusion of obscure vocabularies in the author's possession. The circumstance, however, determined me to pay farther attention to the subject, and to examine, in the first place, whether the language spoken by the Gypsy tribes in England, and by those in the remoter parts of the continent of Europe, were one and the same ; and then to ascertain whether this actually bore the affinity, which so forcibly struck me in Ludolfus, to any of the languages on the continent of India.

“ Through the obliging assistance of sir Joseph Banks, who has spared no pains to promote this investigation, I procured an opportunity of obtaining a list of words from our Gypsies, which I can depend upon as genuine, and tolerably accurate in respect to the pronunciation, from their being corroborated

borated by words also taken down, separately, by Sir Joseph, and by Dr. Blagden. Mr. Matra did me the favour to transmit for me a list of words to Turkey, and from his ingenious friend Mr. B. Pisani. I received a complete and satisfactory translation of them, together with some information respecting the manners of the Chinghiarés, in the Turkish dominions, which, however, does not come within the design of this paper, as I mean to confine myself, in the present communication, simply to the question of the similarity of language, which, if established, I should esteem a matter of no little curiosity; presuming it to be perfectly new to the world. Of this similarity the learned members of the society will be enabled to form their judgment from the annexed paper, exhibiting a comparison of a few of the words procured from the different quarters before mentioned, with the Hindostanic terms, from the best published and parole authorities.

“ It may not be unworthy of remark, that the general appellation for these people in the eastern parts of Europe, is very nearly connected with that of the inhabitants of Ceylon, in the East-Indies, who are equally termed Lingalese and Chingalese; though at the same time it must be acknowledged that the language of this island has much less correspondence with that of the Gypsies, than many other of the Indian dialects. His grace the archbishop of York, with his usual discernment, suggested to me the probability that the Zingari here spoken of, may have derived their name, and perhaps their origin, from the people called Langari or Langarians, who are found in the north-west parts of the peninsula of Hindostan, and infest the coasts

of Guzerat and Sindy with their piratical depredations. The maritime turn of this numerous race of people, with their roving and enterprising disposition, may warrant the idea of occasional emigrations in their boats, by the course of the Red Sea.

“ Notwithstanding that the resemblance to the Hindostanic is the predominant feature in the Gypsey dialect, yet there are words interspersed, which evidently coincide with other languages. Beside the Mahratta and Bengalese, which I have marked in the comparative specimen, it is not a little singular that the terms for the numerals seven, eight, and nine, are purely Greek, although the first five, and that for ten, are indisputably Indian. It is also a curious observation, that although the Indian term for seven, being *sath*, differs from the Gypsey, yet that for a week, or seven days, is the *estan* of the latter. One word only, among those which I have examined, bears a resemblance to the Coptic, which is *rom*, the same with *romi*, a man. In comparisons of this nature, a due allowance must be made, not only for the various modes of spelling adopted by different persons and different nations, but also for the dissimilar manner in which the same individual sound strikes the organs of the hearers; of which some pointed instances might be given.

“ Should any be inclined to doubt (which I scarcely suppose possible) of the identity of the Gypsey or Cingari, and the Hindostanic languages, still it will be acknowledged as no uninteresting subject of speculation, that tribes wandering through the mountains of Nubia, or the plains of Rumania, have conversed for centuries in a dialect perfectly similar to that spoken at this day

day by the obscure, despised, and wretched people in England, whose language has been considered as a fabricated gibberish, and confounded with a cant in use amongst thieves and

beggars, and whose persons have been (till within the period of a year) an object of the persecution, instead of the protection of our laws."

**EXTRACT from Mr. STRUTT's ESSAY on the ORIGIN and PROGRESS of the ART of ENGRAVING.**

[ From his Biographical Dictionary of Engravers. ]

"**H**AVING proved, in the preceding part of this Essay, the great antiquity of engraving, it remains now to consider the art in a far more extensive point of view, and to examine, when it was professedly executed for the purpose of producing specimens on paper; which happy invention increased its reputation, and rendered it more generally useful. The consequence it now acquired with the public, occasioned its separation from the shop of the goldsmith, and worker in metals, with whom it seems to have remained for many ages, as a branch of their profession; and the engraver by himself was properly considered as an artist of the first rank.

"The Germans and the Italians both lay claim to the invention of the art of taking impressions from engraved plates on paper. The former place their dependence upon the antiquity of the works which they produce; as the engravings of the old masters of that country: the latter upon the positive assertion of Georgio Vasari, who attributes it to Maso Finiguerra, a Florentine artist; and declares, that it was accidentally discovered by him about the year 1460.

"Professor Christ mentions several old engravings, evidently the production of some German artist;

one of them dated as early as 1465; the rest 1466 and 1467; which account, respecting the two latter dates, is confirmed by M. Heinenken, an excellent and able writer upon this subject, whose publications are frequently referred to in the course of this work. These, it seems, were the earliest German prints they could produce with dates; whereas the first dated engravings in Italy, are said to be the geographical charts for an edition of Ptolemy, published at Rome, A. D. 1478. The plates for the large edition of the Poems of Dante, invented by Boticelli, and engraved by him, or Baldini, did not appear till 1481. Hence we find the difference of twelve years between the date of the Italian engravings and those produced in Germany.

"It is indeed remarkable, that no print has hitherto been produced by the Italians, which can with the least degree of certainty be attributed to Finiguerra. Neither has there been found in the foreign collections any engravings of a prior date to those mentioned above; but others rudely executed, and without date, are mentioned however as proofs of the exercise of the art as well in Italy as in Germany, before the publication of those prints which were dated. But it would be highly improper to place an implicit

cit faith upon an evidence so doubtful; for if there be no date to a print, it is totally impossible to ascertain the time precisely in which it was executed; for its rudeness, and the indifference of its workmanship, are by no means to be considered as certain proofs of its antiquity; though in some cases they may have their weight, especially when strengthened by other corroborating circumstances: yet even then a positive decision in their favour ought to be very cautiously made.

“ From the simplicity of Andrea Mantegna's style, I wonder not, that he has been often considered as one of the most early engravers. For I own, before I was convinced by experience of the contrary, I concluded, that his manner of engraving was, of all others, the most ancient. One of the earliest specimens of this kind of workmanship, which I have seen, is faithfully copied, plate V. of this volume. If the F. which appears upon the pedestal close to the hand of the seated figure, be granted to stand for Finiguerra, the print must be considered as a very valuable acquisition; for it would incontestibly prove, that this species of engraving, which was practised in Italy only, was more ancient than any other adopted in that country, and in some measure exculpate Vasari for attributing the invention to Finiguerra, even if it should hereafter be proved that the Germans practised the art of taking impressions from engravings prior to the Italians. But this interpretation of the letter F. is not without some difficulty. It is expressly said by Vasari, that Baldini was instructed by Finiguerra, and Boticelli again by Baldini. Yet if we look at the plates executed by one or both the

last artists for the great edition of Dante, dated 1481, we shall find the strokes, which constitute the shadows, laid this way or that indiscriminately, as the engraver thought proper, and crossed with second strokes almost continually, and sometimes with thirds, as the reader may see upon plate VII. which is a faithful copy of one of the engravings for Dante. The style of the engraving, plate V. is precisely the same as was afterwards adopted by Andrea Mantegna; see plate VI. which is taken from a print executed by him: The outline is first cut upon the copper in a very powerful manner, and the shadows are expressed by simple strokes, running from one corner of the plate to the other, without any crossing, or considerable variation, precisely in imitation of drawings made with a pen. Now, if Finiguerra worked in this style, it is not reasonable to suppose that his immediate disciple, Baldini, or Boticelli, instructed by Baldini, should have so totally differed from it.

“ It is as confidently reported, on the other hand, that Andrea Mantegna learned the art of engraving from the works, if not from the instructions, of Finiguerra, or his scholars. If this be true, it will also appear incredible, that he should not in some measure have followed the style of his instructors. The print, plate V. has every external appearance of being executed prior to the works of Mantegna; the mechanical part of whole engravings is far superior, firmer, and more decided: It is therefore highly probable, that from this master, whoever he might be, Mantegna received his first instructions: This species of engraving was carried to a still farther degree of perfection by John Antonio Brixianus, and  
N 2
other

other artists of that time. After which period it died away, and we hear no more of it. And that this style of workmanship was not the most ancient, we need only refer to the oldest dated prints, and beyond them to the brass plates on tombs, and other specimens of the art, for centuries past, and we shall find the strokes promiscuously laid upon them, forming the shadows, and crossed or recrossed without the least restraint.

“According to what has been said, it appears, that 1465 is the earliest date affixed to any print, produced by the Germans, except indeed one mentioned by Sandrart, in his *Academy of Painting*, which he says he had seen, bearing date ten years earlier, and marked with a cypher, composed of an H. and an S. joined to the cross-bar of the H. precisely in the same manner as that used by Hans Schauflein. But even the most sanguine of his own countrymen cannot help allowing their suspicion of a mistake in the date; and some have said, it should have been written 1477, which others think is still too early. It is readily allowed that an older master than Schauflein did exist, who used the same monogram; but his prints in general bear the evident marks of being copies from others, and by no means, from the manner of their execution, justify the supposition of their being the works of a master, greatly anterior to the year 1500. The subject of the print mentioned by Sandrart, is a girl caressing an old man while she steals his purse from him. This subject, it is well known, was frequently engraved, both on copper and on wood, by a variety of ancient masters; but, except Sandrart, I never heard of any one who had seen the print alluded to. A fuller account of this artist,

with his works, may be seen in the second volume, under the article Schauflein. The story, that Peter Schoffer invented the art of engraving on copper, and taking impressions from plates of that metal, does not bear any similitude to the truth; neither have we the least plausible reason given, in support of such an assertion.

“With respect to the edition of Ptolemy, printed at Rome in the year 1478, we must take notice, that the plates were not engraved by Italian artists, but by Conrad Sweynheym, and Arnold Buckinck, both of them Germans. The former, as appears from the dedication, first brought, not only the art of taking impressions from engraved plates, but that of printing also, to Rome, where he died, three years after the commencement of the work, which was at length completed by the latter; and the plates for this book are supposed to have been begun about the year 1472. It will doubtless seem very extraordinary, that the art of engraving should have been discovered at Florence so early as 1460, and yet unknown twelve years afterwards at Rome, where it was first introduced by foreign artists. It appears from this circumstance, that though Finiguerra, Roticelli, and Baldini, all of them Florentines, possessed the secret, they did not divulge it speedily; and hence, as a good presumptuous proof, it may be urged, that such Italian engravings, as are to be found prior to the year 1472, are by the hand of one or other of these artists. If this be granted, and great plausibility, at least, is on its side, it will follow that the originals, from whence the plates II. and III. are taken, are so. These curious and valuable specimens of ancient engravings, which, I believe,



lieve, are unique, must have been executed as early as the year 1464; a very short interval, from the time, which Vasari gives us for the invention of the art; and are considerably more early than any hitherto produced, though all the great foreign libraries have been repeatedly searched for that purpose. Two of them, I thought, were sufficient to shew the style in which they are executed; but the set consists of eight plates, namely, the seven planets, and an almanack by way of frontispiece, on which are directions for finding Easter from the year 1465 to 1517 inclusive; and the dates regularly follow each other, which plainly proves, that there can be no mistake with respect to the first; and we may be well assured, in this case, the engravings were not antedated; for the almanack of course became less and less valuable every year. A full description of all these engravings will be given in the seventh chapter of this Essay.

“If we are inclined to refer these plates to either of the three Italian artists before mentioned, we shall naturally suppose them to be the work of Finiguerra, or Baldini; for they are not equal, either in drawing or composition, to those ascribed to Boticelli; which we know at least were designed by him; and as Baldini is expressly said to have worked from the designs of Boticelli, it will appear most probable, if they are to be attributed to any one of these three artists, they belong to the former. The reader must be left to judge for himself, whether he conceives them to be sufficiently well executed; for he is to remember, that Finiguerra is spoken of by Vasari, as a man of no small ability. I own, after all, if I could but tell to whom one might reasonably a-

scribe these curious plates, I should yet be tempted to suppose the original of the plate No. V. was really the production of Finiguerra's graver.

“We have now seen what pretensions the Italians have laid to the invention of the art of engraving, and have proved, by producing undoubted specimens, that it did exist nearly about the time stated by Vasari. With respect to what he has said concerning the art of taking impressions from engraved plates being invented by Finiguerra, the ingenious observations of M. Heineken are well deserving of notice. “According to Vasari, says he, and others, his countrymen, it was the goldsmith Finiguerra who invented this art, about the year 1460; and perhaps he was not mistaken, if he speaks of Italy only. It is very possible, that the art of engraving should have been long practised in Germany, and unknown in Italy. The Italians, those of Venice excepted, had very little correspondence with the Germans. For this reason, Finiguerra might discover this art, without knowing that it had been already invented in Germany. All the merchandizes of this country were sent from Antwerp to the Italians, who were much better acquainted with the people of the Low Countries than those of the other provinces. For this cause, Vasari supposed that Martin Schoen, who was born at Culmbach, and resided at Colmar, was a Fleming, and constantly calls him Martin of Antwerp.”

“We shall now proceed to examine, what claim the Germans can bring, prior to that of the Italians; and in that case we shall have recourse to their works. The earliest dated print I ever saw produced by this school, is copied, plate I. and

the date is evidently 1461. And we shall see, however faulty it may be with respect to the drawing, or defective in point of taste, the mechanical part of the execution of it has by no means the appearance of being one of the first productions of the graver. We have also several other engravings, evidently the works of the same master, and concerning which the same observations may be justly made. Besides, the impressions are so neatly taken from the plates, and the engravings so clearly printed in every part, that, according to all appearance, they could not be executed in a much better manner in the present day, with all the conveniences which the copper-plate printers now possess, and the additional knowledge they must necessarily have acquired, in the course of more than three centuries. Hence we may fairly conclude, that, if they were not the first specimens of the engraver's workmanship, they were much less the first efforts of the copper-plate printer's ability. Not that plates being badly printed is any certain proof of their antiquity; but we can hardly imagine, that the first attempts to take impressions from engravings should immediately have arrived at perfection, and that at a time when we cannot suppose them to have been aware of every circumstance necessary to insure success; especially when we find it no easy matter, in the present day, at all times, to procure good impressions from our plates.

“The artist to whom we owe this singular curiosity was, without doubt, a goldsmith. And indeed, it is certain, that the art of engraving plates, for the purpose of printing, first originated with those ingenious mechanics, or else with the engravers, who executed the brass

plates for the monuments; but as I have said before, I do by no means suppose, that this print is the first specimen of engraving, even if we should allow its author to have been the inventor of the art. There are other plates, some of which I shall specify hereafter, that, I think, bear evident marks of priority, particularly those of the master, who used the Gothic initials F. and S. separated by a very singular mark, and who is called by abbé Marolles, Francois Stofs, or Stoltzhirs; but upon what authority does not appear.

“Martin Schoen, a painter, engraver, and goldsmith, who was born at Culmbach, and resided chiefly at Colmar, is said, with great appearance of truth, to have worked from 1460 to 1486, in which year he died. This artist was apparently the disciple of Stoltzhirs; for he followed his style of engraving, and copied from him a set of prints, representing the passion of our Saviour. So that, allowing Stoltzhirs to have preceded his disciple only ten years, this carries the era of the art back to 1450, without having any recourse to the fabulous relation of some authors upon this subject, who speak of one Luprecht Rust, as the master of Martin Schoen, absurdly declaring, that he was an engraver on wood. Admitting therefore, that such an artist really did exist, it is by no means reasonable to suppose, that he should teach the art of engraving on copper to another, when he was not, according to their own account, acquainted with it himself. Martin Schoen never engraved on wood, as far as I have heard; but his works on copper, it is well known, are very considerable.

“Israel van Mechelen, or Meecken, whose engravings are as multifar-

multifarious as those of Martin Schoen's, was born at Mecheln, a small village near Bocholt, where he chiefly resided. The latter is a town situated upon the banks of the Aa, in the bishoprick of Munster, in Westphalia. He died, A. D. 1523. According to the tradition of the inhabitants of Bocholt, the father of this artist was a goldsmith, and his baptismal name was Israel. Hence M. Heineken concludes, that he also was an engraver, and that a great part of the prints, attributed to the son, belong to him. "An attentive examination (concludes that author) will make it appear, that all these prints are not by the same hand. I am almost certain, that Israel the father engraved several, those especially which have the greatest marks of antiquity, and are executed in a rude style, approaching nearest to the work of the goldsmith." "Nor (adds he) will I deny, but that the son may have commenced originally as a goldsmith, by armorial bearings, foliages, crosses, and other ornamental works. But as he was a painter as well as an engraver, and a man of tolerable abilities in the art of design, considering the time in which he lived, it is not at all astonishing, that among the prints produced by his graver, we should find some by no means wanting in merit." How far these observations may be considered as just by the experienced collector, I cannot pretend to say: for my own part, I see no reason to divide the works of this artist; nor can I find, upon strict examination, any other difference in the prints, which I have seen attributed to him, than what one might reasonably expect to find in the works of any one man, who with his own hand performed so great a number of engravings. Of

course, his most early productions are the rudest, and manifest the least skill; but all of them are equally defective in point of drawing, especially when he attempted to express the naked parts of the figure.

"It is certainly true, that the manner of engraving, adopted by Martin Schoen, differed exceedingly from that of Israel van Mechelen. The works of the former are more firm and determined, and, upon the whole, greatly superior. Let any one take the trouble of examining the print representing St. Anthony carried into the air by the demons, which was first engraved by Martin Schoen, and afterwards copied by Israel, and the question will be readily decided in favour of the former, without adding the anecdote, recorded by Vasari, that Michael Angelo was so pleased with this engraving, which is truly a masterpiece of Schoen's, that he copied it in colours. The inferiority of Israel van Mechelen, when compared to Martin Schoen as an artist, is by no means any proof of his priority in point of time. The only advantage which M. Heineken gains by making the father of van Mechelen an artist, as well as himself, is a greater length of time for the execution of those works attributed to him; and upon this supposition he says, "I place the engravings of the two Israels between the years 1450 and 1503." The son was certainly a more modern artist than Martin Schoen; and we have a print by him, which bears so late a date as 1502. He was contemporary with Albert Durer; and some have supposed, that he visited that artist at Nuremberg. Sandrart attributes to Israel van Mechelen the invention of engraving, and tells us, that his first prints were executed

cuted about the year 1450. If this account indeed be true, it must make much in favour of M. Heineken's conjecture, concerning the engravings of the father; but the argument at present unfortunately wants sufficient proof to be admitted as absolutely conclusive; and, until some more satisfactory account shall be produced, I cannot help declaring, that I am of a different opinion. The earliest dated print which I have seen by Israel van Mechelen, is in the collection of Dr. Monro. It represents the Virgin and Child with four angels. The engraving is rude, and coarser than the works of that artist are in general; and the date is 1480. He engraved, however, I believe, something earlier than this period. In the same collection is preserved a circular print, where the Deity appears surrounded by an ornamental border, in which the symbolical representations of the four Evange-

lists are depicted with St. Jerom, and three other saints. Upon the desk of St. Jerom, who is seated and writing, is the date 1466. There are several copies of this plate, and one of them by Israel van Mechelen, apparently not greatly posterior to the original, which probably was executed by the same master as the print, dated 1461, mentioned already in the present chapter.

“What has been said will, I doubt not, sufficiently prove, that there is the greatest reason to believe, that the art of taking impressions from engraved plates was practised in Germany before it reached Italy; especially if we agree with Vasari, who expressly declares it did not appear in that country before the year 1460; when, on the other hand, we may, I think, with the greatest justice, place it at least ten years earlier among the Germans.”

# MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

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## RISE and PROGRESS of the FIRST COMMEMORATION of HANDEL.

[From Dr. BURNBY's Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey, and the Pantheon, in May and June, 1784.]

“ **H**OW this great idea was generated, cherished, and matured, will probably be a matter of curiosity to the public, as well as the manner in which it was executed. And having had the honour of attending many of the meetings of the director and conductor, while the necessary arrangements were under consideration, as well as opportunities of conversing with them since, I shall state the principal facts as accurately as possible, from such authentic information as these favourable circumstances have furnished.

“ In a conversation between lord viscount Fitzwilliam, sir Watkin Williams Wynn, and Joah Bates, esq. commissioner of the victualling-office, the beginning of last year, 1783, at the house of the latter, after remarking that the number of eminent musical performers of all kinds, both vocal and instrumental, with which London abounded, was far greater than in any other city of Europe, it was lamented that there was no public periodical occasion for collecting and consolidating them into one band; by which means a performance might be exhibited on so grand and magnificent a scale as no other part of the world could equal. The

birth and death of Handel naturally occurred to three such enthusiastic admirers of that great master, and it was immediately recollected, that the next (now the present) year, would be a proper time for the introduction of such a custom: as it formed a complete century since his birth, and an exact quarter of a century since his decease.

“ The plan was soon after communicated to the governors of the Musical Fund, who approved it, and promised their assistance. It was next submitted to the directors of the concert of Ancient Music, who, with an alacrity which does honour to their zeal for the memory of the great artist Handel, voluntarily undertook the trouble of managing and directing the celebrity. At length, the design coming to the knowledge of the king, it was honoured with his majesty's sanction and patronage. Westminster Abbey, where the bones of the great musician were deposited, was thought the properest place for the performance; and application having been made to the bishop of Rochester for the use of it, his lordship, finding that the scheme was honoured with the patronage of his majesty, readily consented;  
only

only requesting, as the performance would interfere with the annual benefit for the Westminster Infirmary, that part of the profits might be appropriated to that charity, as an indemnification for the loss it would sustain. To this the projectors of the plan acceded; and it was afterwards settled, that the profits of the first day's performance should be equally divided between the Musical Fund and the Westminster Infirmary; and those of the subsequent days be solely applied to the use of that fund which Handel himself so long helped to sustain, and to which he not only bequeathed a thousand pounds, but which almost every musician in the capital annually contributes his money, his performance, or both, to support.

“ Application was next made to Mr. James Wyatt, the architect, to furnish plans for the necessary decorations of the abbey; drawings of which having been shewn to his majesty, were approved. The general idea was to produce the effect of a royal musical chapel, with the orchestra terminating one end, and the accommodation for the royal family, the other.

“ The arrangement of the performance of each day was next settled, and I have authority to say, that it was at his majesty's instigation that the celebrity was extended to three days instead of two, which he thought would not be sufficient for the display of Handel's powers, or fulfilling the charitable purposes to which it was intended to devote the profits. It was originally intended to have celebrated this grand musical festival on the 20th, 22d, and 23d of April; and the 20th being the day of the funeral of Handel, part of the music was, in some measure, so selected as

to apply to that incident. But, in consequence of the sudden dissolution of parliament, it was thought proper to defer the festival to the 26th, 27th, and 29th of May, which seems to have been for its advantage: as many persons of tender constitutions, who ventured to go to Westminster Abbey in warm weather, would not have had the courage to go thither in cold.

“ Impressed with a reverence for the memory of Handel, no sooner was the project known, but most of the practical musicians in the kingdom eagerly manifested their zeal for the enterprise; and many of the most eminent professors, waving all claims to precedence in the band, offered to perform in any subordinate station, in which their talents could be most useful.

“ In order to render the band as powerful and complete as possible, it was determined to employ every species of instrument that was capable of producing grand effects in a great orchestra and spacious building. Among these the sacbut, or double trumpet, was sought; but so many years had elapsed since it had been used in this kingdom, that neither the instrument, nor a performer upon it, could easily be found. It was, however, discovered, after much useless enquiry, not only here, but by letter, on the continent, that in his majesty's military band there were six musicians who played the three several species of sacbut; tenor, base, and double base. The names of these performers will be found in the general list of the band.

“ The double bassoon, which was so conspicuous in the orchestra, and powerful in its effect, is likewise a tube of sixteen feet. It was made, with the approbation of Mr. Handel, by Stainsby, the flute-maker,



for the coronation of his late majesty, George the Second. The late ingenious Mr. Lampe, author of the justly admired music of *The Dragon of Wantley*, was the person intended to perform on it; but, for want of a proper reed, or for some other cause, at present unknown, no use was made of it at that time; nor indeed, though it has been often attempted, was it ever introduced into any band in England till now, by the ingenuity and perseverance of Mr. Ashly, of the Guards.

“ The double-bass kettle-drums were made from models of Mr. Ashbridge, of Drury-lane orchestra, in copper, it being impossible to procure plates of brass large enough. The tower-drums, which, by permission of his grace the duke of Richmond, were brought to the abbey on this occasion, are those which belong to the ordnance stores, and were taken by the duke of Marlborough at the battle of Malplaquet, in 1709. These are hemispherical, or a circle divided; but those of Mr. Ashbridge are more cylindrical, being much longer, as well as more capacious, than the common kettle-drum; by which he accounts for the superiority of their tone to that of all other drums. These three species of kettle-drums, which may be called tenor, bass, and double-bass, were an octave below each other.

“ The excellent organ, erected at the west end of the abbey, for the commemoration performances only, is the workmanship of the ingenious Mr. Samuel Green, of Islington. It was fabricated for the cathedral of Canterbury; but before its departure for the place of its destination, it was permitted to be opened in the capital on this memorable occasion. The keys of

communication with the harpsichord, at which Mr. Bates, the conductor, was seated, extended nineteen feet from the body of the organ, and twenty feet seven inches below the perpendicular of the set of keys by which it is usually played. Similar keys were first contrived in this country for Handel himself, at his oratorios; but to convey them to so great a distance from the instrument, without rendering the touch impracticably heavy, required uncommon ingenuity and mechanical resources.

“ In celebrating the disposition, discipline, and effects of this most numerous and excellent band, the merit of the admirable architect, who furnished the elegant designs for the orchestra and galleries, must not be forgotten; as, when filled, they constituted one of the grandest and most magnificent spectacles which imagination can delineate. I am acquainted with few buildings, that have been constructed from plans of Mr. Wyatt, in which he exercised his genius in Gothic; but all the preparations for receiving their majesties, and the first personages in the kingdom, at the east end; upwards of five hundred musicians at the west; and the public in general, to the number of between three and four thousand persons, in the area and galleries, so wonderfully corresponded with the style of architecture of this venerable and beautiful structure, that there was nothing visible, either for use or ornament, which did not harmonize with the principal tone of the building, and which may not metaphorically have been said to be in perfect tune with it. But, besides the wonderful manner in which this construction exhibited the band to the spectators, the orchestra was so judiciously contrived, that

that almost every performer, both vocal and instrumental, was in full view of the conductor and leader; which accounts, in some measure, for the uncommon ease with which the performers confess they executed their parts.

"The whole preparations for these grand performances were comprised within the western part of the building, or broad aisle; and some excellent judges declared, that, apart from their beauty, they never had seen so wonderful a piece of carpentry as the orchestra and galleries, after Mr. Wyatt's models. Indeed, the goodness of the workmanship was demonstrated by the whole four days of commemoration in the abbey being exempted from every species of accident, notwithstanding the great crowds, and conflicts for places, which each performance produced.

"At the east end of the aisle, just before the back of the choir-organ, some of the pipes of which were visible below, a throne was erected in a beautiful Gothic style, corresponding with that of the abbey, and a center box, richly decorated and furnished with crimson satin, fringed with gold, for the reception of their majesties and the royal family: on the right hand of which was a box for the bishops, and, on the left, one for the dean and chapter of Westminster; immediately below these two boxes were two others; one, on the right, for the families and friends of the directors, and the other for those of the prebendaries of Westminster. Immediately below the king's box was placed one for the directors themselves, who were all distinguished by white wands tipped with gold, and gold medals, struck on the occasion, appending from white ribbands. These their ma-

jesties likewise condescended to wear at each performance. Behind, and on each side of the throne, there were seats for their majesty's suite, maids of honour, grooms of the bed-chamber, pages, &c.

"The orchestra was built at the opposite extremity, ascending regularly from the height of seven feet from the floor to upwards of forty, from the base of the pillars; and extending from the centre to the top of the side aisle.

"The intermediate space below was filled up with level benches, and appropriated to the early subscribers. The side aisles were formed into long galleries, ranging with the orchestra, and ascending, so as to contain twelve rows on each side: the fronts of which projected before the pillars, and were ornamented with festoons of crimson morine.

"At the top of the orchestra was placed the occasional organ, in a Gothic frame, mounting to, and mingling with, the saints and martyrs represented in the painted glass on the west window. On each side of the organ, close to the window, were placed the kettle-drums described above. The choral bands were principally placed in view of Mr. Bates, on steps, seemingly ascending into the clouds, in each of the side aisles, as their termination was invisible to the audience. The principal singers were ranged in the front of the orchestra, as at oratorios, accompanied by the choirs of St. Paul, the abbey, Windsor, and the chapel-royal.

"The design of appointing sub-directors, was to diminish, as much as possible, the trouble of the noblemen and gentlemen who had projected the undertaking, as well as that of the conductor: and this was effected with great diligence and

and zeal, not only in superintending the business at the doors of admission, and conducting the company to their seats, which fell to the share of Dr. Cook, Dr. Ayrton, and messieurs Jones, Aylward, and Parsons, all professors of the first class; but in arranging the performers, and conveying signals to the several parts of that wide-extended orchestra: departments which fell to the lot of Dr. Arnold and Mr. Dupuis, organists and composers to his majesty, and Mr. Redmond Simpson, eminent and respectable professors, of great experience, who may be said to have acted as adjutant-generals on the occasion; Dr. Arnold and Mr. Dupuis having been placed on different sides of the orchestra, over the vocal choir, and Mr. Simpson, in the center over the subordinate instrumental performers. In selecting these delegates among the members of the Musical Society, great care was taken not to enfeeble the orchestra, by employing such performers as were likely to augment its force; but such as had either ceased to play in public, or whose instruments being the organ and harpsichord, of which only one was wanted, accepted of parts which were not the less useful for being silently performed.

“Of the care and intelligence with which preparations were made for these performances, some judgment may be formed from the single circumstance of the music-books that were provided for each day: as two hundred and seventy-four were requisite for the first performance, in the abbey; a hundred and thirty-eight for the Pantheon; and two hundred and sixty-seven for the Messiah; amounting, in all, to seven hundred and seventy-nine; not one of which was

missing, or mislaid, nor was an instrument wanting during the whole commemoration: as the porters had strict orders to convey all the instruments into the orchestra, at the abbey, by seven o'clock in the morning of each day, to prevent the company from being incommoded by the admission of such as were unwieldy.

“Few circumstances will perhaps more astonish veteran musicians, than to be informed, that there was but one general rehearsal for each day's performance: an indisputable proof of the high state of cultivation to which practical music is at present arrived in this country; for, if good performers had not been found, ready made, a dozen rehearsals would not have been sufficient to make them so. Indeed, Mr. Bates, in examining the list of performers, and enquiring into their several merits, suggested the idea of what he called a drilling rehearsal, at Tottenham-street Concert Room, a week before the performance; in order to hear such volunteers, particularly chorus singers, as were but little known to himself, or of whose abilities his assistant was unable to speak with certainty. At this rehearsal, though it consisted of a hundred and twenty performers, not more than two of that number were desired to attend no more.

“At the general rehearsal in the abbey, mentioned above, more than five hundred persons found means to obtain admission, in spite of every endeavour to shut out all but the performers; for fear of interruption, and perhaps of failure in the first attempts at incorporating and consolidating such a numerous band: consisting not only of all the regulars, both native and foreign, which the capital could fur-

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nish, but of all the irregulars, that is, dilettanti, and provincial musicians of character, who could be mustered, many of whom had never heard or seen each other before. This intrusion, which was very much to the dissatisfaction of the managers and conductor, suggested the idea of turning the eagerness of the public to some profitable account for the charity, by fixing the price of admission to half a guinea for each person.

“ But, besides the profits derived from subsequent rehearsals, the consequences of the first were not without their use: for the pleasure and astonishment of the audience, at the small mistakes, and great effects of this first experiment, which many had condemned by anticipation, were soon communicated to the lovers of music throughout the town, to the great increase of subscribers and solicitors for tickets. For though the friends of the directors were early in subscribing, perhaps from personal respect, as much as expectation of a higher musical repast than usual; yet the public in general did not manifest great eagerness in securing tickets till after this rehearsal, Friday, May 21, which was reported to have astonished even the performers themselves, by its correctness and effects. But so interesting did the undertaking become, by this favourable rumour, that from the great demand of tickets it was found necessary to close the subscription; which was done so rigorously, that the author of this account was unable, on Monday, to obtain of the managers tickets of any kind, on any terms, for some of his friends, who had neglected to give in their names sooner.

“ Many families, as well as individuals, were, however, attract-

ed to the capital by this celebrity; and I never remember it so full, not only so late in the year, but at any time in my life, except at the coronation of his present majesty. Many of the performers came, unsolicited, from the remotest parts of the kingdom, at their own expense: some of them, however, were afterwards reimbursed, and had a small gratuity in consideration of the time they were kept from their families by the two unexpected additional performances.

“ Foreigners, particularly the French, must be much astonished at so numerous a band moving in such exact measure, without the assistance of a Coryphæus to beat the time, either with a roll of paper, or a noisy baton, or truncheon. Rousseau says, that “ the more time is beaten, the less it is kept;” and, it is certain, that when the measure is broken, the fury of the musical general, or director, increasing with the disobedience and confusion of his troops, he becomes more violent, and his strokes and gesticulations more ridiculous, in proportion to their disorder.

“ The celebrated Lalli, whose favour in France, during the last century, was equal to that of Handel in England during the present, may be said to have beat himself to death by intemperate passion in marking the measure to an ill-disciplined band; for in regulating, with his cane, the time of a Te Deum, which he had composed for the recovery of his royal patron, Louis XIV. from a dangerous sickness, in 1686, he wounded his foot by accidentally striking on that instead of the floor, in so violent a manner, that, from the contusion occasioned by the blow, a mortification ensued, which cost him his life, at the age of fifty-four!

“ As this commemoration is not only the first instance of a band of such magnitude being assembled together, but of any band, at all numerous, performing in a similar situation, without the assistance of a manu-ductor, to regulate the measure, the performances in Westminster abbey may be safely pronounced, no less remarkable for the multiplicity of voices and instruments employed, than for accuracy and precision. When all the wheels of that huge machine, the orchestra, were in motion, the effect resembled clock-work in every thing, but want of feeling and expression.

“ And as the power of gravity and attraction in bodies is proportioned to their mass and density, so it seems as if the magnitude of this band had commanded and impelled adhesion and obedience, beyond that of any other of inferior force. The

pulsations in every limb, and ramifications of veins and arteries in an animal, could not be more reciprocal, isochronous, and under the regulation of the heart, than the members of this body of musicians under that of the conductor and leader. The totality of sound seemed to proceed from one voice, and one instrument; and its powers produced, not only new and exquisite sensations in judges and lovers of the art, but were felt by those who never received pleasure from music before.

“ These effects, which will be long remembered by the present public, perhaps to the disadvantage of all other choral performances, run the risk of being doubted by all but those who heard them, and the present description of being pronounced fabulous, if it should survive the present generation.”

## OF PENETRATION and FORESIGHT.

[From Mr. GREGORY's Essays, Historical and Moral.]

“ **M**ODERN philosophy, if it did not invent, has at least methodized, elucidated, and explained a system, which accounts better for the operations of the mind than the ingenious but discordant metaphysics of Plato and Aristotle.

“ It is, I believe, generally agreed, that our ideas are all connected, linked, or, in the technical phrase, associated together; and that each idea has its proximate, which it never fails to introduce: and thus our thoughts succeed one another in a regular series, as they happen to be related to each other.

“ This theory is pleasantly il-

lustrated by a story which Hobbes relates in the third chapter of his Leviathan. “ In a discourse, says he, on our present civil war, what could seem more impertinent than to ask, as one did, what was the value of a Roman penny? Yet to me the coherence was manifest enough. For the thought of the war introduced the thought of delivering up the king to his enemies; the thought of that brought the thought of the delivering up of Christ; and that again the thought of the thirty pence, which was the price of that; and thence easily followed that malicious question: and all this in a moment

moment of time, for thought is quick."

"That faculty, which is usually called penetration, seems to depend altogether on such an intimate knowledge of human nature, as enables us accurately to distinguish the associations which influence the train of thought. It is, in fact, the art of filling up the blanks in conversation, and turning over readily a number of ideas which intervene, though not expressed, and which are the several links of the chain in another person's mind. It is, as it were, transforming yourself into that other person, and thinking for some time exactly the same. Experience will render a man most adroit at this, as at all other exercises. A lively genius is necessary in the observer; some aid may possibly be derived from physiognomy; the general character of the subject will assist in decyphering his thoughts; and the external manners and behaviour must be carefully noted.

"Similar to this, and connected with it, is the faculty of foreseeing, from the present thoughts and actions of men, what they will probably be in future. All our judgments of the future are formed by the recollection of the past: on our knowledge of human nature, therefore, this power must depend.

"These faculties constitute the true second sight, which, as was imagined of the fabulous, brings

probably as great an addition to our pains as to our pleasures. It reveals to us a number of the distresses of our fellow-creatures, which escape common eyes; and, I fear, it seldom discovers evil till it is too late to remedy it.

"The remarks contained in this Essay will in some measure account for many delicate embarrassments, which a nice observer experiences in company. He pierces beyond the outward colouring. He sees vices, and consequences, which none but himself remarks. His heart bleeds, when every thing around him wears the face of joy. I have observed such a person, at an entertainment, more pensive than those for whom he felt.

"These faculties of penetration and foresight will, perhaps, sometimes lead us into error; and, if fancy be but active, we may magnify a small discovery into something very extraordinary. But whether they contribute or not to the happiness of the possessor, the good effects of them to society are not to be disputed, if in good hands: and the higher endowments of the mind I hope, and I believe, usually are. In good hands, these faculties may prevent, if not all, a great deal of mischief, by timely advice; and the evil they can do, in bad hands, is not equal to the good which they in other respects produce."

## **AN IMPARTIAL INQUIRY** into the REASONABLENESS of SUICIDE.

[From the same Work.]

"**A**MONG the ancient sects of philosophers, those who professed the severer morality repre-

sented suicide, when it appeared necessary to preserve their persons from disgrace, or to avoid the risk of



of forfeiting their honour, as an act of religion; but it was seldom practised by the gay votaries of Epicurus, who esteemed life as being fruitful of happiness under almost any circumstances.

“ Our modern Epicureans, who have assiduously selected whatever was the worst in all the ancient systems, have in this respect deviated from the example of their founder; and since to commit suicide has been held contrary to religion, it is become fashionable with these consistent reasoners to contend for its expediency. There is, however, little danger that their tenets on this subject will ever rise into general estimation. A few may amuse themselves indeed with fantastical speculations; but whatever counteracts the instincts of nature will never be commonly practised.

“ Whether the love of life be an habitual passion, resulting from the greater proportion of good than of evil in this state of existence; or whether it be an innate principle implanted in us at our first creation; either way, self-preservation appears to be the ordinance of Providence. The advocates for natural religion agree, that we can only know the Creator's will by those general arrangements, which are called the laws of nature. Now by what means should we be proper judges, when it is lawful or expedient to dispense with them?

“ But waving these higher speculations, as well as those arguments founded on religious principles, which have so successfully been urged against suicide—if I can produce moral, and, still more, selfish arguments against its expediency in any case, the disquisition will be more adapted to the notions and capacities of my antagonists.

“ In the first place I would ob-

serve, that however a momentary resolution may fortify the mind, however other motives may be predominant on some particular occasions, death is in reality the evil which is most generally dreaded, and is the prime cause why other evils are accounted such. Who pities the disease that is not mortal? Tell a company, that their friend or neighbour is confined to his chamber by the gout in the extremities; that he is not only disabled from helping himself, but suffers the most excruciating torture in his fingers or his toes; the narrative will hardly chase a single smile from the countenances of the auditors, or give birth to one serious reflection. Tell this company, at another time, that the same person is in the crisis of a fever, that he is deprived of sense, and that the scene of life is expected immediately to close, and you may presently observe the difference between the sentiment or apprehension of pain and death. An apoplexy is an awful and alarming event; many local complaints will occasion treble the pain, and yet these neither excite our pity nor our apprehensions.

“ Most of the human passions, even avarice and ambition, have been traced with equal truth and ingenuity into the love of life. The former is derived from the excessive care of providing for our subsistence: the object of the latter is the admiration of others; and this admiration is coveted only because we can make it subservient to the obtaining of the means and the comforts of life. This is certainly the origin of ambition; though in the present state of society men are ambitious from custom and example.

“ Poverty is dreaded, because it leads to death: it cannot be the mere pain of starving of which men

are apprehensive ; for many of the Romans adopted that mode, as one of the easiest of putting an end to their existence : and there is nothing truly dishonourable in unmerited poverty. As to the loss of honours and dignities, it will admit of the same solution. I speak of the first principles, of the spring of these passions.

“ If, therefore, the love of life, and the fear of losing it, be the cause of most of our uneasiness, the contradiction and false reasoning are manifest, in flying for a remedy to the very evil which is the prime occasion of that mental agitation, which we undergo, and which we wish to avoid.

“ The vicissitudes of all sublunary things contradict the expediency of suicide on any occasion. Revolutions as sudden as astonishing have taken place in the human constitution, both with and without the aid of medicine ; and experience assures us, that it is absurd to despair in any stage of a distemper. As to those evils and afflictions, which depend upon the capriciousness of the human mind, it must necessarily be impossible to answer for their duration. The deaths of Cato and of Brutus have been justly censured as premature : of the former, I remember lord Bolingbroke has somewhere asserted, he should have died at Munda, not at Utica. The trembling Claudius, after the assassination of his nephew, expecting immediate death, is accidentally discovered by a common soldier, and, dragged by the feet from his hiding-place, is saluted emperor. Nor is the unfrequency of such events sufficient to warrant the abandoning of ourselves to despair.

“ Though Epicurus is said by some to have admitted of the expediency of suicide on certain occa-

sions, his arguments in favour of fortitude under pain and affliction make so directly against it, that we must either attribute the charge to the ignorance and mistake of those who have commented on his doctrines, or account it one of those contradictions and inconsistencies too often apparent in the systems produced by the unassisted efforts of human reason. The evils of life, says this philosopher, are either bodily or mental. As bodily pain is certainly an evil, a wise man will endeavour to avoid it ; but when he cannot, he will be careful not to magnify it by fancy or opinion. If pain be very intense, it must presently cease ; if it continue long, habit will lessen its rigour ; and several intervals will occur of ease, if not of happiness : as he remarks, that most chronical distempers admit of a greater proportion of pleasure in life than of pain.

“ If patience and fortitude can lessen and alleviate so much of real corporal suffering as we find they do, much more effectual will they prove in the evils of the mind, since the greater part of these depend upon opinion. If our anxiety proceed from a sense of guilt, the true remedy is future virtue and penitence. But if, says Epicurus, we are made unhappy by the loss of external goods, it is our own fault that we over-rate their value. Wealth and dignities are mere cheats of the imagination ; and even the loss of friends, though it may lessen, it cannot destroy the satisfaction of a wise man, whose chief source of pleasure is in himself ; in the exercise of his faculties, the investigation of truth, and those sublimer occupations, which the loss of externals cannot interrupt. In fine, since a wise man ought to be informed of the uncertainty of all such

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such possessions, he ought to use them as fluctuating and transitory goods, and ought to be prepared for the loss of them!

“ These, though far short of those consolations which are supplied by a dependence on an all-wise Providence, and by the hopes of a future existence, are arguments of no little moment against the expediency of suicide. And, if suicide be contrary to reason, and be the dictate only of rashness and passion, or at most of a misguided imagination, I do not hesitate to pronounce it sinful.

“ I cannot, after all, agree with the trite observation, which states

the act of suicide as the effect of cowardice. I believe, that, in such cases, fear is not always the predominant passion; but that jealousy, resentment, indignation, or remorse, are as frequently the motives of suicide, as even the apprehension of shame! nor can any consideration move me to enrol a Cato, a Brutus, or even a Clive, in the list of cowards. Till some better solution is offered, I shall, for my own part, continue to admire, with all proper respect, the stoical justice of our inquest juries, who, with equal sagacity and candour, extenuate the offence against reason and society, by the verdict Lunacy!”

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## TRAGIC STORY of a PORTUGUESE GENTLEMAN who died by the RACK.

[ From the Observer. ]

“ THE following story is so extraordinary, that if I had not had it from good authority in the country where it happened, I should have considered it as the invention of some poet for the fable of a drama.

“ A Portuguese gentleman, whom I shall beg leave to describe no otherwise than by the name of Don Juan, was lately brought to trial for poisoning his half-sister by the same father; after she was with child by him. This gentleman had for some years before his trial led a very solitary life at his castle in the neighbourhood of Montremos, a town on the road between Lisbon and Badajoz, the frontier garrison of Spain: It was shown his castle, as I passed through that dismal country, about a mile distant from the road, in a bottom surrounded with cork trees, and never saw a

more melancholy habitation. The circumstances, which made against this gentleman, were so strong, and the story was in such general circulation in the neighbourhood where he lived, that although he laid out the greatest part of a considerable income in acts of charity, nobody ever entered his gates to thank him for his bounty, or solicit relief, except one poor father of the Jeronimite convent in Montremos, who was his confessor, and acted as his almoner at discretion.

“ A charge of so black a nature, involving the crime of incest as well as murder, at length reached the ears of justice, and a commission was sent to Montremos to make inquiry into the case. The supposed criminal made no attempt to escape, but readily attended the summons of the commissioners. Upon the trial it came out, from the confession of the prisoner,

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soner, as well as from the deposition of witnesses, that Don Juan had lived from his infancy in the family of a rich merchant at Lisbon, who carried on a considerable trade and correspondence in the Brazils. Don Juan being allowed to take this merchant's name, it was generally supposed that he was his natural son; and a clandestine affair of love having been carried on between him and the merchant's daughter, Josepha, who was an only child, she became pregnant, and a medicine being administered to her by the hands of Don Juan, she died in a few hours after, with all the symptoms of a person who had taken poison. The mother of the young lady survived her death but a few days; and the father threw himself into a convent of Mendicants, making over by deed of gift the whole of his property to the supposed murderer.

"In this account there seemed a strange obscurity of facts; for some made strongly to the crimination of Don Juan, and the last mentioned circumstance was of so contradictory a nature, as to throw the whole into perplexity; and therefore to compel the prisoner to a farther elucidation of the case, it was thought proper to interrogate him by torture.

"Whilst this was preparing, Don Juan, without betraying the least alarm upon what was going forward, told his judges that it would save them and himself some trouble, if they would receive his confession upon certain points, to which he should truly speak, but beyond which all the tortures in the world could not force one syllable. He said that he was not the son, as was supposed, of the merchant, with whom he lived, nor allied to the deceased Josepha any

otherwise than by the tenderest ties of mutual affection and a promise of marriage, which, however, he acknowledged had not been solemnized: that he was the son of a gentleman of considerable fortune in the Brazils, who left him an infant to the care of the merchant in question: that the merchant, for reasons best known to himself, chose to call him by his own name, and this being done in his infancy, he was taught to believe that he was an orphan youth, the son of a distant relation of the person who adopted him. He begged his judges therefore to observe, that he never understood Josepha to be his sister; that as to her being with child by him, he acknowledged it, and prayed God forgiveness for an offence, which it had been his intention to repair by marrying her; that with respect to the medicine, he certainly did give it to her with his own hands, for that she was sick in consequence of her pregnancy, and being afraid of creating alarm or suspicion in her parents, had required him to order certain drugs from an apothecary, as if for himself, which he accordingly did; and he verily believed they were faithfully mixed, inasmuch as he stood by the man whilst he prepared the medicine, and saw every ingredient separately put in.

"The judges thereupon asked him, if he would take it on his conscience to say, that the lady did not die by poison. Don Juan, bursting into tears for the first time, answered, to his eternal sorrow he knew that she did die by poison.—Was that poison contained in the medicine she took? It was.—Did he impute the crime of mixing the poison in the medicine to the apothecary, or did he take it on himself? Neither the apothecary nor himself

himself was guilty.—Did the lady, from a principle of shame (he was then asked), commit the act of suicide, and infuse the poison without his knowledge?—He started into horror at the question, and took God to witness that she was innocent of the deed.

“ The judges seemed now confounded, and for a time abstained from any farther interrogatories, debating the matter amongst themselves by whispers; when one of them observed to the prisoner, that, according to his confession, he had said she did die by poison, and yet, by the answers he had now given, it should seem as if he meant to acquit every person on whom suspicion could possibly rest; there was, however, one interrogatory left, which, unnatural as it was, he would put to him for form’s sake only, before they proceeded to greater extremities, and that question involved the father or mother of the lady.—Did he mean to impute the horrid intention of murdering their child to the parents? No, replied the prisoner, in a firm tone of voice, I am certain no such intention ever entered the hearts of the unhappy parents, and I should be the worst of sinners if I imputed it to them. The judges upon this declared with one voice that he was trifling with the court, and gave orders for the rack: they would, however, for the last time, demand of him, if he knew who it was that did poison Josepha, to which he answered, without hesitation, that he did know, but that no tortures should force him to declare it. As to life, he was weary of it, and they might dispose of it as they saw fit: he could not die in greater tortures than he had lived.

“ They now took this peremptory recusant, and, stripping him of

his upper garments, laid him on the rack: a surgeon was called in, who kept his fingers on his pulse: and the executioners were directed to begin their tortures. They had given him one severe stretch by ligatures fixed to his extremities, and passed over an axle, which was turned by a windlass: the strain upon his muscles and joints, by the action of this infernal engine, was dreadful, and nature spoke her sufferings by a horrid crash in every limb: the sweat started in large drops upon his face and bosom, yet the man was firm amidst the agonies of the machine: not a groan escaped, and the fiend who was superintendant of the hellish work, declared they might increase his torments upon the next tug, for that his pulse had not varied a stroke, nor abated of its strength in the smallest degree.

“ The tormentors had now begun a second operation with more violence than the former, which their devilish ingenuity had contrived to vary, so as to extort acuter pains from the application of the engine to parts that had not yet had their full share of the first agony; when suddenly a monk rushed into the chamber, and called out to the judges to desist from torturing that innocent man, and take the confession of the murderer from his own lips. Upon a signal from the judges, the executioners let go the engine at once, and the joints snapped audibly into their sockets with the elasticity of a bow. Nature sunk under the revulsion, and Don Juan fainted on the rack. The monk immediately with a loud voice exclaimed, Inhuman wretches, delegates of hell, and agents of the devil, make ready your engine for the guilty, and take off your bloody hands from the innocent; for

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for behold! (and so saying, he threw back his cowl) behold the father and the murderer of Joseph!

"The whole assembly started with astonishment: the judges stood aghast; and even the demons of torture rolled their eye-balls on the monk with horror and dismay.

"If you are willing, says he to the judges, to receive my confession, whilst your tormentors are preparing their rack for the vilest criminal ever stretched upon it, hear me! If not, let your engine to work without farther enquiry, and glut your appetites with human agonies, which once in your lives you may now inflict with justice.

"Proceed, said the senior judge.

"That guiltless sufferer, who now lies insensible before my eyes, said the monk, is the son of an excellent father, who was once my dearest friend. He was confided to my charge, being then an infant; and my friend followed his fortunes to our settlements in the Brazils. He resided there twenty years without visiting Portugal once in the time: he remitted to me many sums of money on his son's account. At this time a hellish thought arose in my mind, which the distress of my affairs and a passion for extravagance inspired, of converting the property of my charge to my own account. I imparted these suggestions to my unhappy wife, who is now at her account: let me do her justice to confess she withstood them firmly for a time. Still fortune frowned upon me, and I was sinking in my credit every hour: ruin stared me in the face, and nothing stood between me and immediate disgrace, but this infamous expedient.

"At last, persuasion, menaces,

and the impending pressure of necessity, conquered her virtue, and she acceded to the fraud. We agreed to adopt the infant as the orphan son of a distant relation of our own name. I maintained a correspondence with his father by letters pretending to be written by the son, and I supported my family in a splendid extravagance by the assignments I received from the Brazils. At length, the father of Don Juan died, and by will bequeathed his fortune to me, in failure of his son and his heirs. I had already advanced so far in guilt, that the temptation of this contingency met with no resistance in my mind; and I determined upon removing this bar to my ambition, and proposed to my wife to secure the prize that fortune had hung within our reach, by the assassination of the heir. She revolted from the idea with horror, and for some time her thoughts remained in so disturbed a state, that I did not think it prudent to renew the attack. After some time the agent of the deceased arrived in Lisbon from the Brazils, and as he was privy to my correspondence, it became necessary for me to discover to Don Juan who he was, and also what fortune he was intitled to. In this crisis, threatened with shame and detection on one hand, and tempted by avarice, pride, and the devil, on the other, I won over my reluctant wife to a participation of my crime; and we mixed that dose with poison, which we believed was intended for Don Juan, but which, in fact, was destined for our only child. She took it; heaven discharged its vengeance on our heads; and we saw our daughter expire in agonies before our eyes, with the bitter aggravation of a double murder, for the child



child was alive within her. Are there words in language to express our lamentations? Are there tortures in the reach of even your invention to compare with those we felt? Wonderful were the struggles of nature in the heart of our expiring child: she bewailed us; she consoled, nay, she even forgave us. To Don Juan we made immediate confession of our guilt, and conjured him to inflict that punishment upon us, which justice demanded, and our crimes deserved. It was in this dreadful moment that our daughter, with her last breath, by the most solemn adjurations, exacted and obtained a promise from Don Juan not to expose her parents to a public execution by disclosing what had passed. Alas! alas! we see too plainly how he kept his word: behold, he dies a martyr to Honour! your infernal tortures have destroyed him.

“No sooner had the monk pro-

nounced these words in a loud and furious tone, than the wretched Don Juan drew a sigh: a second would have followed, but heaven no longer could tolerate the agonies of innocence, and stopped his heart for ever.

“The monk had fixed his eyes upon him, ghastly with terror, and as he stretched out his mangled limbs at life’s last gasp—Accursed monsters, he exclaimed, may God require his murder on your souls at the great day of judgment! His blood be on your heads, ye ministers of darkness! For me, if heavenly vengeance is not yet appeased by my contrition, in the midst of flames my aggrieved soul will find some consolation in the thought, that you partake it, torments.

“Having uttered this in a voice scarcely human, he plunged a knife to his heart, and whilst his blood spouted on the pavement, dropped dead upon the body of Don Juan, and expired without a groan.”

## Dr. JOHNSON and LORD MONBODDO.

[From Mr. BOSWELL’s Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, LL. D.]

“**M**ONBODDO is a wretched place, wild and naked, with a poor old house; though, if I recollect right, there are two turrets, which mark an old baron’s residence. Lord Monboddo received us at his gate most courteously; pointed to the Douglas arms upon his house, and told us that his great-grandmother was of that family.

“In such houses (said he) our ancestors lived, who were better men than we.”—“No, no, my lord (said Dr. Johnson), we are as strong as they, and a great deal wiser.”—

This was an assault upon one of lord Monboddo’s capital dogmas, and I was afraid there would have been a violent altercation in the very close, before we got into the house. But his lordship is distinguished not only for “ancient metaphysics,” but for “ancient politesse,” “*la vieille cour*,” and he made no reply.

“His lordship was dressed in a rustick suit, and wore a little round hat; told us, we now saw him as farmer Burnett, and we should have his family dinner, a farmer’s dinner

der. He said, "I should not have forgiven Mr. Boswell, had he not brought you here, Dr. Johnson." He produced a very long stalk of corn, as a specimen of his crop, and said "you see here the *lætæ segetes*," and observed that Virgil seemed to be as an enthusiastic a farmer as he, and was certainly a practical one — *Johnson*. "It does not always follow, my lord, that a man who has written a good poem on an art, has practised it. Philip Miller told me, that in Philips's *Cyder*, a poem, all the precepts were just, and indeed better than in books written for the purpose of instructing; yet Philips had never made cyder."

"I started the subject of emigrations, — *Johnson*. "To a man of mere animal life, you can urge no argument against going to America, but that it will be some time before he will get the earth to produce. But a man of any intellectual enjoyment will not easily go and immerse himself and his posterity for ages in barbarism."

"He and my lord spoke highly of Homer, — *Johnson*. "He had all the learning of his age. The shield of Achilles shews a nation in war, a nation in peace; harvest sport, nay stealing." — *Monboddo*.

"Aye, and what we (looking to me) would call a parliament-house scene; a cause pleaded." — *Johnson*.

"That is part of the life of a nation in peace. And there are in Homer such characters of heroes, and combinations of qualities of heroes, that the united powers of mankind ever since have not produced any but what are to be found there."

— *Monboddo*, "Yet no character is described." — *Johnson*.

"No; they all develope themselves. Agamemnon is always a gentleman-like character; he has always *Βασιλεὺς*

πρ. That the ancients held to, is plain from this; that Euripides, in his *Hecuba*, makes him the person to interpose." — *Monboddo*.

"The history of manners is the most valuable. I never set a high value on any other history." — *Johnson*.

"Nor I; and therefore I esteem biography, as giving us what comes near to ourselves, what we can turn to use." — *Boswell*.

"But in the course of general history, we find manners. In wars, we see the dispositions of people, their degrees of humanity, and other particulars." — *Johnson*.

"Yes; but then you must take all the facts to get this; and it is but a little you get." — *Monboddo*.

"And it is that little which makes history valuable." Bravo! thought I; they agree like two brothers. — *Monboddo*.

"I am sorry, Dr. Johnson, you was not longer at Edinburgh, to receive the homage of our men of learning." — *Johnson*.

"My lord, I received great respect and great kindness." — *Boswell*.

"He goes back to Edinburgh after our tour." We talked of the decrease

of learning in Scotland, and of the "Muses' Welcome." — *Johnson*.

"Learning is much decreased in England, in my remembrance." — *Monboddo*.

"You, Sir, have lived to see its decrease in England, I its extinction in Scotland." However,

I brought him to confess that the high school of Edinburgh did well,

*Johnson*. "Learning has decreased in England, because learning will

not do so much for a man as formerly. There are other ways of

getting preferment. Few bishops are now made for their learning.

To be a bishop, a man must be learned in a learned age —

factions in a factious age; but always of eminence. Warburton is an excep-

tion; though his learning alone did not raise him. He was first an an-

tagonist

tagonist to Pope, and helped Theobald to publish his Shakspeare; but, seeing Pope the rising man—when Croufaz attacked his Essay on Man, for some faults which it has, and some which it has not, Warburton defended it in the Review of that time. This brought him acquainted with Pope, and he gained his friendship. Pope introduced him to Allen—Allen married him to his niece: so, by Allen's interest and his own, he was made a bishop. But then his learning was the *sine qua non*: he knew how to make the most of it; but I do not find by any dishonest means."—*Monboddo*. "He is a great man."—*Johnson*. "Yes; he has great knowledge—great powers of mind. Hardly any man brings greater variety of learning to bear upon his point."—*Monboddo*. "He is one of the greatest lights of your church."—*Johnson*. "Why? we are not so sure of his being very friendly to us. He blazes, if you will; but this is not always the steadiest light. Lowth is another bishop who has risen by his learning."

"Dr. Johnson examined young Arthur, lord Monboddo's son, in Latin. He answered very well; upon which he said, with complacency, "Get you gone! When king James comes back, you shall be in the Muses Welcome!" My lord and Dr. Johnson disputed a little, whether the savage or the London shopkeeper had the best existence; his lordship, as usual, preferring the savage. My lord was as hospitable as I could have wished, and I saw both Dr. Johnson and him liking each other better every hour.

"Dr. Johnson having retired for a short time, my lord spoke of his conversation as I could have wished. Dr. Johnson had said, "I

have done greater feats with my knife than this;" though he had taken a very hearty dinner. My lord, who affects or believes he follows an abstemious system, seemed struck with Dr. Johnson's manner of living. I had a particular satisfaction in being under the roof of Monboddo, my lord being my father's old friend, and having been always very good to me. We were cordial together. He asked Dr. Johnson and me to stay all night. When I said we *must* be at Aberdeen, he replied, "Well, I am like the Romans: I shall say to you, 'Happy to come—happy to depart!'" He thanked Dr. Johnson for his visit.—*Johnson*. "I little thought, when I had the honour to meet your lordship in London, that I should see you at Monboddo."—After dinner, as the ladies were going away, Dr. Johnson would stand up. He insisted that politeness was of great consequence in society. "It is (said he) fictitious benevolence. It supplies the place of it amongst those who see each other only in public, or but little. Depend upon it, the want of it never fails to produce something disagreeable to one or other. I have always applied to good breeding, what Addison in his *Cato* says of Honour:

"Honour's a sacred tie; the law of kings;  
The noble mind's distinguishing perfection,  
That aids and strengthens Virtue where it meets her,  
And imitates her actions where she is not."

"When he took up his large oak stick, he said, "My lord, that's *Hammerick*:" thus pleasantly alluding to his lordship's favourite writer. Gory, my lord's black servant, was sent as our guide so far. This was another point of similarity

rity between Johnson and Monboddó. I observed how curious it was to see an African in the north of Scotland, with little or no difference of manners from those of the natives. Dr. Johnson laughed to see Gory and Joseph riding together most cordially. "Those two fellows (said he), one from Africa, the other from Bohemia, seem quite at home." He was much pleased with lord Monboddó to-day. He said, he would have pardoned him for a few paradoxes, when he found he had so much that was good. But that, from his appearance in London, he thought him all paradox, which would not do." He observed, that his lordship had talked no paradoxes to-day. "And as

to the savage and the London shopkeeper (said he) I don't know but I might have taken the side of the savage equally, had any body else taken the side of the shopkeeper." He had said to my lord, in opposition to the value of the savage's courage, that it was owing to his limited power of thinking, and repeated Pope's verses, in which "Macedonia's madman" is introduced, and the conclusion is,

"Yet ne'er looks forward farther than his nose."

I objected to the last phrase, as being low.—*Johnson*. "Sir, it is intended to be low: it is satire. The expression is debased, to debase the character."

### Dr. JOHNSON'S ASSERTIONS concerning the SCOTTISH CLERGY.

[ From the same Work. ]

"**A**FTER supper, I talked of the assiduity of the Scottish clergy, in visiting and privately instructing their parishioners, and observed how much in this they excelled the English clergy. Dr. Johnson would not let this pass. He tried to turn it off, by saying, "there are different ways of instructing. Our clergy pray and preach." M'Leod and I pressed the subject, upon which he grew warm, and broke forth: "I do not believe your people are better instructed. If they are, it is the blind leading the blind; for your clergy are not instructed themselves." Thinking he had gone a little too far, he checked himself, and added, "When I talk of the ignorance of your clergy, I talk of them as a body: I do not mean that there are not individuals who are

learned (looking at Mr. M'Queen). I suppose there are such among the clergy in Muscovy. The clergy of England have produced the most valuable books in support of religion, both in theory and practice. What have your clergy done, since you sunk into presbyterianism? Can you name one book of any value, on a religious subject, written by them?"—We were silent.—"I'll help you. Forbes wrote very well; but I believe he wrote before episcopacy was quite extinguished."—And then pausing a little, he said, "Yes, you have Wishart against repentance."—*Boswell*. "But, sir, we are not contending for the superior learning of our clergy, but for their superior assiduity." He bore us down again, with thundering us against their ignorance, and said to me,

me. "I see you have not been well taught: for, you have not charity." He had been in some measure forced into this warmth, by the exulting air which I assumed; for, when he began, he said, "Since you will drive the nail!" He again thought of good Mr. M'Queen, and, taking him by the hand, said, "Sir, I did not mean any disrespect to you."

"Here I must observe, that he conquered by deserting his ground, and not meeting the argument as I had put it. The assiduity of the Scottish clergy is certainly greater than that of the English. His taking up the topic of their not having so much learning, was, though ingenious, yet a fallacy in logic. It was as if there should be a dispute whether a man's hair is well dressed, and Dr. Johnson should say, "Sir, his hair cannot be well dressed; for he has a dirty shirt. No man who has not clean linen, has his hair well dressed." When

some days afterwards he read this passage, he said, "No, sir; I did not say that a man's hair could not be well dressed because he has not clean linen, but because he is bald."

"He used one argument against the Scottish clergy being learned, which I doubt was not good: "As we believe a man dead till we know that he is alive; so we believe men ignorant till we know that they are learned." Now our maxim in law is, to presume a man alive, till we know he is dead. However, indeed, it may be answered, that we must first know he has lived; and that we have never known the learning of the Scottish clergy. Mr. M'Queen, though he was of opinion that Dr. Johnson had deserted the point really in dispute, was much pleased with what he said, and owned to me, he thought it very just; and Mrs. M'Leod was so much captivated by his eloquence, that she told me "I was a good advocate for a bad cause."

## SPECIMEN of Dr. JOHNSON'S CONVERSATION.

[ From the same Work. ]

"THERE was as great a storm of wind and rain as I have almost ever seen, which necessarily confined us to the house; but we were fully compensated by Dr. Johnson's conversation. He said, he did not grudge Burke's being the first man in the house of commons; for he was the first man every where; but he grudged that a fellow who makes no figure in company, and has a mind as narrow as the neck of a vinegar cruet, should make a figure in the house of commons, merely by having the knowledge of a few forms, and being furnished

with a little occasional information. He told us, the first time he saw Dr. Young was at the house of Mr. Richardson the author of *Clarissa*. He was sent for, that the doctor might read to him his *Conjectures on Original Composition*, which he did, and Dr. Johnson made his remarks; and he was surprised to find Young receive as novelties what he thought very common maxims. He said he believed Young was not a great scholar, nor had studied regularly the art of writing; that there were very fine things in his *Night Thoughts*, though you could not

not find twenty lines together without some extravagance. He repeated two passages from his *Love of Fame*, the characters of Brunetta and Stella, which he praised highly. He said Young pressed him much to come to Wellwyn. He always intended it, but never went. He was sorry when Young died. The cause of quarrel between Young and his son, he told us, was, that his son insisted Young should turn away a clergyman's widow, who lived with him, and who, having acquired great influence over the father, was saucy to the son. Dr. Johnson said, she could not conceal her resentment at him, for saying to Young, that "an old man should not resign himself to the management of any body." I asked him, if there was any improper connection between them. "No, sir, no more than between two statues.—He was past fourscore, and she a very coarse woman. She read to him, and, I suppose, made his coffee, and frothed his chocolate, and did such things as an old man wishes to have done for him."

"Dr. Doddridge being mentioned, he observed that "he was author of one of the finest epigrams in the English language. It is in *Orton's Life of him*. The subject is his family-motto—*Dam vivimus, vivamus*; which, in its primary signification, is, to be sure, not very suitable to a Christian divine; but he paraphrased it thus:

"Live, while you live, the epicure would say,  
And seize the pleasures of the present day.  
Live, while you live, the sacred preacher cries,  
And give to God each moment as it flies.  
Lord, in my views let both united be;  
I live in pleasure, when I live to thee."

"I asked, if it was not strange that government should permit so many infidel writings to pass without censure.—*Johnson*. "Sir, it is mighty foolish. It is for want of knowing their own power. The present family on the throne came to the crown against the will of nine-tenths of the people. Whether these nine-tenths were right or wrong, it is not our business now to enquire. But such being the situation of the royal family, they were glad to encourage all who would be their friends. Now you know every bad man is a Whig; every man who has loose notions. The church was all against this family. They were, as I say, glad to encourage any friends; and therefore, since their accession, there is no instance of any man being kept back on account of his bad principles; and hence this inundation of impiety." I observed that Mr. Hume, some of whose writings were very unfavourable to religion, was, however, a Tory.—*Johnson*. "Sir, Hume is a Tory by chance, as being a Scotchman; but not upon a principle of duty; for he has no principle. If he is any thing, he is a Hobbit."

## Dr. JOHNSON'S VISIT to the DUKE of ARGYLE.

[From the same Work.]

"MY acquaintance, the reverend Mr. John McAulay, one of the ministers of Inveraray,

and brother to our good friend at Calder, came to us this morning, and accompanied us to the castle, where



where I presented Dr. Johnson to the duke of Argyle. We were shewn through the house; and I never shall forget the impression made upon my fancy by some of the ladies' maids tripping about in neat morning dresses. After seeing for a long time little but rusticity, their lively manner, and gay inviting appearance, pleased me so much, that I thought, for the moment, I could have been a knight-errant for them.

"We then got into a low one-horse chair, ordered for us by the duke, in which we drove about the place. Dr. Johnson was much struck by the grandeur and elegance of this princely seat. He said, "What I admire here, is the total defiance of expence." I had a particular pride in shewing him a great number of fine old trees, to compensate for the nakedness which had made such an impression on him on the eastern coast of Scotland. He thought the castle too low, and wished it had been a story higher.

"When we came in, before dinner, we found the duke and some gentlemen in the hall. Dr. Johnson took much notice of the large collection of arms, which are excellently disposed there. I told what he had said to Sir Alexander McDonald, of his ancestors not suffering their arms to rust. "Well (said the doctor), but let us be glad we live in times when arms may rust." We can sit to-day at his grace's table, without any risk of being attacked, and perhaps sitting down again wounded or maimed." The duke placed Dr. Johnson next himself at table.

"The duchess was very attentive to Dr. Johnson. I know not how a middle state came to be mentioned. Her grace wished to hear him on that point. "Madam (said

he), your own relation, Mr. Archibald Campbell, can tell you better about it than I can. He was a bishop of the nonjuring communion, and wrote a book upon the subject." He engaged to get it for her grace. He afterwards gave a full history of Mr. Archibald Campbell, which I am sorry I do not recollect particularly. He said, Mr. Campbell had been bred a violent Whig, but afterwards "kept better company, and became a Tory." He said this with a smile, in pleasant allusion, as I thought, to the opposition between his own political principles, and those of the duke's clan. He added, that Mr. Campbell, after the Revolution, was thrown into jail on account of his tenets; but, on application by letter to the old lord Townshend, was released: that he always spoke of his lordship with great gratitude, saying, "though a Whig, he had humanity."

"The subject of luxury was introduced. Dr. Johnson defended it. "We have now (said he), a splendid dinner before us; which of all these dishes is unwholesome?" The duke asserted, that he had observed the grandees of Spain diminished in their size by luxury. Dr. Johnson politely refrained from opposing directly an observation which the duke himself had made; but said, "Man must be very different from other animals, if he is diminished by good living; for the size of all other animals is increased by it. I made some remark that seemed to imply a belief in second sight. The duchess said, "I fancy you will be a Methodist." This was the only sentence her grace deigned to utter to me; and I take it for granted, she thought it a good hit on my credulity in the Douglas cause.

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"A gentleman in company, after dinner, was desired by the duke to go to another room, for a specimen of curious marble, which his grace wished to shew us. He brought a wrong piece, upon which the duke sent him back again. He could not refuse; but, to avoid any appearance of servility, he whistled as he walked out of the room, to show his independency. On my mentioning this afterwards to Dr. Johnson, he said, it was a nice trait of character.

"Dr. Johnson talked a great deal, and was so entertaining, that lady Betty Hamilton, after dinner, went and placed her chair close to his, leaned upon the back of it, and listened eagerly. It would have made a fine picture to have drawn the sage and her at this time in their several attitudes. He did not know, all the while, how much he was honoured. I told him afterwards. I never saw him so gentle and complaisant as this day.

"We went to tea. The duke and I walked up and down the drawing-room, conversing. The duchess still continued to shew the same marked coldness for me; for which, though I suffered from it, I made every allowance, considering the very warm part that I had taken for Douglas, in the cause in which she thought her son deeply interested. Had not her grace discovered some displeasure towards

me, I should have suspected her of insensibility or dissimulation.

"Her grace made Dr. Johnson come and sit by her, and asked him why he made his journey so late in the year. "Why madam (said he), you know Mr. Boswell must attend the court of session, and it does not rise till the twelfth of August." She said, with some sharpness, "I know nothing of Mr. Boswell." Poor lady Lucy Douglas, to whom I mentioned this, observed, "She knew too much of Mr. Boswell." I shall make no remark on her grace's speech. I indeed felt it as rather too severe; but when I recollected that my punishment was inflicted by so dignified a beauty, I had that kind of consolation which a man would feel who is strangled by a silken cord. Dr. Johnson was all attention to her grace. He used afterwards a droll expression, upon her enjoying the three titles of Hamilton, Brandon, and Argyle. Borrowing an image from the Turkish empire, he called her a duchess with three tails.

"He was much pleased with our visit at the castle of Inveraray. The duke of Argyle was exceedingly polite to him, and, upon his complaining of the shelties which he had hitherto ridden being too small for him, his grace told him he should be provided with a good horse to carry him next day."

## STORY of AMELIA NEVIL.

[From the Philosophical, Historical, and Moral Essay on Old Maids.]

"IT was the custom of Mrs. Wormwood to profess the most friendly solicitude for female youth, and the highest admiration

of beauty; she wished to be considered as their patroness, because such an idea afforded her the fairest opportunities of secretly mortifying

ing their insufferable presumption. With a peculiar refinement in malice, she first encouraged, and afterwards defeated, those amusing matrimonial projects, which the young and the beautiful are so apt to entertain. The highest gratification which her ingenious malignity could devise, consisted in torturing some lovely inexperienced girl, by playing upon the tender passions of an open and unsuspecting heart.

“ Accident threw within her reach a most tempting subject for such fiend-like diversion, in the person of Amelia Nevil, the daughter of a brave and accomplished officer, who, closing a laborious and honourable life in very indigent circumstances, had left his unfortunate child to the care of his maiden sister. The aunt of Amelia was such an old maid as might alone suffice to rescue the sisterhood from ridicule and contempt. She had been attached, in her early days, to a gallant youth, who unhappily lost his own life in preserving that of his dear friend, her brother: she devoted herself to his memory with the most tender, unaffected, and invariable attachment; refusing several advantageous offers of marriage, though her income was so narrow, that necessity obliged her to convert her whole fortune into an annuity, just before the calamitous event happened, which made her the only guardian of the poor Amelia. This lovely but unfortunate girl was turned of fourteen on the death of her father. She found, in the house of his sister, the most friendly asylum, and a relation, whose heart and mind made her most able and willing to form the character of this engaging orphan, who appeared to be as highly favoured by nature as

she was persecuted by fortune. The beauty of Amelia was so striking, and the charms of her lively understanding began to display themselves in so enchanting a manner, that her affectionate aunt could not bear the idea of placing her in any lower order of life: she gave her the education of a gentlewoman, in the flattering and generous hope that her various attractions must supply the absolute want of fortune, and that she should enjoy the delight of seeing her dear Amelia settled happily in marriage, before her death exposed her lovely ward to that poverty, which was her only inheritance. Heaven disposed it otherwise. This amiable woman, after having acted the part of a most affectionate parent to her indigent niece, died before Amelia attained the age of twenty. The poor girl was now apparently destitute of every resource, and exposed to penury, with a heart bleeding for the loss of a most indulgent protector. A widow lady of her acquaintance very kindly afforded her a refuge in the first moments of her distress, and proposed to two of her opulent friends, that Amelia should reside with them by turns, dividing her year between them, and passing four months with each. As soon as Mrs. Wormwood was informed of this event, as she delighted in those ostentatious acts of apparent beneficence, which are falsely called charity, she desired to be admitted among the voluntary guardians of the poor Amelia. To this proposal all the parties assented, and it was settled that Amelia should pass the last quarter of every year, as long as she remained single, under the roof of Mrs. Wormwood. This lovely orphan had a sensibility of heart, which rendered her extremely grateful for the protection

tion she received, but which made her severely feel all the miseries of dependence. Her beauty attracted a multitude of admirers, many of whom, presuming on her poverty, treated her with a licentious levity, which always wounded her ingenuous pride. Her person, her mind, her manners, were universally commended by the men; but no one thought of making her his wife. "Amelia, they cried, is an enchanting creature; but who, in these times, can afford to marry a pretty, proud girl, supported by charity?" Though this prudential question was never uttered in the presence of Amelia, she began to perceive its influence, and suffered the painful dread of proving a perpetual burden to those friends, by whose generosity she subsisted: she wished a thousand times that her affectionate aunt, instead of cultivating her mind with such dangerous refinement, had placed her in any station of life where she might have maintained herself by her own manual labour: she sometimes entertained a project of making some attempt for this purpose; and she once thought of changing her name, and of trying to support herself as an actress on one of the public theatres; but this idea, which her honest pride had suggested, was effectually suppressed by her modesty; and she continued to waste the most precious time of her youth, under the mortification of perpetually wishing to change her mode of life, and of not knowing how to effect it. Almost two years had now elapsed since the death of her aunt; and, without any prospect of marriage, she was in her second period of residence with Mrs. Wormwood. Amelia's understanding was by no means inferior to her other endowments:

she began to penetrate all the artful disguise, and to gain a perfect and very painful insight into the real character of her present hosts. This lady had remarked, that when Miss Nevil resided with her, her house was much more frequented by gentlemen than at any other season. This indeed was true; and it unluckily happened that these visitors often forgot to applaud the smart sayings of Mrs. Wormwood, in contemplating the sweet countenance of Amelia; a circumstance full sufficient to awaken, in the neglected wit, the most bitter envy, hatred, and malice. In truth, Mrs. Wormwood detested her lovely guest with the most implacable virulence; but she had the singular art of disguising her detestation in the language of flattery: she understood the truth of Pope's maxim,

"He hurts me most who lavishly commends;"

and she therefore made use of lavish commendation as an instrument of malevolence towards Amelia; she insulted the taste, and ridiculed the choice, of every new-married man, and declared herself convinced, that he was a fool, because he had not chosen that most lovely young woman. To more than one gentleman she said, you must marry Amelia; and, as few men chuse to be driven into wedlock, some offers were possibly prevented by the treacherous vehemence of her praise. Her malice, however, was not sufficiently gratified by observing that Amelia had no prospect of marriage. To indulge her malignity, she resolved to amuse this unhappy girl with the hopes of such a joyous event, and then to turn, on a sudden, all these splendid hopes into mockery and delusion. Accident led her to pitch on Mr. Nelson, as

a person whose name she might with the greatest safety employ as the instrument of her insidious design, and with the greater chance of success, as she observed that Amelia had conceived for him a particular regard. Mr. Nelson was a gentleman, who, having met with very singular events, had contracted a great but very amiable singularity of character. He was placed, early in life, in a very lucrative commercial situation, and was on the point of settling happily in marriage with a very beautiful young lady, when the house in which she resided was consumed by fire. Great part of her family, and among them the destined bride, was buried in the ruins. Mr. Nelson, in losing the object of his ardent affection by so sudden a calamity, lost for some time the use of his reason; and when his health and senses returned, he still continued under the oppression of the profoundest melancholy, till his fond devotion to the memory of her, whom he had lost in so severe a manner, suggested to his fancy a singular plan of benevolence, in the prosecution of which he recovered a great portion of his former spirits. This plan consisted in searching for female objects of charity, whose distresses had been occasioned by fire. As his fortune was very ample, and his own private expences very moderate, he was able to relieve many unfortunate persons in this condition; and his affectionate imagination delighted itself with the idea, that in these uncommon acts of beneficence he was guided by the influence of that lovely angel, whose mortal beauty had perished in the flames. Mr. Nelson frequently visited a married sister, who was settled in the town where Mrs. Wormwood resided.

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There was also, in the same town, an amiable elderly widow, for whom he had a particular esteem. This lady, whose name was Melford, had been left in very scanty circumstances on the death of her husband, and, residing at that time in London, she had been involved in additional distress by that calamity to which the attentive charity of Mr. Nelson was for ever directed: he more than repaired the loss which she sustained by fire, and assisted in settling her in the neighbourhood of his sister. Mrs. Melford had been intimate with the aunt of Amelia, and was still the most valuable friend of that lovely orphan, who paid her frequent visits, though she never resided under her roof. Mr. Nelson had often seen Amelia at the house of Mrs. Melford, which led him to treat her with particular politeness whenever he visited Mrs. Wormwood; a circumstance on which the latter founded her ungenerous project. She perfectly knew all the singular private history of Mr. Nelson, and firmly believed, like all the rest of his acquaintance, that no attractions could ever tempt him to marry; but she thought it possible to make Amelia conceive the hope that her beauty had melted his resolution; and nothing, she supposed, could more effectually mortify her guest than to find herself derided for so vain an expectation.

“Mrs. Wormwood began, therefore, to insinuate, in the most artful manner, that Mr. Nelson was very particular in his civilities to Amelia; magnified all his amiable qualities, and expressed the greatest pleasure in the prospect of so delightful a match. These petty artifices, however, had no effect on the natural modesty and diffidence of Amelia. She saw nothing that

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authorised such an idea in the usual politeness of a well-bred man of thirty-seven; she pitied the misfortune, she admired the elegant and engaging, though serious manners, and she revered the virtues, of Mr. Nelson; but, supposing his mind to be entirely engrossed, as it really was, by his singular charitable pursuits, she entertained not a thought of engaging his affection. Mrs. Wormwood was determined to play off her favourite engine of malignity, a counterfeited letter. She had acquired, in her youth, the very dangerous talent of forging any hand that she pleased; and her passion for mischief had afforded her much practice in this treacherous art. Having previously, and secretly, engaged Mr. Nelson to drink tea with her, she wrote a billet to Amelia, in the name of that gentleman, and with the most perfect imitation of his hand. The billet said, that he designed himself the pleasure of passing that afternoon at the house of Mrs. Wormwood, and requested the favour of a private conference with Miss Nevil in the course of the evening, intimating, in the most delicate and doubtful terms, an ardent desire of becoming her husband. Mrs. Wormwood contrived that Amelia should not receive this billet till just before dinner-time, that she might not shew it to her friend and confidant, Mrs. Melford, and, by her means, detect its fallacy before the hour of her intended humiliation arrived.

“ Amelia blushed in reading the note, and, in the first surprise of unsuspecting innocence, gave it to the vigilant Mrs. Wormwood, who burst into vehement expressions of delight, congratulated her blushing guest on the full success of her charms, and triumphed in her own prophetic discernment. They sat

down to dinner, but poor Amelia could hardly swallow a morsel; her mind was in a tumultuous agitation of pleasure and amazement. The malicious impostor, enjoying her confusion, allowed her no time to compose her hurried spirits in the solitude of her chamber. Some female visitors arrived to tea; and, at length, Mr. Nelson entered the room. Amelia trembled and blushed as he approached her; but she was a little relieved from her embarrassment by the business of the tea-table, over which she presided. Amelia was naturally graceful in every thing she did, but the present agitation of her mind gave a temporary awkwardness to all her motions: she committed many little blunders in the management of the tea-table; a cup fell from her trembling hand, and was broken; but the politeness of Mr. Nelson led him to say so many kind and graceful things to her on these petty incidents, that, instead of increasing her distress, they produced an opposite effect, and the tumult of her bosom gradually subsided into a calm and composed delight. She ventured to meet the eyes of Mr. Nelson, and thought them expressive of that tenderness which promised a happy end to all her misfortunes. At the idea of exchanging misery and dependence for comfort and honour, as the wife of so amiable a man, her heart expanded with the most innocent and grateful joy. This appeared in her countenance, and gave such an exquisite radiance to all her features, that she looked a thousand times more beautiful than ever. Mrs. Wormwood saw this improvement of her charms, and, sickening at the sight, determined to reduce the splendor of such insufferable beauty, and hastily terminate the triumph



triumph of her deluded guest. She began with a few malicious and sarcastic remarks on the vanity of beautiful young women, and the hopes which they frequently entertain of an imaginary lover; but, finding these remarks produced not the effect she intended, she took an opportunity of whispering in the ear of Amelia, and begged her not to harbour any vain expectations, for the billet she had received was a counterfeit, and a mere piece of pleasantry. Amelia shuddered, and turned pale: surprise, disappointment, and indignation, conspired to overwhelm her. She exerted her utmost power to conceal her emotions; but the conflict in her bosom was too violent to be disguised. The tears, which she vainly endeavoured to suppress, burst forth, and she was obliged to quit the room in very visible disorder. Mr. Nelson expressed his concern; but he was checked in his benevolent enquiries by the caution of Mrs. Wormwood, who said, on the occasion, that Miss Nevil was a very amiable girl, but she had some peculiarities of temper, and was apt to put a wrong construction on the innocent pleasantry of her friends. Mr. Nelson observing that Amelia did not return, and hoping that his departure might contribute to restore the interrupted harmony of the house, took an early leave of Mrs. Wormwood, who immediately flew to the chamber of Amelia, to exult, like a fiend, over that lovely victim of her successful malignity. She found not the person whom she was so eager to insult. Amelia had indeed retired to her chamber, and passed there a very miserable half hour, much hurt by the treacherous cruelty of Mrs. Wormwood, and still more wounded by reflections on her

own credulity, which she condemned with that excess of severity so natural to a delicate mind in arraigning itself. She would have flown for immediate consolation to her friend, Mrs. Melford, but she had reason to believe that lady engaged on a visit, and she therefore resolved to take a solitary walk for the purpose of composing her spirits: but neither solitude nor exercise could restore her tranquillity; and, as it grew late in the evening, she hastened to Mrs. Melford's, in hopes of now finding her returned. Her worthy old confidant was indeed in her little parlour alone, when Amelia entered the room. The eyes of this lovely girl immediately betrayed her distress; and the old lady, with her usual tenderness, exclaimed, "Good heaven! my dear child, for what have you been crying?" "Because," replied Amelia, in a broken voice, and bursting into a fresh shower of tears, "because I am a fool." Mrs. Melford began to be most seriously alarmed, and, expressing her maternal solicitude in the kindest manner, Amelia produced the fatal paper—"There," says she, "is a letter in the name of your excellent friend, Mr. Nelson; it is a forgery of Mrs. Wormwood's, and I have been such an idiot as to believe it real." The affectionate Mrs. Melford, who, in her first alarm, had apprehended a much heavier calamity, was herself greatly comforted in discovering the truth, and said many kind things to console her young friend. "Do not fancy," replied Amelia, "that I am foolishly in love with Mr. Nelson, though I think him the most pleasing as well as the most excellent of men; and though I confess to you, that I should certainly think it a blessed lot to find a refuge from the

misery of my present dependence, in the arms of so benevolent and so generous a protector." "Those arms are now open to receive you," said a voice that was heard before the speaker appeared. Amelia started at the sound, and her surprise was not a little increased in seeing Mr. Nelson himself, who, entering the room from an adjoining apartment, embraced the lovely orphan in a transport of tenderness and delight. Amelia, alive to all the feelings of genuine modesty, was for some minutes more painfully distressed by this surprise, than she had been by her past mortification: she was ready to sink into the earth at the idea of having betrayed her secret to the man from whom she would have laboured most to conceal it. In the first tumult of this delicate confusion, she sinks into a chair, and hides her face in her handkerchief. Nelson, with a mixture of respect and love, being afraid of increasing her distress, seizes one of her hands, and continues to kiss it without uttering a word. The good Mrs. Melford, almost as much astonished, but less painfully confused than Amelia, beholds this unexpected scene with that kind of joy which is much more disposed to weep than to speak:—and, while this little party is thus absorbed in silence, let me hasten to relate the incidents which produced their situation.

"Mr. Nelson had observed the sarcastic manner of Mrs. Wormwood towards Amelia, and, as soon as he had ended his uncomfortable visit, he hastened to the worthy Mrs. Melford, to give her some little account of what had passed, and to concert with her some happier plan for the support of this amiable insulted orphan. "I am acquainted, said he, with some

brave and wealthy officers, who have served with the father of Miss Nevil, and often speak of him with respect; I am sure I can raise among them a subscription for the maintenance of this tender unfortunate girl: we will procure for her an annuity, that shall enable her to escape from such malignant patronage, to have a little home of her own, and to support a servant." Mrs. Melford was transported at this idea; and, recollecting all her own obligations to this benevolent man, wept, and extolled his generosity; and, suddenly seeing Amelia at some distance, through a bow window, which commanded the street in which she lived, "Thank Heaven, she cried, here comes my poor child, to hear and bless you for the extent of your goodness." Nelson, who delighted most in doing good by stealth, immediately extorted from the good old lady a promise of secrecy: it was the best part of his plan, that Amelia should never know the persons to whom she was to owe her independence. "I am still afraid of you, my worthy old friend, said Nelson; your countenance or manner will, I know, betray me, if Miss Nevil sees me here to-night."—"Well, said the delighted old lady, I will humour your delicacy; Amelia will probably not stay with me ten minutes; you may amuse yourself, for that time, in my spacious garden: I will not say you are here; and, as soon as the good girl returns home, I will come and impart to you the particulars of her recent vexation."—"Admirably settled," cried Nelson; and he immediately retreated into a little back room, which led through a glass door into a long slip of ground, embellished with the sweetest and least expensive flowers, which af-  
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forded a favourite occupation and amusement to Mrs. Melford. Nelson, after taking a few turns in this diminutive garden, finding himself rather chilled by the air of the evening, retreated again into the little room he had passed, intending to wait there till Amelia departed; but the partition between the parlours being extremely slight, he overheard the tender confession of Amelia, and was hurried towards her by an irresistible impulse, in the manner already described.

“ Mrs. Melford was the first who recovered from the kind of trance, into which our little party had been thrown by their general surprise; and she enabled the tender pair, in the prospect of whose union her warm heart exulted, to regain that easy and joyous possession of their faculties, which they lost for some little time in their mutual embarrassment. The applause of her friend, and the adoration of her lover, soon taught the diffident Amelia to think less severely of herself. The warm-hearted Mrs. Melford declared, that these occurrences were the work of heaven. “ That, replied the affectionate Nelson, I am most willing to allow; but you must grant, that heaven has produced our present happiness by the blind agency of a fiend; and, as our dear Amelia has too gentle a spirit to rejoice in beholding the malignity of a devil converted into the torment of its possessor, I must beg that she may not return, even for a single night, to the house of Mrs. Wormwood.”

Amelia pleaded her sense of past obligations, and wished to take a peaceful leave of her patroness; but she submitted to the urgent entreaties of Nelson, and remained for a few weeks under the roof of Mrs. Melford, when she was united at the altar to the man of her heart. Nelson had the double delight of rewarding the affection of an angel, and of punishing the malevolence of a fiend: he announced in person to Mrs. Wormwood his intended marriage with Amelia, on the very night when that treacherous old maid had amused herself with the hope of deriding her guest; whose return she was eagerly expecting, in the moment Nelson arrived to say, that Amelia would return no more.

“ The surprise and mortification of Mrs. Wormwood arose almost to frenzy: she racked her malicious and inventive brain for expedients to defeat the match, and circulated a report for that purpose, which decency will not allow me to explain. Her artifice was detected and despised. Amelia was not only married, but the most admired, the most beloved, and the happiest of human beings; an event which preyed so incessantly on the spirit of Mrs. Wormwood, that she fell into a rapid decline, and ended, in a few months, her mischievous and unhappy life, a memorable example, that the most artful malignity may sometimes procure for the object of its envy that very happiness which it labours to prevent!”

## HISTORY OF MELETINA.

[From the same Work.]

“**M**ELETINA is the accomplished daughter of opulent parents. Her mother died when she was very young; her father, a man of a feeling and liberal mind, devoted himself entirely to the education of his two lovely children, Meletina and her brother, who, being nearly of an age, and equal in all the best gifts of nature, grew up together in the tenderest affection. It happened that Meletina, now turned of twenty, was on a distant visit, at the house of a female relation, when she heard that her father, whom she loved most tenderly, was attacked by a very dangerous disorder. The poor girl hastened home in the most painful anxiety, which was converted into the bitterest distress, by her finding, on her return, that her father was dead, and her brother confined by the malignant distemper, which he had caught in his incessant attendance on the parent they had lost. The utmost efforts were used to keep Meletina from the chamber of her brother; but no entreaties could prevail on her to desert the only surviving object of her ardent affection, and, despising the idea of her own danger, she attended the unhappy youth, who was now delirious, with such tender assiduity, that she would not permit him to receive either nourishment or medicine from any hand but her own. The purity of her constitution, or the immediate care of Providence, preserved the generous Meletina from infection, and heaven granted to her earnest prayers the endangered

life of her brother; but his recovery seemed to be rather designed as a trial of her fortitude than as a reward of her tenderness: his bodily health was restored to him, but his mental faculties were destroyed. The unhappy Meletina, in the place of a lively young friend, and a generous protector, found only a poor babbling idiot, whose situation appeared to her the more deplorable, because, though he had utterly lost a solid and a brilliant understanding, he seemed to retain all his benevolent affections. By one peculiarity which attended him, she was singularly affected; and perhaps it made her resolve on the extraordinary sacrifice which she has offered to his calamity. The peculiarity I speak of was this: he not only discovered great satisfaction in the sight of his sister, though utterly unable to maintain a rational conversation with her; but if she left him for any considerable time, he began to express, by many wild gestures, extreme agitation and anxiety, and could never be prevailed on to touch any food, except in the presence of Meletina. Many experiments were tried to quiet his apprehensions on this point, and to relieve his sister from so inconvenient and so painful an attendance. These experiments did not succeed; but two medical friends of Meletina, who took a generous interest in her health and happiness, engaged to correct this peculiarity in her poor senseless brother, and convinced her, that for his sake, as well as her own, she ought to acquiesce in  
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some painful expedients for this purpose. Her understanding was indeed convinced by their humane and judicious arguments, but her heart soon revolted against them; and, after two or three severe but unsuccessful attempts to correct the obstinate habit of the affectionate idiot, she determined to irritate him no farther, but to make an entire sacrifice of her own convenience and pleasure to the tranquillity of this unfortunate being. She felt a tender and melancholy delight in promoting his peace and comfort; but the time now arrived, in which the force and purity of her sisterly attachment was exposed to a trial perhaps as severe as ever woman sustained. A year and some months had now elapsed since the decease of her father, when a young soldier of family and fortune, who had made a deep impression on her youthful heart, returned to England from a distant campaign. He was just recovered of a wound, which had detained him abroad, and returned home in the ardent hope of being completely rewarded for all his toils and sufferings, by the possession of his lovely Meletina. She received him with all the frankness and warmth of a sincere and virtuous affection; but, after they had given to each other a long and circumstantial account of their past distresses, she answered his eager proposal of immediate marriage by declaring, that she thought it her duty to renounce her fair prospect of connubial happiness, and to devote herself entirely to that unfortunate brother, who existed only by her incessant attention: she enumerated the many reasons that inclined her to such a painful sacrifice, with all the simple and pathetic eloquence of angelic virtue. Her lover, who possessed

that melting tenderness of heart, which often accompanies heroic courage, listened to all her arguments with a silent though passionate admiration, and, instead of attempting to detach her thoughts from the deplorable condition of her brother, he offered to relinquish his own active pursuits, to engage with her in any plan of sequestered life, and to take an equal part in the superintendance of that hapless being, who had so just a title to their compassion and their care. This generous offer overwhelmed the tender Meletina. For some time she could answer it only by weeping; but they were tears of mingled agony and delight. At last she replied, "My excellent friend, I shall now, and at all times, have the frankness to avow, that you are extremely dear to me, and that I feel, as I ought to do, the uncommon proof which you are now giving me of the purest affection; but I must not suffer the kindness and generosity of your heart to injure your happiness and glory. I must not be your wife. The peculiarity of my situation calls for so painful a sacrifice; but great sacrifices have great rewards; I feel that I shall be supported by the noble pride, not only of discharging my duty, but of preserving your tender esteem, which I should certainly deserve to forfeit, as well as my own, if I did not resolutely decline your too generous proposal." The affectionate young soldier endeavoured to shake her resolution, by every argument that the truth and ardour of his passion could possibly suggest. Meletina was inflexible; and the utmost that her lover could obtain, was a promise, that if, by attention and time, she succeeded in her hope of restoring the intellects of her brother

ther, she would complete the scene of general happiness, which that joyful event would occasion, by the immediate acceptance of that hand, which she now rejected only from the just scruples of genuine affection. Having thus settled their very delicate contest, they parted. The soldier rejoined his regiment; but, in spite of military dissipation, continued for a long time to write very tender letters to the generous Meletina. At last, however, whether his passion was diminished by its despair of being gratified, or whether the purity of a chaste attachment is incompatible with a martial life, while he was engaged in dangerous and distant service, he was deeply involved in a very perplexing illicit intrigue, which would probably have given him many years of disquietude, had not the chance of war put an early period to his life: a musket-ball passed through his body; but he lived long enough to write an affectionate parting letter to Meletina, in which he confessed his frailties, extolled her angelic purity of heart, and entreated her to do, what he solemnly assured her he did himself, consider both the time and the manner of his death, not as a misfortune, but a blessing. Meletina lamented him when dead, as she had loved him living, with the most faithful tenderness; she mourned for him as for a husband; and, though many years have elapsed since his decease, a grey silk is to this day her

constant apparel. Nor is there any ostentation in this peculiarity of her dress; for her attendance on her brother is still so uniform, that she never appears in public, and indeed is never absent from her own house more than two or three hours at a time. From habit, and the affectionate cast of her temper, she takes a pleasure in the petty childish plays by which her hapless companion is amused; and, so far from sinking herself into a state of indolence or apathy, she possesses great delicacy of manners, and all the strength and lustre of a refined understanding. She is now turned of fifty; and, though her countenance, when she is silent, has an air of mild and touching melancholy, her conversation is animated and cheerful. As her brother pleases himself by the habit of rising and going to rest with the lark, she has the long winter evenings entirely to herself; and at this season she has a great share of social enjoyment, by receiving the visits of her selected friends. To these she is remarkably open and unreserved, and has a peculiar pleasure in talking over the extraordinary occurrences of her early life. This circle indeed is small, though it is justly esteemed an honour to share the friendship of Meletina, and those who possess it have the happiness of knowing perhaps the most singular and most interesting of ancient virgins."

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## A SET OF RESOLUTIONS FOR OLD AGE.

**E**XCEPT the reasons for a change be invincible, to live and to die in the public profession of the religion in which one was born and bred. To avoid all prophane

talk and intricate debates on sacred topics. To endeavour to get the better of the intrusions of indolence of mind and body, these certain harbingers of enfeebling age. Rather



ther to wear out, than to rust out. To rise early, and as often as possible to go to bed before midnight. Not to nod in company, nor to indulge repose too frequently on the couch in the day. To waste as little of life in sleep as may be, for we shall have enough in the grave. Not to give up walking; nor to ride on horseback to fatigue. Experience, and a late medical opinion, determine to ride five miles every day. Nothing contributes more to the preservation of appetite, and the prolongation of life. Cheyne's direction to the valetudinary, "to make exercise a part of their religion," to be religiously observed. To continue the practice of reading, pursued for more than fifty years, in books on all subjects; for variety is the salt of the mind as well as of life. Other people's thoughts, like the best conversation of one's companions, are generally better and more agreeable than one's own. Frequently to think over the virtues of one's acquaintance, old and new. To admit every cheerful ray of sunshine on the imagination. To avoid retrospection on a past friendship, which had much of love in it, for memory often comes when she is not invited. To try to think more of the living and less of the dead; for the dead belong to a world of their own. To live within one's income, be it large or little. Not to let passion of any sort run away with the understanding. Not to encourage romantic hopes nor fears. Not to drive away hope, the sovereign balm of life, though he is the greatest of all flatterers. Not to be under the dominion of superstition or enthusiasm. Not wilfully to undertake any thing for which the nerves of the mind or the body are not strong enough. Not to run

the race of competition, or to be in another's way. To avoid being jostled too much in the street, being overcome by the noise of the carriages, and not to be carried even by curiosity itself into a large croud. To strive to embody that dignified sentiment, "to write injuries in dust, but kindnesses in marble." Not to give the reins to constitutional impatience, for it is apt to hurry on the first expressions into the indecency of swearing. To recollect, that he who can keep his own temper may be master of another's. If one cannot be a stoic, in bearing and forbearing, on every trying occasion, yet it may not be impossible to pull the check-string against the moroseness of spleen or the impetuosity of perverseness. Anger is a short madness. Not to fall in love, now on the precipice of threescore, nor expect to be fallen in love with. A connexion between summer and winter is an improper one. Love, like fire, is a good servant, but a bad master. Love is death, when the animal spirits are gone. To contrive to have as few vacant hours upon one's hands as possible, that idleness, the mother of crimes and vices, may not pay its visit. To be always doing of something, and to have something to do. To fill up one's time, and to have a good deal to fill up, for time is the materials that life is made of. If one is not able by situation, or through the necessity of raising the supplies within the year, or by habit (for virtue itself is but habit) to do much ostentatious good, yet do as little harm as possible. To make the best, and the most of every thing. Not to indulge too much in the luxury of the table, nor yet to underlive the constitution. The gout, rheumatism, and dropsy, in the language of

of the Spectators, seem to be hovering over the dishes. Wine, the great purveyor of pleasure, and the second in rank among the senses, offers his service, when love takes his leave. It is natural to catch hold of every help, when the spirits begin to droop. Love and wine are good cordials, but are not proper for the beverage of common use. Resolve not to go to-bed on a full meal. A light supper and a good conscience are the best receipts for a good night's rest; and the parents of undisturbing dreams. Not to be enervated by the flatulency of tea. Let the second or third morning's thought be to consider of the employment for the day; and one of the last at night to enquire what has been done in the course of it. Not to let one's tongue run at the expence of truth. Not to be too communicative nor unreserved. A close tongue, with an open countenance, are the safest passports through the journey of the world. To correct the error of too much talking, and restrain the narrativeness of the approaching climacteric. To take the good-natured side in conversation. However, not to praise every body, for that is to praise no body. Not to be inquisitive, and eager to know secrets, nor be thought to have a head full of other people's affairs. Not to make an enemy, nor to lose a friend. To aim at the esteem of the public, and to leave a good name behind. Not to be singular in dress, in behaviour, in notions, or expressions of one's thoughts. Never to give bad advice, and to strive not to set a bad example. Seldom to give advice till asked, for it appears like giving something that is superfluous to one's self. Not to like or dislike too much at first sight. Not to wonder, for all wonder is ignorance.

that possession falls short of expectation. The longing of twenty years may be disappointed in the unanswered gratification of a single hour. Whilst we are wishing, we see the best side; after we have taken possession, the worst. Resolved, to attend to the arguments on both sides: and to hear every body against every body. The mind ought not to be made up, but upon the best evidence. To be affectionate to relations, which is a kind of self-love, in preference to all other acquaintance. But not to omit paying the commanding respect to merit, which is superior to all the accidental chains of kindred. Not to debilitate the mind by new and future compositions. Like the spider, it may spin itself to death. The mind, like the field, must have its fallow season. The leisure of the pen has created honourable acquaintance, and pleased all it has wished to please. To resolve, not to be too free of promises, for performances are sometimes very difficult things. Not to be too much alone, nor to read, nor meditate, or talk too much on points that may awaken tender sensations, and be too pathetic for the soul. To enjoy the present, not to be made too unhappy by reflection on the past, nor to be oppressed by invincible gloom on the future. To give and receive comfort, those necessary aims to a distressed mind. To be constantly thankful to Providence for the plenty hitherto possessed, which has preserved one from the dependence on party, persons, and opinions, and kept one out of debt. The appearance of a happy situation, and opportunities of tasting many worldly felicities (for content has seldom perverted itself into discontent), has induced many to conclude, that one must be pleased with

with one's lot in life ; and it occasions many to look with the eye of innocent envy. To resolve more than ever, to shun every public station and responsibility of conduct. To be satisfied with being master of one's self, one's habits, now a second nature, and one's time. Determined not to solicit, unless trampled upon by fortune, to live and die in the harness of trade, or a profession. To take care that pity, humanity is not here meant, does not find out one in the endurance of any calamity. When pity is within call, contempt is not far off. Nor to wish to have a greater hold of life, nor to quit that hold. The possible tenure of existence is of too

short possession for the long night that is to succeed : therefore not a moment to be lost. Not to lose sight, even for a single day, of these good and proverbial doctors—diet—merryman—and quiet. Resolved, to remember and to recommend, towards tranquillity and longevity, the three oral maxims of sir Hans Sloane—"Never to quarrel with one's self—one's wife—or one's prince." Lastly, not to put one's self too much in the power of the elements, those great enemies to the human frame ; namely, the sun—the wind—the rain—and the night air."

**MEMORY.**

**POETRY.**

# P O E T R Y.

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## The V I L L A G E F R E E H O L D E R.

[From the News Paper, a Poem, by Mr. CRABBE.]

**N**OR here th' infectious rage for party stops,  
 But flits along from palaces to shops ;  
 Our weekly journals o'er the land abound,  
 And spread their plagues and influenzas round ;  
 The village too, the peaceful, pleasant plain,  
 Breeds the whig-farmer and the tory-swain ;  
 Brooks' and St. Alban's boasts not, but instead  
 Stares the Red Ram, and swings the Rodney's head :  
 Hither, with all a patriot's care, comes he  
 Who owns the little hut that makes him free ;  
 Whose yearly forty shillings buy the smile  
 Of mightier men, and never waste the while ;  
 Who feels his freehold's worth, and looks elate,  
 A little prop and pillar of the state.

Here he delights the weekly news to con,  
 And mingle comments as he blunders on ;  
 To swallow all their varying authors teach,  
 To spell a title, and confound a speech :  
 Till with a muddled mind he quits the news,  
 And claims his nation's licence to abuse ;  
 Then joins the cry, " that all the courtly race  
 Strive but for power, and parley but for place ;"  
 Yet hopes, good man ! " that all may still be well,"  
 And thanks the stars that he's a vote to sell.

While thus he reads or raves, around him wait  
 A rustic band, and join in each debate ;  
 Partake his manly spirit, and delight  
 To praise or blame, to judge of wrong or right ;  
 Measures to mend, and ministers to make,  
 Till all go madding for their country's sake.

What KIND of COMPOSITION a NEWS PAPER is, and the AMUSEMENT it affords.

[ From the same Poem. ]

**N**EXT, in what rare production shall we trace  
Such various subjects in so small a space ?  
As the first ship upon the waters bore  
Incognuous kinds that never met before ;  
Or as some curious virtuoso joins,  
In one small room, moths, minerals, and coins,  
Birds, beasts, and fishes ; nor refuses place  
To serpents, toads, and all the reptile race :  
So here, compress'd within a single sheet,  
Great things and small, the mean and mighty meet ;  
'Tis this which makes all Europe's business known,  
Yet here a private man may place his own ;  
And where he reads of lords and commons, he  
May tell their honours that he sells rappee.

Add next th' amusement which the motley page  
Affords to either sex and every age :  
Lo ! where it comes before the chearful fire,  
Damps from the press in smoky curls aspire  
(As from the earth the sun exhales the dew)  
Ere we can read the wonders that ensue :  
Then eager every eye surveys the part,  
That brings its favourite subject to the heart ;  
Grave politicians look for facts alone,  
And slighting theirs, make comments of their own ;  
The sprightly nymph, who never broke her rest  
For tottering crowns, or mighty lands oppress'd,  
Finds broils and battles, but neglects them all  
For songs and suits, a birth-day, or a ball :  
The keen warm man o'erlooks each idle tale  
For " monies wanted," and " estates on sale ;"  
While the sly widow, and the coxcomb sleek,  
Dive deep for scandal through a hint oblique.

So charm the news ; but we, who far from town  
Wait till the postman brings the packet down,  
Once in the week a vacant day behold,  
And stay for tidings till they're three days old :  
Hence on that morn no welcome post appears,  
That luckless morn a sullen aspect wears ;  
We meet, but ah ! without our wonted smile,  
To talk of headaches, and complain of bile ;  
Sullen we ponder o'er a dull repast,  
Nor feast the body while the mind must fast.

Such restless passion is the love of news,  
Worse than an itch for music or the muse :

Give

Give poets claret, they grow idle soon ;  
 Feed the musician, and he's out of tune ;  
 But the sick mind, of this disease possess'd,  
 Has neither chance for cure, nor intervals of rest.

Such powers have things so vile, and they can boast  
 That those peruse them who despise them most.

### The SONG of EXULTATION.

[From Mr. POTTER's Oracle concerning Babylon, and the Song of Exultation, from Isaiah, chap. xiii. xiv.]

**T**HE spoil-gorg'd city is no more ;  
 The proud oppressor of the nations falls,  
 Sunk in the dust her towred walls :  
 Her vanquish'd monarch welters in his gore ;  
 Jehovah from his impious hand  
 Hath rent the ensign of command,  
 That iron sceptre, whose impetuous force  
 Smote empires trembling at his rage.  
 The Earth exulting views his breathless corse,  
 And Peace recalls her golden age ;  
 Cheerful burst forth their shouts of joy,  
 " Thy furious hand no more shall bleeding realms destroy."

The lordly Lebanon waves high  
 The ancient honours of his sacred head ;  
 Their branching arms his cedars spread,  
 His pines triumphant shoot into the sky :  
 " Tyrant, no barb'rous axe invades,  
 " Since thou art fall'n, our unpierc'd shades."  
 To meet thee, Hades rouses from beneath,  
 An iron smile his visage wears ;  
 He calls through all the drear abodes of Death ;  
 His call each mighty chieftain hears ;  
 And sceptred kings of empires wide  
 Rise from their lofty thrones, and thus accost thy pride.

Is this weak form of flirting air  
 The potent lord that fill'd th' Assyrian throne ?  
 Thus are thy vaunted glories gone ?  
 Where thy rich feasts, thy sprightly viols where ?  
 Beneath thee is corruption spread,  
 And worms the covering of thy bed ?  
 How art thou fall'n, bright star of orient day,  
 How fall'n from thy ætherial height,  
 Son of the Morning ! Thou, whose sanguine ray  
 Glared terribly a baleful light ;  
 War kindled at the blaze, and wild  
 Rush'd Slaughter, Havoc rush'd, their robes with blood defil'd.

" I in



" I in high heaven will be ador'd,  
 " Above the stars of God exalt my throne ;  
 " My pow'r shall sacred Sien own,  
 " The mount of God's dread presence hail me lord."  
 Such thy vain threats : Death's dark abode  
 Yawns to receive the vaunting god.  
 Those, who thy corse shall 'midst the slain behold,  
 Shall view thee with attentive look :  
 Is this the man, his thund'ring car who roll'd,  
 That with pale terror kingdoms shook ?  
 Who wav'd o'er wasted towns his spear,  
 Terror and Flight his van, Destruction in his rear ?

Is this the man, whose barb'rous hate  
 Bound captive monarchs in his galling chain ;  
 While Outrage call'd his tort'ring train,  
 And Rigor closed the dungeon's ruthless gate ?  
 How from his high dominion hurl'd  
 The spoiler of the ravag'd world !  
 Kings, monarchs, heroes, warriors of renown,  
 Who greatly fought their realms to save,  
 Each in his house of Death in peace lies down,  
 With glory in his rock-hewn grave,  
 Amidst his chiefs, with honours grac'd,  
 His sword beneath his head, his arms beside him plac'd.

But thou shalt lie a thing abhor'd,  
 A sordid corse among the vulgar slain,  
 Cloath'd with the carnage of the plain,  
 A loathsome texture by the falchion gor'd.  
 Shalt thou with honour'd chiefs repose ?  
 Her jaws 'gainst thee the grave shall close ;  
 For where portentous thy proud banners wav'd,  
 Rapine rush'd o'er the wasted land :  
 Thy country, too, her free-born sons enslav'd  
 Or slaughter'd, curst thy hostile hand.  
 So falls the impious tyrant-race,  
 And fair Renown disdains their hated dust to grace.

The dreadful work of death prepare :  
 The father's crimes for boundless vengeance call,  
 And all the tyrant's sons shall fall ;  
 Nor branch, nor offspring shall my fury spare,  
 Lest o'er the trembling earth again  
 Spread the wild horrors of their reign.  
 No more their haughty tow'rs shall pierce the skies,  
 And fill the wide world with their fame ;  
 Against them, saith Jehovah, I will rise,  
 Will rend from Babylon the name,  
 Smite from its course her stagnant stream,  
 And o'er its miry gulfs shall clanging sea-mews scream.

Thus

Thus hath God sworn, th' Almighty Lord :  
 Like the strong mountains shall my purpose stand,  
 To crush th' Assyrian in my land ;  
 Through all their hosts shall rage the vengeful sword ;  
 Dreadful on Sion's sacred brow  
 The God of Armies shall they know.  
 Daughter of Sion, let thy joy arise,  
 From thy griev'd neck his yoke shall fall ;  
 Virgin, exult, thy haughty foe despise,  
 His chain no more thy arms shall gall.  
 Thus hath God sworn, nor sworn in vain :  
 Th' Almighty's hand is stretch'd, who shall its force vain ?

### A D D R E S S to F R I E N D S H I P.

[From Poems on several Occasions ; by ANN YEARSLEY, a Milkwoman  
 of Bristol.]

**F**RRIENDSHIP! thou noblest ardor of the soul!  
 Immortal essence! languor's best support!  
 Chief dignifying proof of glorious man!  
 Firm cement of the world! endearing tie,  
 Which binds the willing soul, and brings along  
 Her chastest, strongest, and sublimest powers!  
 All else the dregs of spirit. Love's soft flame,  
 Bewildering, leads th' infatuated soul :  
 Levels, depresses, wraps in endless mists,  
 Contracts, dissolves, enervates, and enslaves,  
 Relaxes, sinks, distracts, while Fancy fills  
 Th' inflaming draught, and aids the calenture.  
 Intoxicating charm! yet well refin'd  
 By Virtue's brightening flame, pure it ascends,  
 As incense in its grateful circles mounts,  
 Till, mixt and lost, with thee it boasts thy name.  
 Thou unfound blessing! woo'd with eager hope,  
 As clowns the nightly vapour swift pursue,  
 And fair wou'd grasp to cheer their lonely way ;  
 Vain the wide stretch, and vain the shorten'd breath,  
 For, ah! the bright delusion onward flies,  
 While the sad swain deceiv'd, now cautious treads  
 The common beaten track, nor quits it more.  
 Not unexisting art thou, but so rare,  
 That delving souls ne'er find thee ; 'tis to thee,  
 When found, if ever found, sweet fugitive,  
 The noble mind opes all her richest stores ;  
 Thy firm, strong hold suits the courageous breast,  
 Where stubborn virtues dwell in secret league,  
 And each conspires to fortify the rest.  
 Ethereal spirits alone may hope to prove

Thy strong, yet soften'd rapture; soften'd more  
 When penitence succeeds to injury;  
 When, doubting pardon, the meek, pleading eye  
 On which the soul had once with pleasure dwelt,  
 Swims in the tear of sorrow and repentance.  
 The faultless mind with treble pity views  
 The tarnish'd friend, who feels the sting of shame;  
 'Tis then too little barely to forgive;  
 Nor can the soul rest on that frigid thought,  
 But rushing swiftly from her Stoic heights,  
 With all her frozen feelings melted down  
 By Pity's genial beams, she sinks, distressed,  
 Shares the contagion, and with lenient hand  
 Lifts the warm chalice fill'd with consolation.

Yet Friendship's name oft decks the crafty lip,  
 With seeming virtue clothes the ruthless soul:  
 Grief-soothing notes, well feign'd to look like Truth,  
 Like an insidious serpent softly creep  
 To the poor, guileless, unsuspecting heart,  
 Wind round in wily folds, and sinking deep  
 Explore her sacred treasure, basely heave  
 Her hoard of woes to an unpitying world;  
 First soothes, ensnares, exposes and betrays.  
 What art thou, fiend, who thus usurp'st the form  
 Of the soft cherub? Tell me, by what name  
 The ostentatious call thee, thou who wreck'st  
 The gloomy peace of sorrow-loving souls?  
 Why thou art Vanity, ungenerous sprite,  
 Who tarnishest the action deem'd so great,  
 And of soul-saving essence. But for thee,  
 How pure, how bright wou'd Theron's virtues shine;  
 And, but that thou art incorp'rate with the flame,  
 Which else wou'd bless where'er its beams illumine,  
 My grateful spirit had recorded here  
 Thy splendid seemings. Long I've known their worth.

O, 'tis the deepest error man can prove,  
 To fancy joys disinterested can live,  
 Indissoluble, pure, unmix'd with self;  
 Why, 'twere to be immortal, 'twere to own  
 No part but spirit in this chilling gloom.

My soul's ambitious, and its utmost stretch  
 Wou'd be, to own a friend—but that's deny'd.  
 Now, at this bold avowal, gaze, ye eyes,  
 Which kindly melted at my woe-fraught tale:  
 Start back, Benevolence, and shun the charge;  
 Soft bending Pity, fly the sullen phrase,  
 Ungrateful as it seems. My abject fate  
 Excites the willing hand of Charity,  
 The momentary sigh, the pitying tear,  
 And instantaneous act of bounty bland,

To misery so kind ; yet not to you,  
 Bounty, or charity, or mercy mild,  
 The pensive thought applies fair Friendship's name ;  
 That name which never yet cou'd dare exist  
 But in equality \* \* \* \* \*  
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### On Mrs. M O N T A G U.

[From the same Publication.]

**W**HY boast, O arrogant, imperious man,  
 Perfections so exclusive ? are thy powers  
 Nearer approaching Deity ? can'st thou solve  
 Questions which high Infinity propounds,  
 Soar nobler flights, or dare immortal deeds,  
 Unknown to woman, if she greatly dares  
 To use the powers assign'd her ? Active strength,  
 The boast of animals, is clearly thine ;  
 By this upheld, thou think'st the lesson rare  
 That female virtues teach ; and poor the height  
 Which female wit obtains. The theme unfolds  
 Its ample maze, for Montagu befriends  
 The puzzled thought, and, blazing in the eye  
 Of boldest opposition, strait presents  
 The soul's best energies, her keenest powers,  
 Clear, vigorous, enlighten'd ; with firm wing  
 Swift she o'ertakes his Muse, which spread afar  
 Its brightest glories in the days of yore ;  
 Lo ! where she, mounting, spurns the stedfast earth,  
 And, sailing on the cloud of science, bears  
 The banner of Perfection.—  
 Ask Gallia's mimic sons how strong her powers,  
 Whom, flush'd with plunder from her Shakspeare's page,  
 She swift detects amid their dark retreats  
 (Horrid as Cacus in their thievish dens) ;  
 Regains the trophies, bears in triumph back  
 The pilfer'd glories to a wand'ring world.  
 So Stella boasts, from her the tale I learn'd ;  
 With pride she told it, I with rapture heard.  
 O, Montagu ! forgive me, if I sing  
 Thy wisdom temper'd with the milder ray  
 Of soft humanity, and kindness bland :  
 So wide its influence, that the bright beams  
 Reach the low vale where mists of ignorance lodge,  
 Strike on the innate spark which lay immers'd,  
 Thick clogg'd, and almost quench'd in total night—  
 On me it fell, and cheer'd my joyless heart.  
 Unwelcome is the first bright dawn of light  
 To the dark soul ; impatient, she rejects,—

.And

And fain wou'd push the heavenly stranger back ;  
 She loaths the cranny which admits the day ;  
 Confus'd, afraid of the intruding guest ;  
 Disturb'd, unwilling to receive the beam,  
 Which to herself her native darkness shews.

The effort rude to quench the cheering flame  
 Was mine, and e'en on Stella cou'd I gaze  
 With sullen envy, and admiring pride,  
 Till, doubly rous'd by Montagu, the pair  
 Conspire to clear my dull, imprison'd sense,  
 And chase the mists which dimm'd my visual beam.

Oft as I trod my native wilds alone,  
 Strong gusts of thought wou'd rise, but rise to die ;  
 The portals of the swelling soul ne'er op'd  
 By liberal converse, rude ideas strove  
 Awhile for vent, but found it not, and died :  
 Thus rust the mind's best powers. Yon starry orbs,  
 Majestic ocean, flowery vales, gay groves,  
 Eye-wasting lawns, and heaven-attempting hills,  
 Which bound th' horizon, and which curb the view ;  
 All those, with beauteous imagery, awak'd  
 My ravish'd soul to extacy untaught,  
 To all the transport the rapt sense can bear ;  
 But all expir'd, for want of powers to speak ;  
 All perish'd in the mind as soon as born,  
 Eras'd more quick than cyphers on the shore,  
 O'er which the cruel waves, unheedful, roll.

Such timid rapture as young Edwin seiz'd,  
 When his lone footsteps on the sage obtrude,  
 Whose noble precept charm'd his wond'ring ear,  
 Such rapture fill'd Lactilla's vacant soul,  
 When the bright moralist, in softness dress'd,  
 Opes all the glories of the mental world,  
 Deigns to direct the infant thought, to prune  
 The budding sentiment, uprear the stalk  
 Of feeble fancy, bid idea live,  
 Woo the abstracted spirit from its cates,  
 And gently guide her to the scenes of peace.  
 Mine was that balm, and mine the grateful heart,  
 Which breathes its thanks in rough, but timid strains.

### S O N N E T to L A U R A.

[From Mr. POLWHELE's Pictures from Nature, in Nineteen Sonnets.]

**S**URVEY, my Laura, yonder rose,  
 Its central folds so sickly-pale ;  
 While round its outward leaves disclose  
 A lively crimson to the gale !

Yet as the secret canker-worm  
 Preys inly on its fainting heart ;  
 From the cold floweret's fallen form  
 Shall all that glow of colour part !  
 Ah ! on thy lover turn thine eyes—  
 The blooming cheek may Laura see !  
 Yet know this pining bosom dies—  
 And read the rose's fate in me !

### SONNET to the AUTHOR's WIFE.

[From the same Publication.]

**F**OR thee, whose love I value more than life,  
 Whose charms the balm of heart-felt bliss inspire—  
 For thee I reassume my humble lyre,  
 Here—in this shade, far distant from the strife  
 Of scenes, where fashion's pamper'd votaries, rise  
 In dissipation's revel, quench thy fire  
 O Muse ! and blast the hallow'd name of wife  
 'Mid the dark orgies of impure desire—  
 For thee, tho' ne'er my unambitious strain  
 May soothe the unfeeling world, I yet awhile  
 Tune the rude shell ! and haply, not in vain,  
 If (sweet reward of every anxious toil)  
 My simple song have still the power to gain  
 From Laura, but a fond approving smile !

### ADDRESS to the PUPIL of ELOQUENCE.

[From Mr. POLWHELE's English Orator, a Didactic Poem.]

**T**HUS then the essentials hath the muse unveil'd  
 Preceptive :—Studious thou, meanwhile, to trace  
 Their union and their order, as thy sphere  
 And genius of the just oration wills ;  
 Except where versatile occasion's turn,  
 Or sudden impulse of thy audience points  
 A devious course : for oft, their due degrees  
 Abandon'd, one essential ev'n excludes  
 The rest ; or argument perhaps usurps  
 The throne of pathos ; or the passions, free  
 From previous forms, as high emergence calls,  
 Burst on a Catiline's devoted head  
 Impetuous : such thy genius, now matur'd  
 To nerve of classic vigour, feels—erelong  
 In quick accordance with that sense, to seize  
 The golden moment, as thy practice adds  
 Activity to strength. And now survey

That



That genius arm'd with high persuasion's power—  
 The power of human conduct! awful trust!  
 Yet haply thine! And O if doom'd to guide,  
 Blest arbiter of good, the moral scale;  
 Whether thy care to vindicate the rights  
 Of outrag'd innocence, and crush the fiends  
 That weave the Belial-artifice; or stem  
 In evil hour, corruption's torrent tide;  
 Or shine the sacred delegate of heav'n;—  
 O be thy study to impress on all  
 The features of thy honest worth, and gain  
 The fame of Virtue! Hence Persuasion draws  
 New dignity and grace! Attention hangs  
 Enamour'd on the music of a voice  
 Inspir'd by genuine probity, and breath'd  
 From all-essential goodness! Such the charms  
 Of Virtue!—Yet her semblance, uninform'd  
 By the warm heart, how vain! O feed the fires  
 That glow in generous bosoms! Be thy care  
 To give each exemplary deed the force  
 Of truth, and plain sincerity of soul!  
 For there's an energy in conscious worth—  
 A noble daring, (but to Virtue's race  
 Unknown) that kindles thro' the crowd, the flame  
 Of emulative merit; spreads around  
 A kindred feeling; and impels the mind  
 To all that high activity, the source  
 Of happiest execution. Such the fire  
 Of other days, while Greece survey'd her sons  
 Crown'd, awful victors, with the double wreath  
 Of Eloquence and Virtue! Lo more pure  
 In redolence and bloom, to Glory's orb  
 The awaken'd genius of thy country waves  
 That wreath: and warm with rapture as he views  
 Its heav'n-born lustre—"Be it thine (he cries)  
 "Auspicious youth (to nobler deeds foredoom'd)  
 "To merit all the renovated rays;  
 "And thus, reflected by thy brighter brows,  
 "Beyond ev'n Grecia's, be thy Albion's fame!"

### ODE on his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

[By the Rev. THOMAS WARTON, B. D. Poet-Laureat.]

#### I.

**A**MID the thunder of the war,  
 True glory guides no echoing ear;  
 Nor bids the sword her bays bequeath,  
 Nor stains with blood her brightest wreath;

No plumed hosts her tranquil triumphs own ;  
 Nor spoils of murder'd multitudes she brings,  
 To swell the state of her distinguish'd kings,  
 And deck her chosen throne.  
 On that fair throne to Britain dear,  
 With the flow'ring olive twin'd,  
 High she hangs the hero's spear,  
 And there with all the palms of peace combin'd,  
 Her unpolluted hands the milder trophy rear.  
 To kings like these her genuine theme,  
 The Muse a blameless homage pays ;  
 To George of kings like these supreme,  
 She wishes honour'd length of days,  
 Nor prostitutes the tribute of her lays.

## II.

'Tis his to bid neglected genius glow,  
 And teach the regal bounty how to flow,  
 His tutelary sceptre's sway,  
 The vindicated arts obey,  
 And hail their patron king ;  
 'Tis his, to judgment's steady line  
 Their flights fantastic to confine,  
 And yet expand their wing ;  
 The fleeting forms of fashion to restrain,  
 And bind capricious Taste in Truth's eternal chain,  
 Sculpture, licentious now no more,  
 For Greece her great example takes,  
 With Nature's warmth the marble wakes,  
 And spurns the toys of modern lore :  
 In native beauty simply plann'd,  
 Corinth thy tufted shafts ascend ;  
 The Graces guide the painter's hand,  
 His magic mimicry to blend.

## III.

While such the gifts his reign bestows,  
 Amid the proud display,  
 Those gems around the throne he throws  
 That shed a softer ray :  
 While from the summits of sublime renown  
 He wafts his favour's universal gale,  
 With those sweet flowers he binds a crown  
 That bloom in Virtue's humble vale :  
 With rich munificence, the nuptial tye  
 Unbroken he combines :  
 Conspicuous, in a nation's eye,  
 The sacred pattern shines !  
 Fair Science to reform, reward, and raise,  
 To spread the lustre of domestic praise ;

To foster Emulation's holy flame  
 To build Society's majestic frame ;  
 Mankind to polish and to teach,  
 Be this the monarch's aim ;  
 Above Ambition's giant-reach,  
 The monarch's meed to claim.

### HITCHIN CONVENT. A Tale.

[From the late Mr. LOVIBOND'S Poems.]

**W**HERE Hitchin's gentle current glides,  
 An ancient convent stands,  
 Sacred to prayer and holy rites  
 Ordain'd by pious hands.

Here monks of saintly Benedict  
 Their nightly vigils kept,  
 And lofty anthems shook the choir  
 At hours when mortals slept.

But Harry's wide reforming hand  
 That sacred order wounded ;  
 He spoke—from forth their hallow'd walls  
 The friars fled confounded.

Then wicked laymen ent'ring in,  
 Those cloisters/fair prophan'd ;  
 Now Riot loud usurps the seat  
 Where bright Devotion reign'd.

Ev'n to the chapel's sacred roof,  
 Its echoing vaults along,  
 Resounds the flute, and sprightly dance,  
 And hymeneal song.

Yet Fame reports, that monkish shades  
 At midnight never fail  
 To haunt the mansions once their own,  
 And tread its cloisters pale.

One night, more prying than the rest,  
 It chanc'd a friar came,  
 And enter'd where on beds of down  
 Repos'd each gentle dame.

Here, softening midnight's raven gloom,  
 Lay R——e, blushing maid ;  
 There, wrapt in folds of cypress lawn  
 Her virtuous aunt was laid.

He stopp'd, he gaz'd, to wild conceits  
 His roving fancy run,  
 He took the aunt for prioress,  
 And R——e for a nun.

It happ'd that R——'s capuchin,  
 Across the couch display'd,  
 To deem her sister of the veil,  
 The holy fire betray'd.

Accosting then the youthful fair,  
 His raptur'd accents broke ;  
 Amazement chill'd the waking nymph :  
 She trembled as he spoke.

Hail halcyon days ! hail holy nun !  
 This wond'rous change explain :  
 Again Religion lights her lamp,  
 Reviews these walls again.

For ever blest the power that checkt  
 Reformists wild disorders,  
 Restor'd again the church's lands,  
 Reviv'd our sacred orders.

To monks indeed, from Edward's days,  
 Belong'd this chaste foundation ;  
 Yet sister nuns may answer too  
 The founder's good donation.

Ah ! well thy virgin vows are heard :  
 For man were never given  
 Those charms, reserv'd to nobler ends,  
 Thou spotless spouse of Heaven !

Yet speak what cause from morning mass  
 Thy ling'ring steps delays :  
 Haste to the deep-mouth'd organ's peal  
 To join thy vocal praise.

Awake thy abbess sisters all ;  
 At Mary's holy shrine,  
 With bended knees and suppliant eyes  
 Approach, thou nun divine !

No nun am I, recov'ring cried  
 The nymph ; no nun, I say,  
 Nor nun will be, unless this fright  
 Should turn my locks to grey.

'Tis true, at church I seldom fail  
 When aunt or uncle leads ;  
 Yet never rise by four o'clock  
 To tell my morning beads.

No mortal lover yet, I vow,  
My virgin heart has fixt,  
But yet I bear the creature's talk  
Without a grate betwixt.

To Heav'n my eyes are often cast  
(From Heav'n their light began)  
Yet deign sometimes to view on earth  
Its image stamp't on man.

Ah me! I fear in borrow'd shape  
Thou com'st, a base deceiver;  
Perhaps the devil, to tempt the faith  
Of orthodox believer.

For once my hand, at masquerade,  
A reverend friar prest;  
His form as thine, but holier sounds  
The ravish'd saint address.

He told me vows no more were made  
To senseless stone and wood,  
But adoration paid alone  
To saints of flesh and blood,

That rosy cheeks, and radiant eyes,  
And tresses like the morn,  
Were given to bless the present age,  
And light the age unborn:

That maids, by whose obdurate pride  
The hapless lover fell,  
Were doom'd to never-dying toils  
Of leading apes in hell.

Respect the first command, he cried,  
Its sacred laws fulfil,  
And well observe the precept given  
To Moses—*Do not kill.*

Thus spoke, ah yet I hear him speak!  
My soul's sublime physician;  
Then get thee hence, thy doctrines vile  
Would sink me to perdition.

She ceas'd—the monk in shades of night  
Confus'dly fled away,  
And Superstition's clouds dissolv'd  
In sense, and beauty's ray.

## The M U L B E R R Y - T R E E. A Tale.

[From the same Publication.]

**F**OR London's rich city, two Staffordshire swains,  
 Hight Johnson, hight Garrick, forsaking their plains,  
 Reach'd Shakespeare's own Stratford, where flows by his tomb  
 An Avon, as proudly as Tiber by Rome.  
 Now Garrick (sweet imp too of Nature was he)  
 Would climb and would eat from his Mulberry-tree ;  
 Yet as Johnson, less frolic, was taller, was older,  
 He reach'd the first boughs by the help of his shoulder ;  
 Where, shelter'd from famine, from bailiffs, and weather,  
 Bards, critics, and players, sat crowded together ;  
 Who devour'd in their reach all the fruit they could meet,  
 The good, bad, indifferent, the bitter and sweet :  
 But Garrick climb'd high to a plentiful crop,  
 Then, heavens ! what vagaries he play'd on the top !  
 How, now on the loose twigs, and now on the tight,  
 He stood on his head, and then bolted upright !  
 All features, all shapes, and all passions he tried ;  
 He danc'd and he strutted, he laugh'd and he cried,  
 He presented his face, and he show'd his backside !  
 The noble, the vulgar, flock'd round him to see  
 What feats he perform'd in the Mulberry-tree :  
 He repeated the pastime, then open'd to speak,  
 But Johnson below mutter'd strophes of Greek,  
 While Garrick proclaim'd——such a plant never grew,  
 So foster'd by sun-shine, by soil, and by dew.  
 The palm-trees of Delos, Phœnicia's sweet grove,  
 The oaks of Dodona, tho' hallow'd by Jove,  
 With all that antiquity shows to surpass us,  
 Compar'd to this tree, were mere shrubs of Parnassus.  
 Not the beeches of Mantua, where Tityrus was laid,  
 Not all Vallombrosa produc'd such a shade,  
 That the myrtles of France, like the birch of the schools,  
 Were fit only for rods to whip Genius to rules ;  
 That to Stratford's old Mulberry, fairest and best,  
 The cedars of Eden must bow their proud crest :  
 Then the fruit—like the loaf in the Tub's pleasant Tale,  
 That was fish, flesh, and custard, good claret, and ale—  
 It compriz'd every flavour, was all, and was each,  
 Was grape, and was pine-apple, nectarine, and peach ;  
 Nay he swore, and his audience believ'd what he told,  
 That under his touch it grew *apples of gold*.——  
 Now he paus'd !—then recounted its virtues again—  
 'Twas a wood for all use, bottom, top, bark, and grain :  
 It would saw into seats for an audience in full pits,  
 Into benches for judges, episcopal pulpits ;



Into chairs for philosophers, thrones too for kings,  
 Serve the highest of purposes, lowest of things ;  
 Make brooms to mount witches, make May-poles for May-days,  
 And boxes, and ink-stands, for wits and the ladies.—

His speech pleas'd the vulgar, it pleas'd their superiors,  
 By Johnson slopt short—who his mighty posteriors  
 Applied to the trunk—like a Sampson, his haunches  
 Shook the roots, shook the summit, shook stem, and shook branches !  
 All was tremor and shock !—now descended in showers  
 Wither'd leaves, wither'd limbs, blighted fruits, blighted flowers !  
 The fragments drew critics, bards, players along,  
 Who held by weak branches, and let go the strong ;  
 E'en Garrick had dropt with a bough that was rotten,  
 But he leapt to a sound, and the slip was forgotten.

Now the plant's close recesses lay open to day,  
 While Johnson exclaim'd, stalking stately away,  
 Here's rubbish enough, till my homeward return,  
 For children to gather, old women to burn ;  
 Not practis'd to labour, my sides are too sore,  
 Till another fit season, to shake you down more.  
 What future materials for pruning, and cropping,  
 And cleaning, and gleaning, and lopping, and topping !  
 Yet mistake me not, rabble ! this tree's a good tree,  
 Does honour, dame Nature, to Britain and thee ;  
 And the fruit on the top—take its merits in brief,  
 Makes a noble desert, where the dinner's roast beef !

### The COTTAGE and COTTAGERS.

[From Mr. PRATT's Landscapes in Verse.]

**S**OFT peers, thro' foliage deep,  
 The ruffet dwelling of an ancient pair,  
 Who thrice ten smiling years, beneath its roof,  
 (Blush gay and great ones of a jarring world !)  
 Have led a virtuous life of wedded love !  
 In days of nuptial dissonance and strife,  
 This pattern, rare and high, Cleone views,  
 And plucking soft the unadorned latch,  
 Enters the cot, where Love with Nature reigns  
 Far from the city artifice :—the pair  
 We find, with all their progeny around,  
 In goodly rows assembled at the board  
 Of buxom Health, who spreads the light repast,  
 Which Hospitality, (such as of yore  
 Our ancient Britons, lov'd, ere courtier pomp  
 The once wide opening door insidious clos'd)  
 With importunings sweet, invites to share.

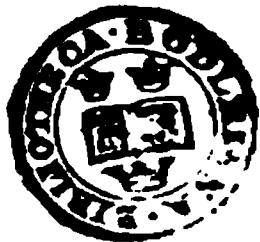
Their offer'd boon accepted, we survey

Silvan

Silvan Simplicity her graces lend  
 To clear Content, who in the herdsman's hut  
 (Which scorns the gilding of felicity)  
 Resides with real Happiness a friend,  
 Ev'n as an household goddess, ever near  
 With gentle hand, to bless this couple blythe,  
 To pour the spirit of the freshest gale  
 Upon the modest rose that humbly blows  
 Around their dwelling small: from the clean spring  
 That lends its little tide, the purest stream  
 To draw, for use or pleasure:—o'er the couch  
 To shed the sweetest sleep from night till morn,  
 Light as the silent dews that fall in both.

And now we listen to the honest tale  
 Of cottage fondness, and of cottage faith,  
 Told by the matron, while the shepherd swain  
 (Instructed well to read the secret heart)  
 Traces with skill, even to its rosy source,  
 The crimson flush that paints Cleone's cheek,  
 As, by the scene subdued, I seem more close  
 To fold her tender form:—this counsel kind  
 Distill'd at length like honey from his lip:

“ Yes, youth and maiden, I can see your hearts  
 “ Twine round each other like your circling arms:—  
 “ Behold! in us, a pair grown old together,  
 “ Our morning tender, and our evening true;  
 “ Then live and love, as we have lov'd and liv'd;—  
 “ Go with our mutual blessing on your heads;  
 “ And when in richer domes, ye see pale Care  
 “ Lift her proud crest to cheat the gaping croud  
 “ With specious shews of rapture, seldom found  
 “ In palace or in hut—then softly say,  
 “ As many a year remote when we are laid  
 “ Beneath the verdant turf, ye hither come,  
 “ Here dwelt the Couple of the Cot;—here oft  
 “ We sat us down in courtship's blooming hour,  
 “ And swore, if Hymen e'er should join our hands,  
 “ To live as faithful, and to love as long.”



### CONSOLATORY ODE.

[From the same Publication.]

**N**O more, fond youth, the strains prolong,  
 Break off, break off, the plaintive song;  
 With mandate high from spheres above,  
 Our golden harps are strung to love!  
 In ev'ry flow'r that Nature blows,  
 Breeze that fans, and wave that flows;

On earth, in ocean, and in air,  
Love is the sov'reign bliss, the universal prayer.

'Tis love sustains the starry choir,  
Love is the elemental fire ;  
Ah ! naught in thy mortality,  
Nor ev'n in our eternity,  
Like love can charm, like love can bless,  
The sun and soul of happiness ;  
Love is to ev'ry Muse allied,  
Touches each tuneful chord, and spreads the chorus wide.

'Tis ours to waft the lover's sighs,  
Swift to the nymph for whom they rise ;  
And gently as we strike the string,  
Convey the nymph's on rosy wing.  
Absence, tho' it wounds, endears,  
Soft its sorrows, sweet its tears ;  
Pains that please, and joys that weep,  
Trickle like healing balm, and o'er the bosom creep.

Love and Sorrow, twins, were born  
On a shining show'ry morn,  
'Twas in prime of April weather,  
When it shone and rain'd together ;  
He who never Sorrow knew,  
Never felt affections true ;  
Never felt true passion's power,  
Love's sun and dew combine, to nurse the tender flow'r.

# ODE to PETER PINDAR.

[From PETER PINDAR's Lyric Odes, for the Year 1785.]

A Thousand frogs, upon a summer's day,  
Were sporting 'midst the sunny ray,  
In a large pool, reflecting every face ;—  
They show'd their gold-lac'd cloaths with pride,  
In harmless sallies, frequent vied,  
And gambol'd through the water with a grace.

It happen'd that a band of boys,  
Observant of their harmless joys,  
Thoughtless, resolv'd to spoil their happy sport ;  
One frenzy seiz'd both great and small,  
On the poor frogs the rogues began to fall,  
Meaning to splash them, not to do them hurt.

As Milton quaintly sings, ' the stones 'gan pour,'  
Indeed, an Otaheite show'r !  
The consequence was dreadful, let me tell ye ;

One's

One's eye was beat out of his head,—  
 This limp'd away, that lay for dead,—  
 Here mourn'd a broken back, and there a belly.

Amongst the smitten, it was found  
 Their beauteous queen receiv'd a wound ;  
 The blow gave ev'ry heart a sigh,  
 And drew a tear from ev'ry eye :—  
 At length king Croak got up, and thus begun—  
 “ My lads, you think this very pretty fun !  
 “ Your pebbles round us fly as thick as hops,—  
 Have warmly complimented all our chops ;—  
 To you, I guess that these are pleasant stones !  
 And so they might be to us frogs,  
 You damn'd, young, good-for-nothing dogs !  
 But that they are so hard,—they break our bones.”

Peter ! thou mark'st the meaning of this fable—  
 So put thy Pegasus into the stable ;  
 Nor wanton, thus with cruel pride,  
 Mad, Jehu-like, o'er harmless people ride.

To drop the metaphor—the Fair \*,  
 Whose works thy Muse forbore to spare,  
 Is blest with talents Envy must approve ;  
 And didst thou know her heart, thou'dst say—  
 “ Perdition catch the idle lay !”  
 Then, strike thy lyre to Innocence and Love.

“ Poh ! poh ! cry'd Satire, with a smile,  
 “ Where is the glorious freedom of our isle,  
 If not permitted to call names ?”  
 Methought the argument had weight—  
 Was logical, conclusive, neat ;—  
 So once more forth, volcanic Peter flames !

### TO CYNTHIA.

[From the same Publication.]

O Thou ! whose love-inspiring air  
 Delights, yet gives a thousand woes ;  
 My day declines in dark despair,  
 And night hath lost her sweet repose ;

Yet who, alas ! like me was blest,  
 To others, ere thy charms were known ;  
 When Fancy told my raptur'd breast,  
 That Cynthia smil'd on me alone.

\* Mrs. Colway.

Nymph of my soul! forgive my sighs,  
 Forgive the jealous fires I feel;  
 Nor blame the trembling wretch, who dies  
 When others to thy beauties kneel.

Lo! theirs is ev'ry winning art,  
 With Fortune's gifts—unknown to me!  
 I only boast a simple heart,  
 In love with Innocence and Thee.

# PETER PINDAR's most wholesome ADVICE to LANDSCAPE PAINTERS.

[From the same Publication.]

**W**HATE'ER your wish, in landscape to excel,  
 London's the very place to mar it;  
 Believe the oracles I tell,  
 'There's very little landscape in a garret.  
 Whate'er the flocks of fleas you keep,  
 'Tis badly copying them for goats and sheep;  
 And, if you'll take the poet's honest word,  
 A bug must make a miserable bird.

A rush-light winking in a bottle's neck,  
 Ill represents the glorious orb of morn;  
 Nay, tho' it were a candle with a wick,  
 'Twould be a representative forlorn.

I think too, that a man would be a fool,  
 For trees, to copy legs of a joint-stool;  
 Or ev'n by them to represent a stump:  
 As also broom-sticks,—which tho' well he fig  
 Each with an old fox-colour'd wig,  
 Must make a very poor autumnal clump.

You'll say—"Yet such ones, oft a person sees  
 In many an artist's trees;  
 And in some paintings, we have all beheld;  
 Green bays hath surely sat for a green field;  
 Bolsters for mountains, hills, and wheaten mows;  
 Cats for ram-goats;—and curs, for bulls and cows."

All this, my lads, I freely grant;  
 But better things from you I want.  
 As Shakspeare says, (a bard I much approve)  
 'Lift, lift, Oh! lift,'—if thou dost Painting love.

Claude painted in the open air!—  
 Therefore to Wales at once repair;  
 Where scenes of true magnificence you'll find;

Besides

Besides this great advantage—if in debt,  
 You'll have with creditors no tête-à-tête :  
 So leave the bull-dog bailiffs all behind ;  
 Who hunt you, with what nose they may,  
 Must hunt for needles in a stack of hay.

The SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS COMPASSIONATED, but  
 chiefly OMAI.

[From the "Task," in the Second Volume of Mr. COWPER's Poems.]

**E**V'N the favor'd isles  
 So lately found, although the constant fun  
 Cheer all their seasons with a grateful smile,  
 Can boast but little virtue ; and inert  
 Through plenty, lose in morals what they gain  
 In manners, victims of luxurious ease.  
 These therefore I can pity, placed remote  
 From all that science traces, art invents,  
 Or inspiration teaches ; and inclosed  
 In boundless oceans never to be pass'd  
 By navigators uninformed as they,  
 Or plough'd perhaps by British bark again.  
 But far beyond the rest, and with most cause,  
 Thee, gentle savage \*, whom no love of thee  
 Or thine, but curiosity perhaps,  
 Or else vain-glory, prompted us to draw  
 Forth from thy native bow'rs, to show thee here  
 With what superior skill we can abuse  
 The gifts of Providence, and squander life.  
 The dream is past. And thou hast found again  
 Thy cocoas and bananas, palms and yams,  
 And homestall thatch'd with leaves. But hast thou found  
 Their former charms ? And having seen our state,  
 Our palaces, our ladies, and our pomp  
 Of equipage, our gardens, and our sports,  
 And heard our music ; are thy simple friends,  
 Thy simple fare, and all thy plain delights,  
 As dear to thee as once ? And have thy joys  
 Lost nothing by comparison with ours ?  
 Rude as thou art (for we return'd thee rude  
 And ignorant, except of outward show)  
 I cannot think thee yet so dull of heart  
 And spiritless, as never to regret  
 Sweets tasted here, and left as soon as known.  
 Methinks I see thee straying on the beach,  
 And asking of the surge that bathes thy foot,

\* Omai.



If ever it has wash'd our distant shore,  
 I see thee weep, and thine are honest tears,  
 A patriot's for his country. Thou art sad  
 At thought of her forlorn and abject state,  
 From which no power of thine can raise her up.  
 Thus Fancy paints thee, and though apt to err,  
 Perhaps errs little, when she paints thee thus.  
 She tells me too that duly ev'ry morn  
 Thou climb'st the mountain top, with eager eye  
 Exploring far and wide the wat'ry waste  
 For sight of ship from England. Ev'ry speck  
 Seen in the dim horizon turns thee pale  
 With conflict of contending hopes and fears.  
 But comes at last the dull and dusky eve,  
 And sends thee to thy cabin, well prepar'd  
 To dream all night of what the day denied.  
 Alas! expect it not: We found no bait  
 To tempt us in thy country. Doing good,  
 Disinterested good, is not our trade.  
 We travel far, 'tis true, but not for nought,  
 And must be brib'd to compass earth again  
 By other hopes and richer fruits than yours.

## DETESTATION of SLAVERY.

[From the same Poem.]

**O**H for a lodge in some vast wilderness,  
 Some boundless contiguity of shade,  
 Where rumour of oppression and deceit,  
 Of unsuccessful or successful war,  
 Might never reach me more. My ear is pain'd,  
 My soul is sick with ev'ry day's report  
 Of wrong and outrage with which earth is fill'd.  
 There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart,  
 It does not feel for man. The nat'ral bond  
 Of brotherhood is sever'd as the flax  
 That falls asunder at the touch of fire.  
 He finds his fellow guilty of a skin  
 Not colour'd like his own, and having pow'r  
 T'inforce the wrong, for such a worthy cause  
 Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey.  
 Lands intersected by a narrow frith  
 Abhor each other. Mountains interposed,  
 Make enemies of nations who had else  
 Like kindred drops been mingled into one.  
 Thus man devotes his brother, and destroys;  
 And worse than all, and most to be deplored,  
 As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,

Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat  
 With stripes, that mercy with a bleeding heart  
 Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast.  
 Then what is man? And what man seeing this,  
 And having human feelings, does not blush  
 And hang his head, to think himself a man?  
 I would not have a slave to till my ground,  
 To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,  
 And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth  
 That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd.  
 No: dear as freedom is, and in my heart's  
 Just estimation priz'd above all price,  
 I had much rather be myself the slave,  
 And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.  
 We have no slaves at home—Then why abroad?  
 And they themselves once ferried o'er the wave,  
 That parts us, are emancipate and loos'd.  
 Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs  
 Receive our air, that moment they are free,  
 They touch our country, and their shackles fall.  
 That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud  
 And jealous of the blessing. Spread it then,  
 And let it circulate through ev'ry vein  
 Of all your empire. That where Britain's power  
 Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too.

## SICILIAN EARTHQUAKES.

[From the same Poem.]

**A**LAS for Sicily! rude fragments now  
 Lie scatter'd where the shapely column stood.  
 Her palaces are dust. In all her streets  
 The voice of singing and the sprightly chord  
 Are silent. Revelry, and dance, and show  
 Suffer a syncope and solemn pause,  
 While God performs upon the trembling stage  
 Of his own works, his dreadful part alone.  
 How does the earth receive him?—With what signs  
 Of gratulation and delight, her king?  
 Pours she not all her choicest fruits abroad,  
 Her sweetest flow'rs, her aromatic gums,  
 Disclosing paradise where'er he treads?  
 She quakes at his approach. Her hollow womb,  
 Conceiving thunders through a thousand deeps  
 And fiery caverns, roars beneath his foot.  
 The hills move lightly and the mountains smoke,  
 For he has touch'd them. From th'extremest point  
 Of elevation down into th'abyss,

His wrath is busy and his frown is felt.  
 The rocks fall headlong and the vallies rise,  
 The rivers die into offensive pools,  
 And, charged with putrid verdure, breathe a gross  
 And mortal nuisance into all the air.  
 What solid was, by transformation strange  
 Grows fluid, and the fixt and rooted earth  
 Tormented into billows heaves and swells,  
 Or with vortiginous and hideous whirl  
 Sucks down its prey insatiable. Immense  
 The tumult and the overthrow, the pangs  
 And agonies of human and of brute  
 Multitudes, fugitive on every side,  
 And fugitive in vain. The sylvan scene  
 Migrates uplifted, and with all its soil  
 Alighting in far distant fields, finds out  
 A new possessor, and survives the change.  
 Ocean has caught the frenzy, and upwrought  
 To an enormous and o'erbearing height,  
 Not by a mighty wind, but by that voice  
 Which winds and waves obey, invades the shore  
 Resistless. Never such a sudden flood,  
 Upridged so high, and sent on such a charge,  
 Possess'd an inland scene. Where now the throng  
 That press'd the beach, and hasty to depart,  
 Look'd to the sea for safety? They are gone,  
 Gone with the reflux wave into the deep,  
 A prince with half his people. Ancient tow'rs,  
 And roofs embattled high, the gloomy scenes  
 Where beauty oft and letter'd worth consume  
 Life in the unproductive shades of death,  
 Fall prone; the pale inhabitants come forth,  
 And, happy in their unforeseen release  
 From all the rigors of restraint, enjoy  
 The terrors of the day that sets them free.  
 Who then that has thee, would not hold thee fast.  
 Freedom! whom they that lose thee so regret,  
 That ev'n a judgment making way for thee,  
 Seems in their eyes a mercy for thy sake.

## DOMESTIC LIFE in the COUNTRY.

[From the same Poem.]

O H friendly to the best pursuits of man,  
 Friendly to thought, to virtue, and to peace,  
 Domestic life, in rural leisure pass'd!  
 Few know thy value, and few taste thy sweets,  
 Though many boast thy favours, and affect

R e

To

To understand and chuse thee for their own.  
 But foolish man foregoes his proper bliss  
 Ev'n as his first progenitor, and quits,  
 Though placed in paradise (for earth has still  
 Some traces of her youthful beauty left)  
 Substantial happiness for transient joy.  
 Scenes form'd for contemplation, and to nurse  
 The growing seeds of wisdom ; that suggest,  
 By ev'ry pleasing image they present,  
 Reflections such as meliorate the heart,  
 Compose the passions, and exalt the mind ;  
 Scenes such as these, 'tis his supreme delight  
 To fill with riot and defile with blood.  
 Should some contagion kind to the poor brutes  
 We persecute, annihilate the tribes  
 That draw the sportsman over hill and dale  
 Fearless, and rapt away from all his cares ;  
 Should never game-fowl hatch her eggs again,  
 Nor baited hook deceive the fishes eye ;  
 Could pageantry, and dance, and feast and song  
 Be quell'd in all our summer-month retreats ;  
 How many self-decluced nymphs and swains,  
 Who dream they have a taste for fields and groves,  
 Would find them hideous nurs'ries of the spleen,  
 And crowd the roads, impatient for the town !  
 They love the country, and none else, who seek  
 For their own sake its silence and its shade.  
 Delights which who would leave, that has a heart  
 Susceptible of pity, or a mind  
 Cultured and capable of sober thought,  
 For all the savage din of the swift pack  
 And clamours of the field ? detested sport,  
 That owes its pleasures to another's pain,  
 That feeds upon the sobe and dying shrieks  
 Of harmless nature, dumb, but yet endued  
 With eloquence that agonies inspire  
 Of silent tears and heart-distending sighs !  
 Vain tears, alas ! and sighs that never find  
 A corresponding tone in jovial souls.  
 Well—one at least is safe. One shelter'd hare  
 Has never heard the sanguinary yell  
 Of cruel man, exulting in her woes.  
 Innocent partner of my peaceful home,  
 Whom ten long years experience of my care  
 Has made at last familiar, she has lost  
 Much of her vigilant instinctive dread,  
 Not needful here, beneath a roof like mine.  
 Yes—thou mayest eat thy bread, and lick the hand  
 That feeds thee ; thou may'st frolic on the floor  
 At evening, and at night retire secure

To thy straw couch, and slumber unalarm'd.  
 For I have gain'd thy confidence, have pledg'd.  
 All that is human in me, to protect  
 Thine unsuspecting gratitude and love.  
 If I survive thee I will dig thy grave,  
 And when I place thee in it, sighing say,  
 I knew at least one hare that had a friend.

How various his employments, whom the world  
 Calls idle, and who justly in return  
 Esteems that busy world an idler too!  
 Friends, books, a garden, and perhaps his pen,  
 Delightful industry enjoyed at home,  
 And nature in her cultivated trim  
 Dressed to his taste, inviting him abroad—  
 Can he want occupation who has these?  
 Will he be idle who has much t' enjoy?  
 Me, therefore, studious of laborious ease,  
 Not slothful; happy to deceive the time,  
 Not waste it; and aware that human life  
 Is but a loan to be repaid with use,  
 When he shall call his debtors to account,  
 From whom are all our blessings, bus'ness finds  
 Ev'n heré. While sedulous I seek t' improve,  
 At least neglect not, or leave unemploy'd,  
 The mind he gave me; driving it, though slack  
 Too oft, and much impeded in its work  
 By causes not to be divulg'd in vain,  
 To its just point the service of mankind.  
 He that attends to his interior self,  
 That has a heart and keeps it: has a mind  
 That hungers, and supplies it; and who seeks  
 A social, not a dissipated life,  
 Has business. Feels himself engag'd t' atchieve  
 No unimportant, though a silent task.  
 A life all turbulence and noise, may seem  
 To him that leads it, wise and to be prais'd;  
 But wisdom is a pearl with most success  
 Sought in still water, and beneath clear skies.  
 He that is ever occupied in storms,  
 Or dives not for it, or brings up instead,  
 Vainly industrious, a disgraceful prize.

The morning finds the self-sequester'd man  
 Fresh for his task, intend what task he may.  
 Whether inclement seasons recommend  
 His warm but simple home, where he enjoys  
 With her who shares his pleasures and his heart,  
 Sweet converse, sipping calm the fragrant lymph  
 Which neatly she prepares; then to his book  
 Well chosen, and not sullenly perused  
 In selfish silence, but imparted oft

As ought occurs that she may smile to hear,  
 Or turn to nourishment, digested well.  
 Or if the garden with its many cares,  
 All well repay'd, demand him, he attends  
 The welcome call, conscious how much the hand  
 Of lubbard labor needs his watchful eye,  
 Oft loit'ring lazily if not o'erseen,  
 Or misapplying his unskilful strength.  
 Nor does he govern only or direct,  
 But much performs himself. No works indeed  
 That ask robust tough sinews bred to toil,  
 Servile employ—but such as may amuse,  
 Not tire, demanding rather skill than force.  
 Proud of his well-spread walls, he views his trees  
 That meet (no barren interval between)  
 With pleasure more than ev'n their fruits afford,  
 Which, save himself who trains them, none can feel.  
 These therefore are his own peculiar charge,  
 No meaner hand may discipline the shoots,  
 None but his steel approach them. What is weak,  
 Distemper'd, or has lost prolific pow'rs  
 Impair'd by age, his unrelenting hand  
 Dooms to the knife. Nor does he spare the soft  
 And succulent that feeds its giant growth  
 But barren, at th' expence of neighb'ring twigs  
 Less ostentatious, and yet studded thick  
 With hopeful gems: The rest, no portion left  
 That may disgrace his art, or disappoint  
 Large expectation, he disposes neat  
 At measur'd distances, that air and sun  
 Admitted freely may afford their aid,  
 And ventilate and warm the swelling buds.  
 Hence summer has her riches, autumn hence,  
 And hence ev'n winter fills his wither'd hand  
 With blushing fruits, and plenty not his own.  
 Fair recompense of labour well bestow'd  
 And wise precaution, which a clime so rude  
 Makes needful still, whose spring is but the child  
 Of churlish winter, in her froward moods  
 Discov'ring much the temper of her fire.  
 For oft, as if in her the stream of mild  
 Maternal nature had revers'd its course,  
 She brings her infants forth with many smiles,  
 But once deliver'd, kills them with a frown.  
 He, therefore, timely warm'd, himself supplies  
 Her want of care, screening and keeping warm  
 The plenteous bloom, that no rough blast may sweep  
 His garlands from the boughs. Again, as oft  
 As the sun peeps and vernal airs breathe mild,  
 The fence withdrawn, he gives them ev'ry beam,  
 And spreads his hopes before the blaze of day.

MORN-



## MORNING, or the COMPLAINT. An American Eclogue.

[By the Rev. Mr. GREGORY.]

**F**AR from the savage bandit's fierce alarms,  
Or distant din of horrid despot's arms,  
Tho' Pennsylvania boasts her peaceful plain,  
Yet there in blood her petty tyrants reign.

With waving pines tho' vocal woods be crown'd,  
And stream-fed vales with living wealth abound,  
To golden fields tho' rip'ning rays descend,  
With blushing fruit tho' loaded branches bend;  
To those who ne'er must freedom's blessings taste,  
'Tis barren all, 'tis all a worthless waste.

While hoarse the cataract murmur'd on the gale,  
And chilling dews swept through the murky dale;  
Along the hills the dismal tempest howl'd,  
And lightnings flash'd, and deep the thunder roll'd;  
Beneath a leafless tree, ere morn arose,  
The slave Adala thus laments his woes:  
Ye grisly spectres, gather round my seat,  
From caves unblest, that wretches groans repeat!  
Terrific forms, from misty lakes arise!  
And bloody meteors threaten thro' the skies!  
Oh curs'd destroyers of our hapless race,  
Of human kind the terror and disgrace!  
Lo! hosts of dusky captives, to my view,  
Demand a deep revenge! demand their due!  
And frowning chiefs now dart athwart the gloom,  
And o'er the salt sea wave pronounce your doom,—  
But Gods are just, and oft the stroke forbear,  
To plunge the guilty in tenfold despair.

Lift high the scourge, my soul the rack disdains;  
I pant for freedom and my native plains!

With limbs benumb'd my poor companions lie;  
Oppress'd by pain and want the aged sigh;  
Thro' reedy huts the driving tempest pours,  
Their festering wounds receive the sickly show'rs;  
In mad'ning draughts our lords their senses steep,  
And doom their slaves to stripes and death in sleep:  
Now, while the bitter blast surrounds my head,  
To times long past my restless soul is led,  
Far, far beyond the azure hills, to groves  
Of ruddy fruit, where beauty fearless roves—  
O blissful seats! O self-approving joys!  
Nature's plain dictates! ignorance of vice!  
O guiltless hours! Our cares and wants were few,  
No arts of luxury, or deceit we knew.  
Our labour, sport—to tend, our cottage care,  
Or from the palm the luscious juice prepare;

To fit, indulging love's delusive dream,  
 And snare the silver tenants of the stream;  
 Or (nobler toil!) to aim the deadly blow  
 With dextrous art against the spotted foe;  
 O days with youthful daring mark'd! 'twas then  
 I dragg'd the shaggy monster from his den,  
 And boldly down the rocky mountain's side,  
 Hurl'd the grim panther in the foaming tide.  
 Our healthful sports a daily feast afford,  
 And ev'n still found us at the social board.

Can I forget? Ah me! the fatal day,  
 When half the vale of peace was swept away!  
 Th' affrighted maids in vain the Gods implore,  
 And weeping view from far the happy shore;  
 The frantic dames impatient ruffians seize,  
 And infants shriek, and clasp their mothers' knees;  
 With galling fetters soon their limbs are bound,  
 And groans throughout the noisome bark resound.  
 Why was I bound! Why did not Whydah see  
 Adala gain or death or victory!  
 No storms arise, no waves revengeful roar,  
 To dash the monsters on our injur'd shore.  
 Long o'er the foaming deep to worlds unknown,  
 By envious winds the bulky vessel's blown,  
 While by disease and chains the weak expire,  
 Or parch'd endure the slow consuming fire.  
 Who'd in this land of many sorrows live,  
 Where death's the only comfort tyrants give?  
 Tyrants unblest! Each proud of strict command,  
 Nor age nor sickness holds the iron hand;  
 Whose hearts, in adamant involv'd, despise  
 The drooping females tears, the infants cries,  
 From whose stern brows no grateful look o'erbeams,  
 Whose blushless front nor rape nor murder shames.  
 —Nor all I blame, for Nastal, friend to peace,  
 Thro' his wide pastures bids oppression cease;  
 No drivers goad, no galling fetters bind,  
 Nor stern compulsion damps th' exalted mind.  
 There strong Arcona's fated to enjoy  
 Domestic sweets, and rear his progeny;  
 To till his glebe employs Arcona's care,  
 To Nastal's God he nightly makes his pray'r;  
 His mind at ease, of Christian truths he'll boast—  
 He has no wife, no lovely offspring lost.  
 Gay his savannah blooms, while mine appears  
 Scorch'd up with heat, or moist with blood and tears.  
 Cheerful his hearth in chilling winter burns,  
 While to the storm the sad Adala mourns.

\* The Quakers in America have set free all their Negroes, and allow them wages as other servants.

Lift high the scourge, my soul the rack disdains;  
 I pant for freedom and my native plains!  
 Shall I his holy prophet's aid implore,  
 And wait for justice on another shore?  
 Or rushing down yon mountain's craggy steep,  
 End all my sorrows in the fullen deep?  
 A cliff there hangs in yon grey morning cloud,  
 The dashing wave beneath roars harsh and loud—  
 But doubts and fears involve my anxious mind,  
 The gulf of death once pass'd what shore we find?  
 Dubious, if sent beyond th' expanded main,  
 This soul shall seek its native realms again;  
 Or if in gloomy mists condemn'd to lie,  
 Beyond the limits of yon arching sky.  
 A better prospect oft my spirit cheers,  
 And in my dreams the vale of peace appears,  
 And fleeting visions of my former life,  
 My hoary fire I clasp, my long-lost wife,  
 And oft I kiss my gentle babes in sleep,  
 Till with the sounding whip I'm wak'd to weep.

Lift high the scourge, my soul the rack disdains;  
 I pant for freedom and my native plains.

Chiefs of the earth, and monarchs of the sea,  
 Who vaunt your hardy ancestors were free;  
 Whose teachers plead th' oppress'd and injur'd's cause,  
 And prove the wisdom of your prophet's laws;  
 To force and fraud if justice must give place,  
 You're dragg'd to slavery by some rougher race,  
 Some rougher race your flocks shall force away,  
 Like Afric's sons your children must obey;  
 The very Gods that view our constant toil,  
 Shall see your offspring till a ruder soil,  
 The pain of thirst and pinching hunger know,  
 And all the torments that from bondage flow,  
 When, far remov'd from Christian worlds we prove,  
 The sweets of peace, the lasting joys of love.

But hark! the whip's harsh echo thro' the trees!  
 On every trembling limb fresh horrors seize—  
 Alas! 'tis morn, and here I sit alone—  
 Be strong, my soul, and part without a groan!  
 Ruffians proceed! Adala ne'er shall swerve,  
 Prepare the rack, and strain each aching nerve!

Lift high the scourge, my soul the rack disdains;  
 I pant for freedom and my native plains.

Thou God, who gild'st with light the rising day!  
 Who life dispensest by thy genial ray!  
 Will thy slow vengeance never, never fall,  
 But undistinguish'd favour shine on all?  
 O hear a suppliant wretch's last, sad pray'r!  
 Dart fiercest rage! infect the ambient air;

This pallid race, whose hearts are bound in steel,  
By dint of suffering teach them how to feel.

Or to some despot's lawless will betray'd,  
Give them to know what wretches they have made !  
Beneath the lash let them resign their breath,  
Or court, in chains, the clay-cold hand of death.  
Or, worst of ills ! within each callous breast,  
Cherish uncurb'd the dark internal pest,  
Bid AV'ARICE swell with undiminish'd rage,  
While no new worlds th' accursed thirst assuage ;  
Then bid the monsters on each other turn,  
The fury passions in disorder burn ;  
Bid DISCORD flourish, civil crimes increase,  
Nor one fond wish arise that pleads for peace—  
Till with their crimes in wild confusion hurl'd,  
They wake t' eternal anguish in a future world \*.

### EVENING, or the FUGITIVE. An American Eclogue.

[By the same Gentleman.]

MOMBAZE, ZAMBOIA with a Child.

MOMBAZE.

SAY whither, wand'rer, points thy cheerless way,  
When length'ning shades announce the close of day ?  
In yon wild waste no friendly roof thou'lt find,  
The haunt of serpents, and the savage kind.—  
And sure rememb'rance mocks me, or I trace  
In thine the semblance of Zamboia's face ?  
Yet scarce thyself ! for in thy alter'd eye,  
I read the records of hard destiny.—  
From thy rack'd bosom sighs that ceaseless flow,  
A man bespeak thee, exercis'd in woe.  
Say, then, what chance has burst thy rigid chains,  
Has led thee frantic o'er these distant plains ?  
What potent sorrows can thy peace infest ?  
What crimes conceal'd prey on thy anxious breast ?

ZAMBOIA.

No crimes this heart infest, this hand defile,  
Or frantic drive me o'er a foreign soil.  
A murder'd wife, and wrongs unmatch'd I mourn,  
And buried joys, that never shall return !  
If, then, thou'rt tempted by the traitor's meed,  
Take this poor life, and prosper by the deed !

\* This Eclogue was written during the American war.

## MOMBAZE.

Not the rich produce of Angola's shore,  
 Not all the miser's heap'd and glittering store,  
 Not all that pride would grasp, or pomp display,  
 Should tempt this hand the wretched to betray.  
 No traitors dwell within this blest domain,  
 The friends of peace we live, a guileless train.  
 Grief dims thy eye, or gladly would'st thou see  
 Thy lov'd Mombaze yet survives in me.  
 Can'st thou forget? I taught thy youth to dare  
 The sylvan herd, and wage the desp'rate war;  
 Can'st thou forget? One common lot we drew,  
 With thee inchain'd, a captive's fate I knew;  
 Distrust me not, but unreserv'd disclose  
 The anxious tale that in thy bosom glows;  
 To part our griefs is oft to mitigate,  
 And social sorrows blunt the darts of fate.

## ZAMBOIA.

Dear to my sight that form, and doubly dear  
 Thy well-known accents meet Zamboia's ear.  
 Oh! had I died, and left the name of slave  
 Deep, deep entomb'd within an early grave!  
 Oh! had I died, e'er ruthless fates constrain,  
 With thee enthrall'd, to cross the western main!  
 Oh! to have met a glorious death in arms,  
 And ne'er beheld Melinda's fatal charms!  
 Time would be short, and memory would fail,  
 To dwell distinctly on the various tale.—  
 Tedious to tell what treach'rous arts were try'd,  
 To sooth the smart of still revolting pride.—  
 I liv'd, and lov'd—Then kiss'd the fatal chain;  
 No joy but one to cheer a life of pain.—  
 Yet witness bear, thou dear departed ghost,  
 That lonely rov'st thy Gambia's sacred coast!  
 How sweet the toil that met the morning's ray,  
 How light the labour that o'er-last'd day!  
 The reed-built hovel, and the scanty fare,  
 Imperial bliss could give, Melinda there!  
 Soft was my pillow, on thy gentle breast,  
 When o'er-press'd Nature droop'd in want of rest!  
 And if a rebel tear disgrac'd my eye,  
 Thine was the tear, and thine the bursting sigh.  
 Bliss I could boast, unenvied had it pass'd,  
 But bliss too great for hapless slaves to last.

A wretch, who banish'd from his native clime,  
 Defil'd with many a black and monstrous crime,  
 Presided o'er us, and with iron hand  
 Held savage sway o'er all the servile band,

In him each hellish passion rudely glow'd,  
 And cruelty in him most cruel shew'd.  
 Him lust infernal, one sad ev'ning, led  
 T' invade the chasteness of my marriage bed :  
 I chanc'd t'approach—the caitiff I surpriz'd—  
 My wife preserv'd, and had his guilt chastis'd,  
 While full with vengeance boil'd my wounded heart—  
 But chance reserv'd him for a baser part.  
 Meanwhile o'erjoy'd that vice e'en once had fail'd,  
 I bless'd the gods that innocence prevail'd.

The baffled villain, now a foe profess'd,  
 Rolls scenes of blood within his rank'ling breast ;  
 With coward arts he forg'd a crafty tale ;  
 And hands unrighteous poize the partial scale.  
 Imputed crimes to crush the weak suffice,  
 Hearsay is guilt, and damning fact surmise.  
 Where uncurb'd will usurps the place of laws,  
 No friendly pleader takes the wretch's cause.  
 Our tyrant's fears each want of proof supply'd,  
 We stand condemn'd, unquestion'd, and untry'd.

Oh! had the grief and shame been all my own,  
 And the black vengeance lit on me alone !  
 But harsher fates a harder curse decreed ;  
 These eyes were doom'd to see Melinda bleed.  
 I saw her by relentless ruffians bound,  
 The brandish'd scourge inflict the mortal wound,  
 Her tender frame abus'd, and mangled o'er,  
 I saw her weltring in a flood of gore.  
 The murd'rous scene had soon a dreadful close—  
 And do I live ! and can I speak my woes !  
 Her pregnant womb no longer could sustain  
 The public shame, and agony of pain ;  
 A birth abortive robb'd her of her breath,  
 And pangs convulsive seal'd her eyes in death.  
 One only pledge my weary soul detains,  
 This hapless infant, all that now remains ;  
 The mournful image of my once lov'd wife,  
 And ties me down awhile to hated life.  
 Else this bold hand should liberty restore,  
 And my rapt spirit seek a happier shore.  
 Thro' devious paths with timid haste we fly,  
 Where yon blue mountains meet the bending sky.—  
 Nor serpents haunts I dread, nor desarts drear,  
 The master-savage, Man, alone I fear.

#### MOMBAZE.

Since from our native realms compell'd to part,  
 Such pointed sorrows have not touch'd my heart.  
 Insatiate plunderers ! could it not suffice  
 To rend, inhuman, all the social ties !

From



From guiltless joys, that bless'd our native soil,  
 Dragg'd to a life of misery and toil;  
 Would you yet take the little God has giv'n,  
 And intercept the gracious dews of Heav'n!  
 Your rage for blood, wild as your thirst of gain,  
 Shall no respects, not truths divine, restrain!  
 The eternal fabric can a name undo?  
 Is rape and murder sanctified in you?  
 And us, what laws, as impious as severe,  
 Forbid the common rights of man to share?  
 Didst thou, creative Power! thy views confine?  
 For one proud race the spacious earth design?  
 For them alone does plenty deck the vale,  
 Blush in the fruit, and tinge the scented gale?  
 For them the seasons all their sweets unfold?  
 Blooms the fresh rose, and shines the waving gold?  
 O no, all bounteous is thy equal hand,  
 And thy fix'd laws irrevocable stand!  
 Hapless Zamboia! had it been thy fate  
 With me to share my more propitious state;  
 Thy soul had breath'd no impious wish to die,  
 Nor the big tear had trembled in thine eye.  
 Disjoin'd from thee, I too to slavery went;  
 But Heaven a father, not a master, lent.—  
 He seems, as Virtue's self in mortal guise,  
 Tho' wealthy, simple, and tho' modest, wise.  
 Blest be the hand that life and freedom gave!  
 That pow'r can boast, exerted but to save!  
 Blest the sage tongue, that stor'd the vacant mind!  
 The manners soften'd, and the heart refin'd!  
 That still to Heaven's unerring dictates true,  
 Eternal truth unfolded to our view!  
 But come! thy faint and weary limbs repose,  
 Forgetful of thy fears, thy griefs compose;  
 By morning's dawn with earnest foot I speed,  
 Nor sleep these eyes till I behold thee freed.  
 Some wealth I have, and did I prize it more,  
 Well spared for this I deem the sacred store.  
 So talk'd these friends, and to the cottage haste;  
 While sad Zamboia his pursuers trac'd;  
 The ruffian band arrest the hapless swain,  
 And pray'rs and tears and promises are vain;  
 Their vengeful fervour, no—not gifts abate;  
 But bound in chains, they drag him to his fate\*.

\* A higher reward is generally offered for the head of a fugitive Negro, than for bringing him alive.

## EFFUSIONS on quitting an ACADEMIC LIFE.

{An original Communication.}

Sero respicitur tellus, ubi, fane soluto,  
 Currit in immensum panda carina salum.

Ovum.

**A** DIEU, ye sacred walls, ye lofty tow'rs,  
 Imperial Learning's venerable seats!  
 Reluctant now I quit your peaceful bow'rs,  
 Your happy mansions, and your lov'd retreats.

Here keen-ey'd Science plumes her dashing wing;  
 Vent'rous she here essays her noblest flights:  
 Here, in each classic grove, the Muses sing,  
 And fill the mind with innocent delights.

Grateful I venerate those honour'd names,  
 Who patronis'd fair Learning's infant cause;  
 Who nobly dar'd to vindicate her claims  
 To just regard, distinction, and applause.

'Midst the illustrious groupe an Alfred shines;  
 Alfred the just, the virtuous, and the great;  
 Who mingled with the wreath that conquest twines,  
 The cares of science, and the toils of state.

Tho' in these seats dim Superstition reign'd,  
 Clouding each mind, unnerving ev'ry heart;  
 Tho' monkish fraud its empire here maintain'd;  
 And wily priests here play'd th' impostor's part:

Tho' here dull schoolmen vain debate pursu'd,  
 And the free mind in abject fetters bound;  
 Tho' with thin sophistry, and jargon rude,  
 All common sense they labour'd to confound:

Yet now the scene in diff'rent guise appears;  
 All former traces, like a dream, are fled;  
 Religion now a *lib'ral* aspect wears;  
 Now *genuine* Science lifts her tow'ring head.

Devious how oft in tranquil mood I've stray'd,  
 Where Cherwell's placid stream irriguous flows;  
 Where Isis, wand'ring thro' the dewy mead,  
 On the gay plains fertility bestows.

Oft here I view'd, immers'd in soothing thought,  
 Uprear'd by ancient hands the massy pile;  
 The Gothic turret high, the Saxon vault,  
 The painted window, and the lengthen'd aisle.

Achaian

Achaian models too I've frequent trac'd,  
Where genius blazes in the grand design ;  
The structure with Corinthian columns grac'd,  
Where Attic taste and harmony combine.

Where the high roof attracts the studious eye,  
The roof with Bodley's rev'rend name inscrib'd ;  
Where num'rous tomes in classic order lie,  
And plenteous stores of knowledge are imbib'd :

How oft, well pleas'd, I've turned the varied page,  
My mind detach'd from ev'ry futile joy,  
From giddy vanities that life engage,  
Follies that vex, and sorrows that annoy.

Forgot each busy care of active life,  
Forgot the turmoils of the public scene,  
Forgot all envy, pride, and jealous strife,  
The starts of passion, and the fits of spleen !

Adieu, ye groves, where erst I wont to roam,  
Where health attends the clear salubrious air ;  
Retirement left, I seek a diff'rent home,  
And to the gay metropolis repair.

ACADEMICUS.

DOMESTIC :

# DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1785.

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**I**N our account of the Theological Publications of the year 1784, we omitted taking notice of a work in two volumes, octavo, entitled, "A View of our blessed Saviour's Ministry, and the Proofs of his divine Mission arising from thence. Together with a Charge, Dissertations, Sermons, and Theological Lectures. By the late Thomas Randolph, D. D. Archdeacon of Oxford, President of Corpus Christi College, and Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford." The estimation in which Dr. Randolph was held as a theological disputant is well known. We have had occasion, in speaking of the domestic literature of a former year, to pay our tribute of respect to the accuracy and diligence which have marked his critical labours. Several of the pieces in the present volumes have been published before. The principal part of the first volume is taken up by a view of our blessed Saviour's ministry, and the proofs of his divine mission arising from thence. The other new pieces consist of two ingenious dissertations on different Psalms, and Praelectiones Theologicae. In the latter, our author engages in the controversy relating to the divinity of Christ, and discovers the same attachment, as on former occasions, to the creed which is commonly deemed orthodox. This subject, however, hath

been so frequently discussed by polemics, that the reader will not expect any thing new on it from the pen of Dr. Randolph; or that it should add much to the reputation of his critical abilities.

The catalogue of the present year's productions presents to us, as deserving of peculiar attention, "A Collection of Theological Tracts, in six volumes, octavo, by Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge." The excellent prelate, who is the editor of this very useful publication, is well known and admired for his liberality and manliness of sentiment, as well as for his disinterestedness and integrity. We are both charmed and edified by the elegance and energy with which he pleads the cause of piety and benevolence, in the preface to these volumes. This preface consists of very candid and sensible reflections on the present state of Christianity, and the proper methods for its improvement; together with excellent reasons for that moderation, to which the spirit of the times is so favourable. We cannot give a better idea of his lordship's design in forming this selection than his own words will convey. "In publishing this Collection of Theological Tracts, says he, I have had no other end in view but to afford young persons of every

every denomination, and especially to afford the students in the universities, and the younger clergy, an easy opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the grounds and principles of the Christian religion than, there is reason to apprehend, many of them at present are." "I do not consider the tracts which are here published as sufficient to make what is called a deep divine, but they will go a great way towards making, what is of more worth, a well-informed Christian." Many of these tracts were become exceedingly scarce, and in danger of sinking into oblivion. Others of them are extracted from the larger and expensive works of some of our most valuable writers. And when the reader meets with the venerable names of Locke, of Addison, of Clarke, of Taylor, of Lardner, of Chandler, and of Secker, as contributors to this compilation, he will be thankful to the editor for calling into the field the united powers of these champions of our holy faith; and for supplying the rational advocates for truth, on easy terms, with such weighty and satisfactory evidence. The preface to these volumes is followed by a list of questions which have been debated in the divinity schools at Cambridge, within the last thirty years; and by another list of such disputations as were held there, a little more than a century ago, under the doctors Davenant and Tuckney. A comparison of these lists will afford the reader a pleasing view of the progress in liberality, which hath been made in our public seminaries of learning; and of the gradual victory which good sense hath obtained over the jargon of the schools. This work concludes with an useful catalogue of some of the best

1785.

books in divinity, which can be recommended to a student.

Mr. Toulmin's "Dissertations on the internal Evidences and Excellence of Christianity, and on the Character of Christ, compared with that of some other celebrated Founders of Religion and Philosophy," are valuable, as well for the ease and perspicuity with which they are written, as for the spirit and dexterity with which their author uses the weapons of controversy. He was engaged to the defence of Christianity, on the ground of its internal evidence, from the superior advantages of which this kind of proof is possessed; as "being attended with fewer difficulties; lying more level to common apprehension; and not requiring learned discussion, and much historical information." The reflections which occur in this part of Mr. Toulmin's work, if not novel, are yet of so important and serious a nature, that they must ever be deserving of attention; and the arrangement of them is well adapted to please, and to persuade the unprejudiced reader. To these succeed three Dissertations, in which we have a comparative view of the characters of Christ and Mahomet, Socrates and Confucius. In an Appendix to this performance, the author reproveth, with proper freedom, the spirit of intolerance and illiberality, of which there are too many instances in the Letters of the Archdeacon of St. Alban's to Dr. Priestley. The ability also, with which he defends his favourite opinions against the attacks of Mr. White, in his celebrated Sermons at Bampton's Lecture, will be admired by those of his readers who may not be possessed of Mr. Toulmin's zeal for Unitarianism.

S

Dr.

Dr. Chelsum's "Reply to Mr. Gibbon's Vindication of some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," we heartily recommend to the friends of truth and Christianity. Keen wit and lively irony are the methods which that fascinating historian makes use of in defending himself, and refuting the plain solid reasonings of his antagonists. Dr. Chelsum willingly yields to him the palm of wit and raillery; but his own integrity, and the representations which he had formerly given of Mr. Gibbon's want of candour and proper regard to truth, he vindicates with additional ardor and force. This publication does honour to our author as a gentleman and a scholar; and when we read his candid acknowledgments of some inaccuracies into which he had been betrayed, for which he apologizes with becoming modesty, we give full credit to his declaration, that he "never in reality, in any moment, fought for victory or triumph, but for truth only."

Under the head of Biblical Literature, it is with great satisfaction and pleasure that we can mention the accomplishment of the hope we expressed in our account of the productions of the last year, by the publication of a valuable work, by Dr. Newcome, bishop of Waterford, modestly called by him, "An Attempt towards an improved Version, a metrical Arrangement, and an Explanation of the Twelve Minor Prophets." The task undertaken by the learned author was a very arduous one; and he hath executed it in a manner which adds greatly to the character for judgment and candor, by which his other writings have dis-

tinguished him. He follows the example of bishop Lowth in giving to his version a metrical form; and in endeavouring to translate carefully and literally the words of the original. By these means he hath preserved, as far perhaps as could be done in a translation, the grace and beauty of the Hebrew tongue, and rendered his labours most useful to expositors of scripture. In the notes likewise, with which he hath enriched his work, as well as in his version, he seems faithfully to have kept in view an admirable rule, which, with others, he hath laid down as necessary to a just and true translation of the scriptures. "The critical sense of passages should be considered, says he, and not the opinion of any denomination of Christians whatever. The translators should be philologists, and not controversialists." We hope that the laudable efforts of a Lowth, a Blaney, and a Newcome, to rescue the sacred writings from the mistakes and imperfections which attend them in their present English dress, will awaken a similar spirit in the breasts of others of our clergy, who are equal to such a task; and excite, amongst men of leisure and retirement, a more general attention to oriental literature. Such labours would prove beneficial, in the highest degree, to the cause of religion, and confer true and lasting honour on those engaged in them.

The "Lectures on the Canon of the Scriptures, comprehending a Dissertation on the Septuagint Version, by the late Rev. John Blair, LL.D. and Prebendary of Westminster," are the production of a man of considerable reading and abilities; though they do not appear before the world with the advantages which would have re-

com-



commended them, had they been corrected and finished by the author. The whole work is divided into four parts. The first treats briefly of the Canon of the Old Testament; the second contains general Observations on the Apocrypha, and reasons, from the contradictions and absurdities with which it abounds, why it ought not to be ranked in the canon. The third part consists of a Dissertation on the Septuagint Version, in which some curious and critical questions are discussed in a judicious and pleasing manner; particularly the question relating to the use which our Saviour, as well as the evangelists and apostles, have made of the Septuagint translation, in their quotations from the books of the Old Testament. The last division of the work was intended for a critical Examination of the Canon of the New Testament, but is very imperfect. If the learned author had lived to complete his plan, we doubt not but he would have rendered it more worthy the attention of critical and well-informed readers, as well as more generally instructive and useful.

Dr. Priestley continues the publication of "The Theological Repository," and invites contributions to the work, from all lovers of free inquiry, whatever their opinions may be. "No paper, he declares, shall be refused admittance, that shall contain observations on any subject of importance, that are either properly new, or that set things in a clearer or stronger point of light. I shall even consider communications from serious unbelievers as of peculiar value; for truth never has, and we may be confident never can suffer, but, on the contrary, must gain by the freest investigation. I shall only

except against tracts in which I shall perceive no love of truth, and no regard to the rules of decorum." A work of this kind, carried on with perfect freedom and impartiality, must be favourable to the increase of theological knowledge, and an accurate critical acquaintance with the holy scriptures. And, notwithstanding that we differ from the conductor of it, in respect to some of his opinions, as friends to liberal discussion and to truth, we sincerely wish to see his plan persevered in and well supported.

The author of "A Key to the Mystery of the Revelations," seems to be an ingenious and well-intentioned writer, though we cannot say that he hath given us more satisfaction than others who have preceded him in commenting on that mysterious book. He considers it as describing a "regular series of ecclesiastical events, *from the beginning to the end of time*, but yet variously expressed, agreeably to the seven parts into which they seem naturally to be divided." The scheme which he adopts is simple; but still it is the offspring only of conjecture. And notwithstanding that we may be disposed to admire his filial piety, as a son of the church of England, in applying to her what is said of Philadelphia in the prophetic vision; and in concluding, "that the only profession of the true Christian faith is according to the doctrine of the church of England; and that her liturgy and service must consequently be a model for all other nations to conform to;" we fear the sturdy champions of other Protestant churches and sects will vexatiously call for proofs, and protest against the partiality which he discovers for our venerable mother.

Mr. Fell hath renewed his attack on Mr. Farmer, in a treatise entitled, "The Idolatry of Greece and Rome distinguished from that of other heathen Nations." The spirit with which this author conducts his design would have our praise, did it not too frequently savour of an illiberality, which, when the abilities and character of his opponent are considered, hurts and disgusts us. The arguments which he urges in vindication of himself and his opinions, are shrewd and sensible; but their value depends on the degree of credit which is due to the authorities to which he refers, and on the fairness with which he quotes historic facts. These, we imagine, Mr. Farmer will still be disposed to call in question. Should the two disputants persist in their debate, we cannot but express our wish, that neither of them would hurt the feelings of the other, either by a studied and blameable indifference to the importance of his adversary, or by indulging to a sportive sarcastic humour which cannot produce conviction.

Dr. Chauncy, of Boston in New England, hath published "Five Dissertations on the Scripture Account of the Fall, and its Consequences." This worthy divine had been educated in the trammels of strict Calvinism, but hath made very considerable advances in liberality of sentiment. His design in the present publication is chiefly to overthrow the doctrine of original sin, or the imputation of Adam's guilt to his descendents. The sentence pronounced on the defection of our first parents, he considers as a doom to vanity, suffering, and death; but warmly protests against the other doctrinal consequences, as totally inconsistent with all ideas

of truth and justice, and divine benevolence. The scripture account of the fall our author receives in the literal sense; and displays much coolness and industry in his illustration of this part of sacred history. The most pleasing feature, however, with which we are struck in the work, is his readiness to give up any favourite human explications of scripture, which seem to be inconsistent with its natural and obvious sense, or which are, in the least degree, derogatory to the perfections of the Deity.

Dr. Chauncy hath also published a treatise on "The Benevolence of the Deity," in which he contends for the freedom of the human will, in opposition to necessity; and endeavours to prove, that all the good suitable for such a system as this, is apparently the tendency of nature and the divine administration; and that it actually prevails so far as this tendency is not perverted by the creatures themselves.

"The Restitution of all Things," by Mr. Brown, late missionary in Georgia, is an ingenious and liberal essay, and worthy of attentive perusal. His design is, to prove, both from reason and revelation, that the redemption of the world must extend to the whole human race. Nay, he contends, that it implies "the entire extirpation of evil, disorder, and misery; and the restoration of peace, perfection, and felicity, through all the regions of the divine dominions." Pleasing as this view of things may be to our natural desires and wishes, we still hesitate in admitting its truth. But we cordially join with our author in execrating their opinions, who are for admitting a few only of the human race to divine favour, while the bulk of mankind are devoted to endless misery and destruction.

The

The author of "An Examination of Mr. Robinson of Cambridge's Plea for the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ," is a shrewd and sensible writer, and well versed in the art of disputation. He is a zealous advocate for what is usually called the Socinian hypothesis; and with considerable ingenuity explains away many of the passages of Scripture, which have been thought favourable to the opinion of Christ's pre-existence. But the attack of our examiner is not confined to Mr. Robinson's Plea; in the preface he severely reproveth Mr. White, the Laudean professor, for the reflections he had cast on the Socinians in the appendix to his Bampton Lectures. Upon the whole, the author writes with great decency and moderation, as well as judgment; although some of his readers will think, that they discover in him the pride and zeal of a partizan, from the keen and pointed expressions which sometimes escape from his pen.

"A Letter to Theophilus Lindsey, A. M. by a Layman," is not intended so much for a refutation of Mr. Lindsey's principles, by an appeal to the sense of the Scriptures, as to point out their supposed dangerous tendency; and to restore to their rank in orthodoxy, some pious men whom Mr. Lindsey had classed amongst Unitarians. We cannot bestow commendation, either on the spirit with which these pages are written, or the strength of argument by which the design of them is supported. The author appears to be gloomy, bigotted, and intolerant. If, when coolly viewing the picture which he hath drawn of the consequences of Mr. Lindsey's publications, he seriously apprehends them, his feelings are truly deserving of our compassion.

But a free examination of the sacred Scriptures cannot be productive of such evils. And superstition and ignorance must be the result of that restraint on enquiry, those shackles of human creeds, and that execution of the laws against heresy, for which our layman so piously contends.

In "A Caveat addressed to the Catholics of Worcester against the insinuating Letter of Mr. Wharton," Mr. William Pilling, a priest, steps forth the champion of the dying interests of popery, with unbounded confidence, and with equal zeal. But the arguments which he uses are not such as can injure the protestant cause. Neither will the better informed part of the catholic communion be proud of such an advocate. A Berrington or an O'Leary will be attended to by them, pleading the cause of Christian charity and universal toleration, while the ravings of bigotry are despised.

Those who have been conversant in the writings of the late Dr. Johnson; who have admired the elegance and beauty of his Lives of the Poets, or venerated the intellectual powers which the papers of the Rambler discover, will read, with a mixture of pain and disgust, the "Prayers and Meditations" which have been published under his name. The prayers, indeed, if they are remarkable for no great faults, have no excellencies; nothing, in the least degree, characteristic of Dr. Johnson. They are faint and languid imitations of the prescribed forms of devotion in the Book of Common Prayer. With respect to the rest of the work, on which the editor hath bestowed the title of Meditations, every lover of the doctor's memory must wish that it had been suppressed. It is full of

weakness, superstition, and bigotry. May such an indiscreet, unfriendly publication, soon sink into oblivion, nor lessen the regard which is due to his admirable defences of religion and morality! These labours of his are truly valuable, and will live as long as the English language, and will be admired, wherever that is understood, by every friend of genius and of virtue.

Dr. Fordyce's "Addresses to the Deity," will be read with pleasure and edification, by those who are desirous of cultivating a spirit of fervent devotion. "They are meant," he tells us, "for a species of pious contemplations, where the soul, acting under an animating sense of the divine presence, expresses with humility and ardour her inmost thoughts, affections, and desires, on different subjects, and still looks up to God as her parent and her judge, whose approbation constitutes her sovereign felicity, as he alone can protect and bless her through every period of her existence." The first address is, on a View of the Sea; the second, on Salvation by Christ; the third, on Contemplation; the fourth and fifth on Providence; and the sixth, on the Death of Dr. Johnson. If the worthy author had, in some parts of these compositions, been more careless in respect to the polish and embellishment of his language, they would not be less acceptable or affecting as devotional exercises. We doubt not, however, but that they are the dictates of his heart; and that his design in publishing them, was to recommend to the world that spirit of cheerful animating piety, which is so favourable to the happiness of mankind.

In giving our account of the Sermons of the year 1785, the first

place is due to a volume of "Discourses on various Subjects, by Thomas Balguy, D. D. Archdeacon and Prebendary of Winchester." The author of these Discourses hath justly acquired a character, in the literary world, for close logical reasoning, and for a freedom and liberality of sentiment, that do honour to the man and the Christian. In the Domestic Literature of a former year, we have had occasion to speak highly of the ingenuity and strength of mind discoverable in his Treatise on the Divine Benevolence. And we should lose all claim to impartiality, did we not warmly recommend the present production to our readers. We do not engage to approve all that the worthy author hath said on the subject of church authority, and on subscription to articles of religion; but in the general strain of his Discourses, we meet with a happy combination of what is entertaining and instructive: every candid mind will read, with great pleasure, his observations on religious liberty; and his advices to the clergy, are worthy the attention of all of that order, who are desirous of becoming good and useful ministers of Jesus Christ.

Mr. Churton's "Eight Sermons on the Prophecies respecting the Destruction of Jerusalem," are sensible and useful compositions. They do not, it is true, bear any striking marks of originality or genius; neither do they supply us with any new illustrations of Scripture. But they are well adapted to the instruction and edification of common readers, from the spirit of piety which they breathe, and the easy accurate manner in which the most important facts are arranged.

With the same approbation do we take notice of Dr. Apthorp's "Dis-

“Discourses on Prophecy; read in the Chapel of Lincoln’s Inn,” at the lecture founded by bishop Warburton. They are pious and learned; and are proofs of the author’s being possessed of an enlarged and liberal mind. The reflections particularly, in the two last discourses, on the connection between religion and morality; and the undisguised manner in which he delivers his sentiments on the necessity of improvement and reformation, do great credit to his abilities, and to his heart.

Worthington’s “Discourses on various Subjects, evangelical and practical,” are written in a style and spirit that must greatly recommend them to every pious reader. The worthy author has ministered, as he informs us, to a congregation of protestant dissenters at Leicester, above forty years; and these discourses are published at their desire, that when he is taken from them, they may possess some fruits of his labours. The subjects of them are of the most interesting kind; the religious system they contain, rational and moderate; and they are composed in language which is plain and intelligible to the meanest capacity, at the same time that it cannot offend men of taste and refinement. The author’s principal view, next to that of improving the hearts of his readers, seems to be that of representing the doctrines of Christianity, in a light in which they are approved of by our reason, and are most honourable to the perfections of the Deity.

A volume of “Sermons on various Subjects,” &c. by Mr. Kirkpatrick, is a publication consisting of several particulars. In the first part of it, we meet with an apology for the protestant dissenters of the Presbyterian persuasion, written with

a considerable share of spirit, and no mean ability. The second part consists of eight sermons on different subjects; and the third of forms of prayer, baptism, and the Lord’s supper, according to the practice among dissenters, in which, though there are no marks of superior genius, and the style and manner are common, we have, nevertheless, some additional evidence of the author’s good sense and liberality.

Among the single Sermons of the year, which have been numerous, the principal ones which call for our notice, are, Dr. Parr’s “Discourse on Education, and on the Plans pursued in Charity Schools,” and Mr. Moore’s “Sermon on the Introduction of Sunday Schools.” Dr. Parr’s discourse abounds in just and noble sentiments; discovers an intimate knowledge of the human heart, together with a lively imagination, and an enlarged understanding. His style is clear and nervous, and is enriched with many beautiful classical allusions. In some instances, likewise, he hath carried the pathetic to a very high degree of perfection. To the discourse he hath subjoined many learned and elegant notes, such as we should expect from a person of his great literary abilities. In giving his advice respecting the virtuous education of children, what he says on the government of their passions, a sense of shame, a strict regard to truth, habits of diligence, and the love of God, is deserving the attention of all parents and teachers. On account of the instruction and pleasure which it will afford, we sincerely recommend this discourse to all classes of readers.

Mr. Moore’s “Sermon on the Introduction of Sunday Schools,” was preached, on the day of a visitation, at Rochester, where it met



with the general approbation of his brethren of the clergy. It abounds in good sense; and speaks, in every part of it, the language of piety and benevolence. In an Appendix to his discourse, Mr. Moore offers various arguments in defence of the establishments for which he contends, and answers, very successfully, the principal objections which have been urged against them. For our part, we approve highly of the practice of establishing Sunday schools in different parts of the kingdom, and think it deserving of applause and warm encouragement. We rejoice in the accounts we have heard of its numerous supporters; and that it hath, already, introduced order and decency of manners, and useful knowledge, into many populous parts, where the numerous children of the poor would, otherwise, have remained in rude ignorance and barbarism. A happy omen of the benefits to be derived, in future, from such institutions, to the interests of virtue, and of our country!

Of the other single Sermons of the year, as nothing extraordinary occurs either in the subjects or occasions of them, we must decline giving any account. Many of them would have an equal claim on our attention, from their serious and useful tendency, could we enter into a particular consideration of their merits; but the plan we are obliged to adopt will not admit of it.

In giving our opinion of the Metaphysical publications which the year hath produced, the first place is properly assigned to "An Attempt to prove the Existence and absolute Perfection of the supreme unoriginated Being, in a demonstrative Manner," by Dr. Hamilton, dean of Armagh. In this valuable

and important tract, Dr. Hamilton hath revived the synthetical method of reasoning, which, since the times of Wollaston and Clarke, hath been but seldom used; and he hath pursued it in a manner that is, to us, convincing and satisfactory. In an introduction to this attempt, the author considers, likewise, the nature of the analytic method, and shews what little weight there is in the objections which have been made to it. He then gives an account of the arguments which have been made use of by some of our principal writers, who have cultivated that method of reasoning which he himself adopts. After meeting with some just reflections on the arguments used by these authors, and corrections of some mistakes into which they had fallen, we are presented with a simple principle or axiom, on which the doctor's reasoning is chiefly built. "Whatever," says he, "is contingent, or might possibly have been otherwise than it is, had some efficient cause which determined it to be what it is. Or, in other words, if two different or contrary things were equally possible, whichever of them took place, or came to pass, it must have done so in consequence of some efficient cause, which determined that it, and not the other, should take place." To this succeed nine propositions, with their demonstrations and corollaries, which are all founded on the above axiom, or on the proof of preceding propositions. Of this treatise, we cannot but express the highest approbation. The author reasons with conciseness, perspicuity, and elegance. And it is no small recommendation of his performance, that though the subject of it is abstruse, he hath avoided all kind of disquisition that could



could serve only to a display of ability, or be intelligible but to the learned few; and hath expressed himself in plain terms, level to the capacities of all attentive readers. Works like the present, executed with so much ingenuity and precision, are of the utmost importance to human society, and deserve the careful perusal of all young persons, who would have their minds fortified against the insidious attacks of scepticism and infidelity.

Dr. William Watson hath employed much labour and ingenuity in drawing up a metaphysical "Treatise upon Time." After explaining the elementary terms which he means to adopt, in which he discovers great acuteness and accuracy, he goes on to treat of time. This he divides into time perceptible, which he calls a notion we acquire individually by the observation of the flux of our instantaneous perceptions; into universal time, which is a notion derived solely from the other, and denotes an uniform and incessant flux of instantaneous perceptions; and into imperceptible time, which is a notion acquired by considering any portion of universal time, as divisible into an unlimited number of parts, that represent a quicker flow of perceptions than any we ever experience. Time, as a genus, he defines to be "the flux of instants." The conclusion which he draws from his reasonings on these heads is, that time, whether perceptible, universal, or imperceptible, is nothing more than notions or creations of our own brain, and cannot be said to have any existence when not conceived. And he adds, that to say that time exists independent of any percipient being, is to assert, that an observation can be made without any observer, and a notion be con-

ceived without a person to conceive it. Our author is a strenuous supporter of Mr. Locke's theory of perceptions; and he appears to have an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ablest metaphysicians. His definitions, however, will be warmly controverted by the disciples of our northern schools, who will contend that he considers time under too strict limitations. Persons who are fond of this species of writing, may promise themselves much entertainment from this work, and from the accounts which are given in it of some curious experiments made by Mr. Herschel, on our visible sensations, and the velocity of our audible sensations.

With much respect do we wish to take notice of "Essays on the intellectual Powers of Man," by Dr. Reid, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow. The character of our ingenious author hath long been established for learning, candour, and goodness. His Enquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense, which he presented to the public some years since, gave him, also, a respectable rank among authors of the metaphysical class. The work before us, is intended to illustrate and establish, more perfectly, the same theory, and is drawn up with great precision and perspicuity. Even those who deem his system absurd, will readily own, that in the defence of it, he hath always conducted himself as a sensible, acute, and temperate writer. It is not possible for us to analyze, in a short compass, a work of such classical importance to those who delight in metaphysical speculations. The substance, however, of his philosophy is, that there is nothing external, to which any thing in the mind bears the least resemblance, but

but that, nevertheless, the mind has a power of perceiving, judging, and knowing their existence; the evidence of which existence is as clear, strong, and certain, as that of our perceptions and sensations, and also precisely of the same kind. Without deciding either in favour of Dr. Reid's doctrine, or against it, we think his essays entitled to a deliberate and dispassionate investigation. He appears to be a sincere friend to truth; and the enquiries to which his publications give rise, if pursued with judgment and temper, will enlarge the mind, and prepare it for the reception of that blessing.

We shall, in the next place, introduce to our reader's notice a work, belonging partly to the class of ethical publications, and partly to those of which mention will be made under the heads of Government and Law. Mr. Paley, archdeacon of Carlisle, in his volume on "The Principles of moral and political Philosophy," directs our attention to subjects of the utmost importance to us, in our personal and domestic relations, and in our connection with society. And it is but justice to say, that he hath treated them with liberality and good sense; and that many of his observations are very valuable and useful. Under the first part of his design, what he says on moral obligation, and on determinate and indeterminate relative duties, is peculiarly deserving of attention. His reasonings, also, on the reverence due to the Deity, are rendered interesting, and worthy of a careful perusal, from the seriousness and force with which they are composed. In the second part of his design, Mr. Paley delivers the elements of his political philosophy. The origin of government, he defines to be "patriarchal or military;" and re-

presents the idea of its being founded on compact direct or implied, as leading "to conclusions unfavourable to the improvement and peace of human society." The only ground of the subjects' obligation, he resolves into "the will of God, collected from its expediency." The language in which this work is written is, in general, clear and expressive, and, sometimes, very forcible and energetic. Much good, we doubt not, may arise to the cause of virtue, from its publication. And, though we do not thoroughly adopt the political principles of our author, and are disposed to controvert some of his positions which militate against our ideas of perfect religious liberty and equality, we recommend his labours as deserving of great praise, from the benevolent intention of them, and the many evidences they afford us of a well informed and comprehensive mind.

The author of "An Essay on the Polity of England; with a View to discover the true Principles of the Government," &c. seems to have composed his work with the best of intentions, and to be governed by motives of public virtue. The object which he proposes is, distinctly to ascertain the respective claims of the legislative and executive branches of the English constitution; the rights of prerogative, and the people's privileges. In pursuing his design, he hath taken a very extensive view of the polity of England, in which he frequently supports his own reasonings by an appeal to some of our most celebrated writers on that subject. Many of the observations which he hath collected from these sources, as well as his own remarks, are interesting and instructive. We do not, however, approve of the great prejudice which he

he discovers in favour of the power of the crown. It doth not appear to have arisen from perfect constitutional information. Our author's manner of writing is plain and familiar; and we recommend his Essay, upon the whole, as a dispassionate and useful publication.

Craufurd's "Essay on the actual Resources for establishing the Finances of Great Britain," contains a singular and wild hypothesis, which the author seriously supports; and with considerable shrewdness and ability. "The national debt," he says, "is an excrescence on the body politic, and so inherent to the constitution from its nature, that its growth even has prevented worse disorders from taking place; an operation to reduce it, is impolitic and dangerous, while the cutting it off would attack the principles of life." The system proposed by him is to this purport, that "upon no public emergency, any new taxes should take place, but the hands of government be plentifully supplied with loans, and the interest of the money paid out of the produce of the old taxes, which by this policy must prodigiously increase." But where will our author find the men who will advance money to the public on such terms? We ask no other question on so novel and curious a proposal in political œconomy.

"The History of the public Revenue of the British Empire," by John Sinclair, esq. (now sir John Sinclair, bart.) is a most elaborate, judicious, and important work; which will afford entertainment and instruction to men in public characters, and to every person interested in the welfare of his country. This publication is divided into two parts. In the first, an account is given of the public revenue prior to the Revolution; in which the author, with

indefatigable industry and ability, hath selected the historical facts necessary to the elucidation of his subject, and drawn such political conclusions as are highly interesting and valuable. The second part chiefly relates to the national debt; "its rise and progress; the steps hitherto taken to diminish the capital, and to reduce the interest of the national debt, with some accounts of the different plans suggested for that purpose." This part of his work, also, the author hath executed with great judgment and impartiality; and the reflections which he makes, together with his speculative digressions, will be found to afford an agreeable variety to the mind, while we follow him in his laborious researches and minute detail of facts. If the present publication should meet with a favourable reception, we are promised a third part, in which we shall be presented with observations on the resources of the nation, and a plan for establishing the public credit and finances of the country.

Of the "Remarks upon the History of the landed and commercial Policy of England, from the Invasion of the Romans to the Accession of James the First," in two volumes, 12mo. we think well, as forming an excellent compilation, in which many valuable observations occur, in uninterrupted order, which are widely dispersed in other larger publications. The gradual progress, likewise, of society, from a state of rudeness to that of refinement, is traced by the author in an ingenious and entertaining manner; as well as the influence of agriculture and commerce, on the manners of our forefathers, and the liberty of our country. The style in which these volumes are written is clear, though not highly ornamented;

mented; and we should be much pleased to see the remarks continued, in the same manner, from the reign of James the First to the present day.

“The Increase of Manufactures, Commerce, and Finance, with the Extension of Civil Liberty, proposed in Regulations for the Interest of Money,” is the production of a writer, who hath investigated his subject with great attention; and who is deserving of respect, from his well-meant endeavours to benefit the public. The foundation of his proposal is, a persuasion “that industry of every kind, with its unnumbered effects on private happiness, would be most effectually excited, and generally diffused throughout every part of the British empire, by a new and proper regulation of the interest of money.” His plan is, that a bank should be opened, under the protection of government, in which money should be lent to individuals, or private companies of traders, at different rates of interest, according to the different degrees of hazard attending such loans. We do not see why a proposal of this nature, if carried properly into execution, might not prove extensively useful, while we are not sensible of any evil that could possibly arise from trying the experiment.

Before we take leave of such publications as relate to government and finance, we deem ourselves obliged to take notice of “A Treatise on the Administration of the Finances of France, by Mr. Necker. Translated from the genuine French edition, by Thomas Mortimer, esq. in three volumes, octavo.” Mr. Necker, it is well known, was one of the ablest ministers that France had seen, in his peculiar depart-

ment, since the reign of Henry the Fourth; who, had he not been forced from his situation by the intrigues of those who envied his talents and influence, or who thought themselves entitled to the first offices of government, from their titles and connections, might have proved a second Sully to the reigning monarch. The work before us does ample justice to his abilities and integrity; and does honour, likewise, to the spirit of the age, which hath permitted such a publication, in so despotic a kingdom as France. We recommend it to our readers, as what will prove highly entertaining to those who wish to understand the situation, the resources and strength, of our rival nation. We recommend it, also, on account of the admirable and humane observations with which it abounds; favourable, not only to the people for whose benefit it was principally intended, but to the general interests of mankind. There is in it much to gratify curiosity, and much to excite wise and philosophical reflection. And it is but justice to the translator to observe, that he hath executed his undertaking, which was rendered difficult from the number of unusual terms in the original, with very uncommon merit.

“An Historical and Chronological View of Roman Law; with Notes and Illustrations. By Alexander C. Schomberg, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford,” is a learned, accurate, and useful performance. The public had long wished for a perspicuous and well written compendium of the civil law. This work hath been successfully undertaken by our author, who with great critical discernment hath marked its rise and progress under

under the regal, consular, and imperial states of Rome. He hath, likewise, enriched his chronological view with a variety of entertaining notes, on curious and difficult subjects, which breathe the genuine spirit of freedom, and are proofs both of his ingenuity and erudition.

We are much pleased with the promise of a second volume from the same hand, in which we are to be presented with the revival of the Roman law, its connection with the feudal and canon codes, its character and influence in the different courts and academies of Europe, and the lives and writings of its most eminent professors.

The revival of the question respecting the rights of juries, and the law of libels, occasioned by the dean of St. Asaph's trial, hath given rise to a variety of publications on this subject, during the present year. Among the rest, "The Rights of Juries vindicated," &c. contains the speeches of the dean's council, in the court of King's Bench, Westminster, in shewing cause why a new trial should be granted, the rule for which had been applied for by Mr. Erskine. The speech of the last mentioned gentleman on behalf of his client, was equal to the highest expectations of those who had admired his former pleadings at Shrewsbury, in favour of constitutional liberty. The subject of the law of libels he investigates with the utmost accuracy and perspicuity, and with a warmth and animation of language, which his feelings only could call forth, but which the occasion abundantly justified. To obviate any unjust reflections which might be cast upon himself, for his zeal in this cause, after avowing his own sincerity of intention, he thus concludes. "It is impossible in this country to hurt an honest

man; but even if it were, I should little deserve that title, if I could, upon any principle, have consented to tamper or temporize with a question which involves in its determination and in its consequences the liberty of the press, and in that liberty the very existence of every part of the public freedom."

The pamphlet of an anonymous author, called "Discussions of the Law of Libels, as at present received, in which its authenticity is examined; with incidental Observations on the legal Effect of Precedent and Authority," is drawn up in the dialogue form, and is written with a considerable share of spirit and argument. The author takes the popular and constitutional side of the question; and reasons with great ingenuity against the admission of precedent and authorities, as presumptive evidence of law, when inconsistent with general principles. What he says, however, is confined principally to libels on private persons. The application of his arguments to cases in which the crown and subject are parties, he leaves to a future publication.

Of Mr. Lofft's "Essay on the Law of Libels; with an Appendix, containing Authorities," we give our entire approbation. He labours with great acuteness and precision in establishing that good doctrine respecting the nature of libels, the liberty of the press, and the power of a jury, which is justly the pride of Englishmen. One part of his pamphlet we wish more particularly to recommend, where, in nervous and animated language, he calls on his countrymen to consider the honour and privileges of a juror; and to covet, rather than decline, a service, in which they are entrusted with "no common pledge of the confidence of their country;" in which



Dr. Price, proved of most essential service to his country. The will of M. Fortuné Ricard, which concludes this pamphlet, contains an amusing and humorous application of the doctor's account of the powers of compound interest, and the uses to which it may be applied for the benefit of mankind. We cannot refrain from presenting to our readers a sentence from one of the doctor's notes, which exhibits a faithful picture of his mind, on a calm review of the part he hath sustained as a political and moral writer. "And now, in the evening of a life devoted to enquiry, and spent in endeavours (weak indeed and feeble) to serve the best interests, present and future, of mankind, I am waiting for the GREAT TEACHER, convinced that the order of nature is perfect; that infinite wisdom and goodness govern all things; and that Christianity comes from God: but at the same time puzzled by many difficulties, anxious for more light, and resting with full and constant assurance only on this ONE truth—that the practice of virtue is the duty and dignity of man; and, in all events, his wisest and safest course."

To the number of speculative and philosophical writers, whose opinion and advice have been offered to the states of America, we have now to add the count de Mirabeau, who hath published "Considerations on the Order of Cincinnati, &c." with some notes and reflections on the preceding work of Dr. Price. This order was established in America, soon after the peace, and is composed of the generals and officers of the army and navy of the united states. The French officers likewise, who served in America, have been adopted into

it. The count de Mirabeau considers this order as the creation of a military nobility; of a dangerous aristocratic power, which will ultimately prove ruinous to the liberties of the new empire. But his apprehensions he founds principally on a supposed right of inheritance connected with this honour, to render it hereditary; which hath been given up and totally disclaimed by the society. In his observations on Dr. Price's work, our author differs from him very essentially on the degree of power to be allowed to congress, and on what he had written respecting the disadvantages and evils which would arise to America from a vigorous prosecution of commerce. These Considerations are written with much animation and enthusiasm, corrected by good sense and a sound judgment. They seem to have originated in an earnest desire of seeing established, in one corner of the world at least, a system of government as perfect and equal as possible, that "of men over themselves;" in which "the members of the community are confederates, not subjects; and their rulers, servants, not masters." What he says in his notes, on the subject of representation, population, and commerce, is founded on much reflection and knowledge of mankind, and is well deserving of the attention of the English reader.

In pure Mathematics, the learned world is under considerable obligations to Dr. Hutton, professor of mathematics in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, for his accurate and valuable Collection of "Mathematical Tables: containing common, hyperbolic, and logarithmic Logarithms, &c." In an useful and entertaining introduction,



tion, which is prefixed to this volume, the author, after having undergone the fatigue of immense labour and reading, presents to us an "Historical Account and Description of all Trigonometrical Writings, and the Tables relating to that Subject, both natural and logarithmic; in which Inventions are ascribed to their proper Authors, and their Methods and Improvements described and compared." Besides collating the different editions of these writings and tables, by which means many errors have been corrected by him, the doctor hath added considerable improvements of his own, and additional tables which are entirely new. One discovery he hath made which is of too curious and important a nature not to be mentioned by us. He hath been enabled to shew, clearly and unquestionably, that the merit of inventing the binomial theorem, and the differential calculus, almost universally ascribed to Sir Isaac Newton, is due to Mr. Henry Briggs, the first professor of geometry in Gresham college.

Great commendation is likewise due to Dr. Hales, fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, on account of the time, attention, and labour, which he must have employed on his "Analysis Æquationum, or Resolution of Equations." The author's design was to present to the world a concise, methodical treatise of algebra; in which that science should be freed from all possible uncertainty; and its evidence, like that of geometry, stand on the ground of clear and valid demonstration. And that he hath succeeded in a manner superior to any who have written before him on this important part of the mathematics, those who are best skilled in the subject will readily acknow-

ledge. He hath, at the same time, been happy in uniting, in an elementary work, elegance with usefulness and perspicuity. The history of the principal analytical inventions will afford the reader considerable amusement, and "lighten the wearisomeness of abstruse disquisition."

The Royal Society have pretty regularly published the two parts of their volume within the year; and the Seventy-fifth Volume of the Philosophical Transactions is, in many respects, interesting. We shall first mention, because it is a national work of great importance, the Measurement of a Base for a Series of Triangles, by General Roy. The accuracy of this operation is very considerable, when we reflect on the numerous difficulties attending it; but impediments are of little consequence under a royal patronage, and with the most expert instrument-makers at their command. From those, however, which they experienced, we have learned to pity Maupertuis, Condamine, and their respective companions, within the Arctic circle, or under the Equator. From the failures of general Roy we have acquired some satisfactory knowledge, which will direct future geometers, particularly relating to the expansibility of deal rods, though formed from the longitudinal fibres of the fir. The mensuration was at last completed with glass rods, which were drawn to twenty feet in length, and perfectly strait. The object of this mensuration is to connect a series of triangles, with those constructed from a given base by the French academicians at Calais, to ascertain, among other circumstances, the relative situation of the two great observatories of Greenwich and Paris. The utility

lity of this measure, with respect to astronomical observations, must be obvious. When astronomy is the theme, Mr. Herschell's name should not be far off. He has enriched the Transactions of the Society with another Catalogue of Double Stars, and added a paper on the Construction of the Heavens. The term must fill the mind with the most sublime ideas; but they will be raised still higher by the paper itself. By supposing only that gravity and a projectile force pervades all nature, Mr. Herschell shews, that the stars must necessarily form groups of different kinds, such as we usually perceive. The vast extent of the whole system, and the atom of it which we perceive, though nearly in the midst of a vast group of suns, which we have termed the milky way, is truly wonderful. Mr. Herschell seems to have examined them from their origin, when the stars have begun to form groupes, to their termination, when the force of gravity, overcoming the projectile force, has united the whole mass in one vast ruin, of which our own system may one day (and who knows when?) furnish a memorable example. Since our last publication, other stars have been found to vary in their degree of light. The  $\alpha$  Antinoi appeared to Mr. Pigot to have a period of 7 days, 4 hours, 38'; and the  $\beta$  Lyræ to Mr. Goodriche, to have completed its changes in about 12 days, 19 hours. Other astronomical observations are inserted in the annual volume of the Transactions communicated by M. de Zach. Mr. Landen's paper "On the rotatory Motion of a Body of any Form, revolving without Restraint about any Axis, passing through its Centre of Gravity," is

exceedingly ingenious, and deserves to be mentioned in this place, as it is subservient to astronomy.

Mr. Vince has added a supplement to the third part of his paper "On the Summation of infinite Series," and has also communicated to the society some very useful experiments on friction. These shew us that friction, in hard bodies, is an uniformly retarding force; but in others, increased with the velocity. He has demonstrated also, that friction increases in a less ratio than the quantity of matter; but we can only select the more important parts. While we pursue the Natural Philosophy contained in the Transactions, we must mention Dr. Darwin's "Artificial Spring," procured by boring through an incumbent stratum of earth, which confined it; the account of a "Volcano in the Island of St. Vincent," and Mr. Kirwan's very useful Tables of Specific Gravities, taken at different degrees of heat, with the easy means of reducing them to a common standard. Mr. Morgan's "Observations and Experiments on the Light of Bodies in a State of Combustion," on the appearance of electric, and the nature of phosphoric light, are very ingenious. He has also been enabled to describe the appearance of electric light, in a perfect vacuum, by having exhausted air from a vessel more completely than any of his predecessors; he has also very effectually ascertained the non-conducting power of a perfect vacuum. Dr. G. Fordyce, in his "Account of some Experiments on the Loss of Weight in Bodies, on being melted or heated," seems clearly to have shewn that water gains weight by freezing.

Experiments of this kind must be often repeated, before we can advance

advance one step with security in their explanation. We find, however, that philosophers have proceeded to enquire into the nature of those bodies, which have been hitherto styled elementary. They have endeavoured to analyze water, and have sometimes succeeded in recompounding it. Dr. Priestley's "Observations and Experiments on Air and Water," are equally monuments of his ingenuity and his candor. Mr. Cavendish's "Observations on Air" have added to our knowledge of the relation between this element and the nitrous acid. That we do not enlarge fully on these discoveries arises from some difficulties which have been entertained relating to them. Philosophers are at this moment attending to the subject, and we have little doubt of being able to announce, in our successive volumes, at a period not far distant, discoveries no less splendid than useful; not less interesting in their nature than extensive in their application. Plants of a humbler, and sometimes of a noxious class, are frequently mixed with, and sometimes destroy the corn: Dr. Hamilton's "Thoughts on the Formation and Properties of Air" will puzzle and mislead the inexperienced, instead of directing him. The little attention this author is likely to gain, will probably lessen the mischief. Dr. Pearson, in his little work, entitled "Directions for impregnating Buxton Water with Gasses," endeavours to do service: he will probably succeed; but at any rate his motive should procure him a respectful attention. Dr. Pugh has endeavoured to add to our knowledge on a subject little understood, by translating Pouzairé's "Treatise on the Waters of Balaruc;" but the original author was incapable of

giving much information, and Dr. Pugh has in some degree obscured that light which Pouzairé might have afforded. He has, however, republished the original. We must not leave the aerial element without mentioning the works which relate to Aërostation, or, as it has been lately called "Airy Recreations." Mr. Cavallo has collected a very satisfactory account of the "History and Practice of Aërostation," and Mr. Southern has published a more minute "Treatise on aerostatical Machines," with the calculations necessary for their scientific construction. We must leave these gentlemen to their flights, since it is not our business to decide on the propriety or the importance of their pursuits. An employment perhaps equally chimerical, and an investigation not less visionary, is the cure of diseases by animal magnetism. "The Report of the Commissioners, charged by the King of France with the Examination of Mesmer's and Deslon's pretensions" has, during the course of this year, been made our own, by an accurate translation. We only echo the general voice, by pronouncing it a masterly and a satisfactory refutation of these plausible impositions.

In this department we find some works, which may be more strictly called chemical. Dr. Elliot's translation of Fourcroy's "Elementary Lectures on Chemistry and Natural History" is executed with credit, though not with any very considerable accuracy: the merit of the original work has never been disputed. "The chemical Analysis of Wolfram, by Don J. Joseph and Don Fausto de Luyart," explains the nature of this peculiar mineral, in an accurate and perspicuous manner: these chemists were disciples of the late celebrated Bergman, and

the translation is executed with the greatest propriety, by Mr. Cullen. The chemistry of vegetable and animal substances has been hitherto in a very imperfect state : some approaches have been lately made towards a more exact investigation of their nature ; but, in this year, we can only mention Ferris's "Dissertation on Milk," a very imperfect work ; Mr. Irving's "Experiments on the Red and Quill Peruvian Bark ;" Dr. Kenrich's "Observations on the Caribbean Bark." The second conveys some information, and the last explains the nature of a species of bark, not hitherto much known, though formerly described in the Philosophical Transactions. In this line of chemical pharmacy, we meet with a modest tract entitled "Observations on Antimonial Preparations," recommending a new medicine, which the author has promised to teach us how to prepare ; but its merits must be ascertained by experience. Dr. Falconer of Bath, has also published an edition of Dr. Dobson's, "Commentary on fixed Air." The appendix, which is new, relates to the Lithontriptic effects of the Aqua Mephitica Alkalina. Mr. Godbold's Letter on Consumptions chiefly relate to the remarkable effects of some vegetable substances in the form of syrups. If their properties are altered so much as their names, they may really possess some virtue ; but in their natural state, they are equally simple and ineffectual. The tobacco recommended by Dr. Fowler in dropsies, whose effects he has published under the title of "Medical Reports," is not greatly changed in the preparation. It is given in infusion only ; but we are informed, that it has not succeeded so well as was expected

from the Reports. Dr. Withering's "Account of the Foxglove" contained more numerous trials, by a greater variety of practitioners, than Dr. Fowler's Reports ; and there is some reason to think, that it may become an useful medicine : it must, however, be used with caution, because it has been attended with some disagreeable effects. Instead of inconveniences, Dr. Mosely's "Observations on Coffee" promise nothing but advantages. The utility of this berry is probably exaggerated ; but the work contains some entertaining circumstances, relating to the history of the introduction of this beverage. No treatise on the Materia Medica in general has appeared, during this year : the only work on that subject is a short compilation, by Dr. Aikin, under the title of "A Manual." The attentive and industrious Dr. Hope, in his pursuit of Natural History and Botany, does not neglect those branches of it, which apply to his own profession. He has greatly gratified us, by a very accurate description and delineation of the species of *Ferula*, called, from the drug which it affords, the *assafoetida* : we want no additional information of its virtues. In the same volume of the Philosophical Transactions, we find a description of a tree of the sensitive kind, the *Averrhoa Carambola* ; by Dr. Bruce, whose name has been given to an anti-dysenteric plant. The leaves are pennated, and the irritable part is the joint of the footstalk.

Reilhan's "Flora Cantabrigien-sis," is a more general botanical work, though it contains only the plants of a particular spot. It is executed with great care and ability, and is lately rendered more complete,

plete, by the addition of a Supplement. These humble inhabitants of the hedges should not be over-looked by the planter, and ornamental gardener, for they will diversify the banks of a rivulet, relieve the glaring colours of the ranunculus, or break the continued whiteness of the daisy. The elegant author of a "Practical Treatise on Planting and Ornamental Gardening," is not inattentive to such minute circumstances, in the disposal of his grounds: the work is dictated by an elegant taste, corrected by judgment and experience. "The Complete Wall-tree Pruner," a work which contains the propagation and botanical arrangement of plants and trees, by Mr. Abercrombie, has a different claim to our notice, as it contains some valuable directions for a purpose, whose utility is more immediate and obvious. To those who wish to study every part of Botany scientifically, professor Martin in his translation of "Rousseau's Letters" and his valuable additions to them on the Elements of Botany, will afford considerable assistance.

Botany has been much benefited by the labours of Dr. Sparrman, whose "Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope," has lately been made our own, by a judicious translation. We derive much information from it both in geography, and natural history. While Dr. Sparrman has illustrated the natural history of the antarctic regions, Mr. Pennant has explained the nature of the inhabitants of the arctic circle, and parts adjacent. His "Arctic Zoology," published in two volumes, 4to, is in every respect a valuable work. The introduction, which contains some geographical descriptions, with philosophical remarks, may be read with great advantage;

it is an accurate, intelligent account of the natural history of the arctic shores, and with some animated descriptions of the sublime scenes which they afford. In the department of natural history, our readers will be glad to hear, that Mr. Latham has completed his "General Synopsis" of Birds; but a subject, which daily increases in every dimension, can never be wholly finished. Mr. Latham must, of course, publish a supplement, which will bring his work still nearer to perfection. The last volume of the Philosophical Transactions has furnished one additional species for his list: it is an English bird of the genus motacilla, probably migratory, styled arundinacea, because the nest is suspended between the branches of a tree by reeds. This is not the only novelty in natural history, which the collection, just referred to, affords. Mr. Howe has described a new marine animal, with tentacula and double cones, to protect the softer parts. It was found in a brain stone, raised, probably by a hurricane, from the depth of the sea. Some animal exuviae, found in a bed of tuft, are also described in the same volume, viz. a stag's head and horns of a very considerable size. To descend in the scale of animated nature, we must next mention Mr. Barbut's "Genera Vermium." This is a continuation of his former work, which contained the insects. The descriptions are, as usual, in Latin and French,—the plates correct and elegant representations.

In the natural history of the human body we cannot enumerate any valuable works. Of the descriptive kind, there are none; and of the physiological very few. Dr. Berkenhout has collected the symp-



toms of diseases, for the use of students and apothecaries; Dr. Wallis has collected and translated Sauvage's Descriptions of the Diseases of the Eyes, and Dr. Motherby's new Edition of his Medical Dictionary, among many important additions, is greatly improved in this branch. Dr. Gardiner, in his "Observations on the Animal Economy," unites both theory and practice. His theory, however is, in many respects, exceptionable: it approaches very nearly to the opinions of a new system, lately sprung up in our neighbouring university, one of those noxious weeds lately mentioned, inseparable from a fertile, luxuriant soil, and frequently a proof of its excellence. We have formerly mentioned it, when we spoke of Brown's Elements of Medicine. The Description of Diseases is taken from Sir John Pringle's MSS. and is pretty certainly to be depended on, as accurate and judicious. The practice does not materially differ from that of other physicians. Dr. Dickenson's "Enquiry into the Nature and Cause of Fevers," is an exceptionable work of the same complexion. Mr. Rigby's "Essay on Animal Heat," is in a great measure also a practical work. He wishes, that its practical part, should be separated, in the estimation of its merits, from the theory. We willingly grant his request; and, while we hesitate in following his physiological opinions, are fully convinced of the justness and propriety of his other precepts. This author's "Essay on the Uterine Hæmorrhage" has been printed the third time, in this year; and, we only join in the opinion of the best judges, when we pronounce it to be a very valuable and useful work. The "Case of a Ruptured Uterus" published by Mr. Douglas, is in-

deed an extraordinary one; but the "Observations" on it are not very remarkable: we think it pretty clear, that a laceration in the thinner and more membranous part of the uterus, near the os tinct may not be suddenly fatal; and, with proper care, is by no means a desperate accident. It will be sufficient for us to announce only Dr. Cockell's "Essay on the Retroverted Uterus." Of midwifery more generally, we have received a system from Dr. Spence, which is in many respects partial, in others incomplete: on the whole, it is a very unfaithful guide. Among the more general systems of surgery, we must mention Mr. Bell's third volume, which has appeared in the course of this year, and is finished with the same accuracy and attention, which has distinguished the former volumes.

We have perceived no great improvement, nor any great novelty, in our Annual Review of the particular branches of Surgery. Mr. Wathen's "Dissertation on the Theory and Cure of the Cataract," is an useful compilation, of what is in general known. Mr. Low's "Chiropodologia," is a compilation in a humbler line, and of much more inconsiderable merit. Mr. Mynors' "History of the Practice of Trepanning the Skull," is a good account of the practice of the earlier surgeons. It was occasioned by some little dispute, with the editor of the "Medical Journal" on a case transmitted to him by the author, containing a new method for raising the scalp, which Mr. Mynors thought was improperly attributed to another person. Mr. Ruspini's Relation of "the Effects of an extraordinary Styptic" is more original; and, if supported by future experiments, may prove a valuable improve-



improvement. Mr. Harrison has added to the cases already collected, in proof of the good effects of Fixed Air, or rather of fermenting cataplasms, in Mortifications of the lower Extremities. Humanity will set an equally high value on Mr. Moore's "New Method of preventing or diminishing Pain, in the several Operations of Surgery," by compressing the nerves: we are sorry to see his pamphlet regarded with so little attention by the operating surgeons. In this miscellaneous list, we must not omit to mention Mr. Renwick's "Address to Parliament, on the Situation of the Navy Surgeons."

Sir William Fordyce has published a little book of a mixed kind: it is entitled "*Fragmenta Chirurgica & Medica*." The instructions are judicious, and the Latin is remarkably elegant. The College of Physicians have, at last, published a third volume of their "*Transactions*," a miscellaneous and somewhat an unequal work,—we mean unequal to the credit of a royal college, and the extensive reputation of its members. A new collection, comprehending both medical and surgical cases, under the title of "*Medical Communications*," has also appeared this year. It is a work which promises much instruction, and, so far, is conducted with great ingenuity and judgment. Dr. Pew's "*Medical Sketches*" have less connection with surgery; and, when the author is more conversant with diseases, his future numbers, for they are to be continued, will be probably more valuable. Dr. Stack's "*Medical Cases*," on the contrary, are selected from a number, which must continually occur, during the course of an extensive practice, and are frequently useful or interesting.

On the subject of fevers, we have received some useful "*Observations relating to the Typhus*," by Dr. D. Campbell, and particularly on the use of opiates, during its course, as well as the means of obviating its effects, when epidemic. Mr. Day's "*Remarks on the different Ways of removing confined and infectious Air*," practised on the jail at Maidstone have the same tendency, and were employed with considerable success. We would strongly recommend those works to the perusal of those, who have the care of many people confined, either in close rooms, or with manufactures exhaling noxious effluvia. Mr. Colley's "*Account of a late Epidemic Ague, in the neighbourhood of Bridgenorth*," contains nothing very remarkable; and Dr. Balfour's "*Treatise on the Influence of the Moon in Fevers*," should serve only to excite the attention of physicians to the periods of diseases, as well as their connection with circumstances seemingly extraneous. The nature of the small-pox has been considerably elucidated by the labours of a society at Chester, instituted to prevent the spreading of infection; and the world have many obligations to Dr. Haygarth, for his "*Enquiry how to prevent the Small-Pox*," which contains a detail of the methods they have found successful. Dr. Reid's new edition of his "*Essay on the Nature and Cure of the Phthisis Pulmonalis*," must be also acceptable to every attentive practitioner.

Of the more miscellaneous kinds of practical works, it will be sufficient to mention Mr. Chandler's "*Enquiry into the various Theories, and Methods of Cure of Apoplexies and Palsies*," which is chiefly a commentary on the sections of Dr. Cullen's *First Lines* relating to

this subject; Rollo's "Remarks on the Disease lately described by Dr. Hendy," from whom he chiefly differs in the explanation; Fearon's "Treatise on Cancers;" Fuller's "New Hints relative to the Recovery of Persons Drowned, and apparently Dead;" with Mr. Rymer's "Tract on Indigestion." The family practitioners would also think us inexcusable, if we omitted Fisher's "Practice of Medicine made Easy," Cornwell's "Domestic Physician, or Guardian of Health," with Hall's "Medical Family Instructor;" these ephemera raised to notice, by the sunshine of the plausible, ineffective Buchan.—Yet, if we must decide, we would recommend the first as the safest and most intelligent guide: the two others are too bad for bad report.

We must not omit the the works on Agriculture, though they are not numerous or important. The third volume of the "Transactions of a Society for encouraging Manufactures and Commerce," has appeared in this year. Mr. Stone has published a very useful "Essay on Agriculture," and Mr. Turner has improved our knowledge in "Draining and Improving Peat-Bogs." The "Farmer's Magazine," and Mr. Cook's "Drill-husbandry Perfected," complete the catalogue in this branch for the present year.

We have now to congratulate the public, on the completion of Dr. Rees's improved edition of the Cyclopædia. It is not easy to form an idea of the immense application, and various reading, necessary to the tolerable execution of so multifarious a work. The manner, however, in which this publication is finished, does the highest honour to Dr. Rees's patience and care in

the selection and arrangement of his materials, and to the judgment and ability, with which he hath introduced many valuable improvements; especially in the articles of a philosophical nature, and a very useful index. The lovers of science, in general, have given their declared preference to this work: and the public hath decided upon its merits by an unusual encouragement, and a sale far exceeding the most sanguine hopes of the proprietors. It may not be improper to add, that the Cyclopædia is patronised by his majesty, to whom it hath been presented, as it is dedicated, by the editor.

It is with great pleasure that we have read the "Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester." This society consisted originally of a few gentlemen, inhabitants of the town of Manchester, who formed themselves into a weekly club, for the purpose of literary and philosophical conversation. Many respectable persons, however, being desirous of becoming members, they extended their first design, elected proper officers, formed a code of laws, and assumed the name prefixed to these Memoirs. The volumes before us, contain the first fruits of the institution; and they afford us abundant proof of the various learning and abilities of its members. The philosophical papers in particular, are, many of them exceedingly interesting, and give accounts of several new and important experiments. Of the general merits of the work, our readers may easily form an opinion from the large extracts which we have given in a former part of our Register.

Dr. Enfield has published "Institutes of Natural Philosophy,  
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**'Theoretical and Experimental.'** "The difficulty," says our author, "which I met with in providing my classes in the Warrington academy, with a text book, in natural philosophy, neither, on the one hand, materially deficient in mathematical demonstration, nor, on the other, too copious, or too abstruse for the purpose of elementary instruction, first suggested the idea of this work." This treatise is drawn up in the form of regular propositions, which are dependent on each other, and preceded by definitions. In some instances, these propositions are demonstrated in a strictly scientific manner; in other instances they are illustrated and confirmed by the more easy and familiar method of experiment. If the Dr. had made some mention of the nature and construction of acromatic lenses and telescopes, in the part which treats of optics, and of the planet discovered by Herschell, in the astronomical, his institutes would have been more perfect and acceptable. Exclusive of these defects, the work is executed, in general, in a manner that is perspicuous and satisfactory.

We cannot conclude our list of the philosophical productions of the year, without noticing two pamphlets by the earl of Dundonald, which do great credit to the noble lord's commercial knowledge, and patriotic spirit. "The present State of the Manufacture of Salt explained, &c." is the first of these pamphlets, in which many considerations occur respecting advantages to be derived from alterations in the mode of manufacturing and refining that article, that are highly deserving of the attention of government, as well as of the proprietors of salt works. The "Account of the Qualities and Uses of Coal Tar,

and Coal Varnish," is a still farther evidence of the utility of his lordship's researches. To a country like Britain, such a discovery is invaluable; since it will enable us to supply our extraordinary demands in times of war, without paying to foreigners the exorbitant price which they have been accustomed to extort from us, for such necessities. The experiments, likewise, which have been made with both these articles, establish their superiority to vegetable tar and varnish, on several very important accounts. For these we must refer our reader to his lordship's publication, for which, together with his useful inventions, he is deserving of public honours and rewards.

Among the historical productions of the present year, the first place is due Dr. Henry's fifth volume of "The History of Great Britain, from the first Invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar." We have, on a former occasion paid our tribute of praise to this author, for the industry and accuracy with which he hath prosecuted his laborious undertaking. In the volume before us, he treats of the state of things from the accession of Henry the IVth, 1399, to that of Henry the VII. 1485; the most intricate period that occurs in the English annals. But the patience and indefatigable application of Dr. Henry, have conquered the great difficulties which he had to encounter with, and given a success to his labours, superior to that of most other historians. He hath given a faithful and just picture of the times; while their accounts, in general, are confused and unsatisfactory. This superiority is to be attributed, in some measure, to the division of his work into distinct topics; which, though

though it spoils the beauty of his composition, yet gives it great advantage in point of clearness and information. We cannot say much in praise of our author's style. It is not possessed of any great animation or variety; and is too frequently debased by impurities and vulgarisms. The most fastidious critic, however, will readily acknowledge the utility of his publication, and join with us in recommending it as a valuable repository of what is instructive and entertaining.

Belknap's "History of New Hampshire," is the production of an American pen; but as it is now published in England, it is entitled to a place in the account of our Domestic Literature. This volume contains an history of the province from its first settlement to the year 1715. The author seems to have had access to the best sources of information, of which he hath with great industry availed himself; and his materials he hath arranged with judgment and good sense. His account of the Aborigines of the country is drawn faithfully and impartially. The contests of the first settlers with them; the difficulties and distresses to which the latter were exposed from their savage ferocity, are related in a manner that are particularly interesting. In an appendix to this work, we meet with authentic records and papers of a curious nature, which describe the successive "Characters, Passions, and Interests," of the new inhabitants of the country, and present us "with the most striking features of the times in which they lived."

The "Memoirs of the Baron de Tott," form a very valuable historical production, on account of the singular advantages he possessed for

acquiring information, and the few authentic publications which we have on the subjects which employ his pen. The Baron was sent to Turkey in a public capacity; where, from the stations which he held, and the different connections which he formed, he had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the government and customs of the country, and of studying the views and interests of public characters. The account which he hath given us of the weakness and confusion which distract the Ottoman court, together with the ignorance and inertness of the Mahometans in general, are a favourable omen to the designs of the neighbouring imperial powers; and forbode the speedy fall of the Turkish European empire. Every liberal person, who reflects on the oppression and despotism of that government, the insolence, injustice, and cruelty practised or connived at by its ministers, will think it criminal not to wish for such a revolution. The scenes, which the author describes, of the anarchy and bloodshed to which he was frequently witness, strike us with horror and detestation. But the most interesting part of these volumes is the account which the Baron gives of the natural history of the Crimea, its extent, population, and government. His readers will follow him, with pleasure, in the excursion which he made into a part of the world, of which but little is known in civilized Europe; and will derive much information, political as well as historical, from his acute and sensible observations.

"A History of the late Siege of Gibraltar; with a Description and Account of the Garrison from the earliest Periods; by John Drinkwater,

ter, Captain of the late Seventy-second Regiment," contains a faithful and accurate account of one of the most memorable occurrences in military history; and of achievements the most flattering imaginable to the pride of Englishmen. The volume begins with a general history of Gibraltar; which is followed by a description of its natural curiosities, climate, vegetation, fortifications, and military establishment. The history of the late siege is delivered in the form of a journal, and does strict justice to the vigorous efforts of the assailants, and the unparalleled heroism of the brave garrison. Nothing could serve more strongly to impress on our enemies and on all Europe, a respect for British courage and perseverance than the various spirited occurrences, which took place during that harassing period. Of the effect produced on the neighbouring Barbary States, the respect they pay on every occasion to the British name, and the consequence they annex to the possession of Gibraltar, are sufficient testimonies. It will not be displeasing to the English reader to be informed by our author, that just before the grand attack on that fortress, "the Moors at Tangier repaired to their mosques, imploring heaven on behalf of their old allies; and on receiving accounts of the defeat of the enemy, they made public rejoicing, and gave every demonstration of their affection for the English nation."

The "Relation of the battle of Maxen, &c." had we not overlooked it, would have been more properly mentioned among the publications of a mathematical kind. The first part, only, is narrative; and the value of that will be chiefly understood by gentlemen of the

army. The principal divisions of the work, are intended to illustrate some of the principles of military tactics, and to direct in the practical application of them. Professional men, in France and Germany, have given their highest approbation to the original, of which Monsieur Teilke a celebrated engineer is the author. And the translation before us reflects great credit on Mr. Christian, to whom his brother-officers are indebted for an English edition of so useful a work.

When we first read Captain Oakes's "Narrative of the Treatment of the English who were taken Prisoners on the Reduction of Bednore, by Tippo Saib," we were struck with horror at the inhumanity of the savage conqueror, and felt the strongest resentment from the sufferings of our unfortunate countrymen. But when we came to the appendix to the second edition, written by lieutenant Sheen, the hatred we had conceived against a barbarous enemy, was diverted to our own rapacious and merciless troops. A series of cruelties which they had practised, and the recent butchery of "above four hundred beautiful women, who expired in one another's arms, while the private soldiers were committing every kind of outrage," we had almost said, justified the behaviour of the nabob, on principles of retaliation. Happy will it be for the inhabitants of India, if the British officers and soldiers who survived their sufferings on this occasion, learn, from them, moderation and humanity in their future conquests.

Our attention is called to a far more pleasing subject, by "A Philosophical, Historical, and Moral Essay on Old Maids, by a Friend to the Sisterhood." Our historian divides his learned and amusing work,



work, into six parts. The first part recites the particular failings of old maids; the second their particular good qualities. On these different good qualities our author expatiates with great knowledge of human nature, with great benevolence and elegance of language. And he frequently illustrates his remarks by pleasing and apposite stories, related in the most lively and entertaining manner. The third, fourth, and fifth parts are devoted to the situation of old maids in ancient history; after the Christian æra; and to Christian and other modern old maids. The sixth part of this work is composed of miscellaneous matter. Our author discovers much ingenuity, acuteness of investigation, and genuine humour throughout the whole of this history of antiquated virginity. His systematical enquiries, where they do not contribute much to our entertainment, instruct us in the manners of mankind, and in the knowledge of the human heart. And when he chuses to indulge to pleasantries, it is impossible not to partake of his mirth, which, in general, is delicate and inoffensive. Sometimes, indeed, his grave readers will think, that he hath transgressed beyond the limits prescribed to a perfectly chaste imagination. We could wish for such parts to be revised by our author, and the whole rendered unexceptionable to every description of readers.

Notwithstanding that the list which we have given of the historical productions of the year is so exceedingly short, we are not conscious of having omitted any work entitled to notice in this department. Should we, however, be mistaken; we shall with great readiness do justice to such authors as we may have overlooked, in the catalogue for the year 1786, which

promises to be fruitful in this branch of literature.

With respect to Biographical compositions, the present year is equally barren, as in the historical line. "A Biographical Dictionary, containing an Historical Account of all the Engravers, from the earliest Period of the Art of Engraving to the present Time, &c." by Joseph Strutt, is the only new collection, within our knowledge, which includes a great number of lives. A work like the present, executed with judgment and accuracy, must be an acceptable publication in England, where the art of engraving hath attained an excellence superior to that of every other country, and where prints are become considerable objects of commerce as well as of taste. The author's own words, in his preface to this first volume, will give our readers the best idea of the plan which he hath pursued. "In the prosecution of the present work I have arranged the names of the artists alphabetically (in the manner of a dictionary) rather than chronologically; because by this method they are much more easily referred to. But I thought it highly necessary to add for the convenience of the reader, a chronological table of the same names, with a list of the disciples of each matter: which will of course be placed at the end of the second volume." "With respect to the general character of each artist, I have written as an engraver, and endeavoured as clearly as possible, to point out the style in which he worked, and wherein his great excellence consisted." "The prints contained in the several lists, are either such as are most generally esteemed, or such as best illustrate the criticisms I give of



of each master's works." To this volume is prefixed an essay on the art of engraving, in which our author will be found to convey much useful information and entertainment. And those who are fond of collecting prints, may learn from him many cautions and rules, proper to be followed in appreciating their real merits. In the course of his work, Mr. Strutt hath given sufficient evidence of unwearied application, and of laborious accuracy in regard to dates and facts. And his language, though it is not always the most pure and elegant, is sufficiently perspicuous to be understood. We wish much to see the author complete his design; and doubt not, but that his labours will be abundantly encouraged by the friends of taste and science.

Mr. Middleton's "Biographica Evangelica," is now completed, by the publication of a fourth volume. We have already given our opinion of the merits of this work in point of composition. And we cannot say that the author will derive any greater honour from the present than from the former volumes. He doth not seem to have improved in the arrangement of his materials, or in the polish of his phraseology. To common readers, however, he may prove acceptable and useful; especially to such as exclude from their catalogue of evangelical preachers, those who are suspected of a deviation from the principles of Calvinism.

The "Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch, &c." is a most elegant and classical little work; and leaves us to regret, that an author capable of affording such genuine entertainment, should confine his labours on the subject before us, to a pamphlet only. The principal events of the poet's life,

are related in a very beautiful and interesting manner, with judgment, precision, and taste. The chief design, however, of the writer is to prove that Laura was in reality never married. The contrary opinion hath been strenuously maintained by the author of "*Memoires pour la Vie de Petrarque*," from which Mrs. Dobson composed her ingenious work. But our author's reasonings are so clear and forcible that we have no difficulty in concluding with him, that "the arguments produced by the author of the *Memoirs*, are totally insufficient to support his hypothesis; which is still farther discredited, if not directly confuted, by the internal evidence arising from the works of the poet himself." To this essay are added translations of seven of Petrarch's sonnets; in which the elegance and pathos of the original are happily preserved, and the poet's "sorrowing strain" has its full effect upon the mind.

"The Life and Adventures of John Christopher Wolf, late principal Secretary of State at Jaffanapatnam, in Ceylon, &c." is translated from the original German, and will prove, not an unacceptable addition to our sources of amusement. Mr. Wolf appears to be a man, if not of great literary abilities, yet of good sense, and of great simplicity and honesty; who by patience, industry, and inviolable integrity, raised himself from a low situation in life, to the conspicuous and wealthy post mentioned in the title. A considerable part of his narrative is employed about the natural history of Ceylon, and it seems to be drawn from truth and nature. Of this valuable island we have no very particular and authentic history. In our author's adventures therefore, particularly in

in the accounts which he gives us of the cinnamon-tree and the elephant, many particulars may be met with, that will be gratifying to the curiosity of his readers.

Dr. Disney's "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Arthur Ashley Sykes, D. D." are a tribute of proper respect to the memory of a learned and very worthy clergyman of the church of England; and contain at the same time, a concise and accurate review of the different controversies on subjects of theology and liberal enquiry, in which he bore a distinguished part. Dr. Sykes was a strenuous and able defender of the Christian religion; and in the numerous performances which he published seems to have been influenced by a pure love of truth and liberty. In his Polemics, he entered the lists on the side of Clarke, Hoadley, and Middleton, and discovered the abilities of an accurate and able disputant. We cannot, however, but express our wish, that he and the other illustrious characters with whom he is deservedly ranked, had given the same unequivocal testimony to their disinterestedness and integrity, with the excellent author of these Memoirs. Far be it from us to charge them with dishonesty. We do not expect to find the most virtuous and liberal minds thinking alike on a question that seems to involve in it the least degree of speculation. But for our own parts, we honestly confess, that we cannot reconcile a conscientious opposition to the distinguishing doctrines of any church, with the enjoyment of its dignities and emoluments. Dr. Disney hath executed the task of a biographer with precision and fidelity. While he admires the abilities and learning of Dr. Sykes, and passes the highest encomiums on the steady

uprightness of his intentions, he expresses in a liberal and manly way, a disapprobation of such of his sentiments as appear to him to be unscriptural. The readers of this valuable publication will have their attention amply repaid, by the information and instruction with which it abounds.

An anonymous author has republished Dr. Johnson's "Life of the Reverend Isaac Watts, D. D." with notes, containing animadversions and additions. In these notes are introduced some corrections of Dr. Johnson's account of the character and the connections of Dr. Watts. But the editor principally labours to shew, that the Doctor retained to the last, the same opinions respecting the Trinity for which he had contended in his different publications on that subject. We cannot say that his reasonings on this head, are in the least conclusive. The weight of evidence attending Dr. Lardner's affirmation, that he knew the alteration of his sentiments to be real, we consider to be decisive and satisfactory. The copy of Dr. Watts's solemn address to the great and ever blessed God, on a review of what he had written in the trinitarian controversy, is a proof only of that sincerity and becoming love of divine truth, to which the worthy author had an indisputable claim.

In "An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy, late of Covent Garden theatre, written by herself", we meet with a pleasing medley of what is interesting and curious. Her early introduction on the stage, and the notice taken of her by some of the first people of family and fashion, gave her a perfect knowledge of the characters of many eminent persons, in the theatrical and political world. And the

the numerous anecdotes which she hath related of them, render these volumes a very entertaining publication. Her manner of writing is easy and natural; her story amusing and affecting. A more chequered scene than her life we scarcely ever viewed. She is frank in disclosing, and we doubt not she is sincere in censuring the errors and follies into which she had been betrayed by her thoughtless, giddy heart. She hath, however, convinced us, by many of her observations and reflections, that her qualifications, had she been placed in a proper sphere, and had they been properly directed, would have rendered her a very useful as well as amiable character. We pity her misfortunes, while we cannot but condemn her indiscretions; and we consider her whole story as a striking and useful lesson of virtue.

Under the head of Antiquities, the year 1785 presents to us a valuable and instructive work, in the seventh volume of "Archæologia; or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London." This volume will be found equally useful and entertaining with the former ones, for which the public are greatly indebted to the industry and ingenuity of the society. The articles amount to forty-five in number, exclusive of the appendix, which consists of curious extracts from papers communicated to the Society, which it was not thought proper to publish entire. We have received great pleasure and information from the perusal of the whole volume. We were particularly struck with the researches of Mr. Daines Barrington into the practice of archery in England, and into the progress of gardening; go-

vernor Pownall's observations on the ship temple, an uncommon building now in ruins in Ireland, and an antique crystal vase; Mr. Ledwich's dissertation on the religion of the Druids; Mr. Hunter's description of some artificial caverns in the neighbourhood of Bombay; Mr. Astle's dissertation on the letters of the Pelasgians, and Mr. Marsden's letter on the language of the people called Gypsies.

Mr. Swinburne, in the year 1783, published a volume of "Travels in the Two Sicilies," the reception of which by the public was sufficiently flattering to encourage the publication of this second volume. It is with great pleasure that we have followed our traveller in this continuation of his narrative, and viewed those classic scenes which are so happily drawn by his pencil. We have remarked on a former occasion, that Mr. Swinburne appears to advantage as an historian and antiquary, as well as a describer of modern objects and manners. The present volume will add considerably to his reputation in both these characters. To the landscape painter it is also a very valuable present. The grand and variegated prospects which he will meet with in it, will prove a rich addition to his store of interesting and striking objects. Our author's present enquiries and observations relate to Naples and the adjoining islands; the ancient city of *Pæstum*, whose ruins have lately attracted the notice of the literary world; and the vestiges of old magnificence in the island of Sicily. This work recommends itself to the reader, by justness of sentiment, useful information, and entertaining anecdotes. And we do not remember any production of the kind

kind, from which we have derived at once so much profit and pleasure, as from the remarks and descriptions of our agreeable and well informed traveller.

Mr. Boswell's "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Dr. Johnson", excited in us, as we were reading it, a strange mixture of disgust and of pleasure. We were disgusted by the servile homage which the author pays to the caprices and weaknesses of the Doctor; and at the minute attention with which he hath recorded his trifling actions, his dogmatical, bigotted, rude, and absurd sayings. Nothing can more powerfully contribute to lessen all reverence for his character, than such an injudicious detail of what should have been buried in everlasting oblivion. After having thus freely expressed our disapprobation of what we think reprehensible in the work before us, we pronounce it, on the whole, to abound in entertainment and instruction. The lively sallies of Dr. Johnson's wit, and his judicious observations on subjects of science and literature, morals and manners, give it a lasting value and importance. The character of the Doctor Mr. Boswell hath drawn with much strength and justice. Many of the anecdotes which he hath preserved respecting his literary contemporaries, will be acceptable to the reader. Those which he hath mentioned relating to the pretender, and the authentic account of his escape after the battle of Culloden, will be found highly interesting; and will be useful to prevent the mistakes of future historians. If any thing could make us retract the severity with which, in the first instance, we treated this publication, it would be the uniform vivacity and good

humour under the influence of which it seems to have been written.

"A Tour to Ermenonville, &c." the beautiful seat of the Marquis of Girardin, will be found an agreeable and pleasing little narrative. What is peculiarly interesting in it, is the description which it gives of Rousseau's tomb, and the anecdotes it mentions of that singular character. The accounts, likewise, which we have of the palace, gardens, and curiosities at Chantilly, are drawn up in a manner superior to the productions of common observers, and render it well worthy of perusal.

In our account of the political productions of the present year, we shall follow, as nearly as possible, the rule by which we have been governed on former occasions; and mention little more than the subjects of discussion in the principal publications which have fallen under our notice. And the first place we shall assign to such as have any reference to Indian politics.

The conduct of Mr. Hastings, when governor general of Bengal, had been taxed with cruelty and injustice, in his transactions respecting the nabob vizier of Owde, and the princesses of his family. In order to justify himself from such a charge, we are presented with "A Letter" from him "to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated from Lucknow." This letter is written in a spirited and classical style, and is considered by the friends of Mr. Hastings, as a complete and satisfactory vindication of his conduct. What will be found more particularly interesting in it is, the account, in the postscript, of the flight of the eldest son of the king of

of Delhi from the tyranny of his father's ministers; and the uncommon generosity and delicacy of sentiment which mark the character of that prince.

Mr. Burke's "Speech on the Motion made for Papers relative to the Direction for charging the Nabob of Arcot's private Debts to Europeans on the Revenues of the Carnatic," like all the speeches of that gentleman, is animated and florid, and discovers great rhetorical address and ability. He considers the debts due from the nabob to individuals, to be most glaring abuses and infamous frauds; and reasons, from this opinion, on the injustice of placing them on a footing with the fair and equitable claims of the East India Company. The party whose views and interests are opposite to those of Mr. Burke and his friends, will be disposed to accuse him of misrepresentation in his statement of facts; and will consider his warmth and energy as the effects of luckless and disappointed ambition.

"A Gleam of Comfort to this distracted Empire, in despite of Faction, Violence, and Cunning," &c. is a pamphlet which discovers, throughout, that the writer is possessed of considerable abilities, and no small share of wit. It is intended to satirize the present administration; and to represent the measures which they adopt and countenance, to be ruinous to the English constitution. When the author does not descend to virulence, he is a laughable and pleasant companion.

"Eironiclasses, or a Cloud of Facts against a Gleam of Comfort," &c. is written in a similar strain and spirit, but with an opposite tendency. His facts may outweigh the invectives of his ad-

versary; but his powers of ridicule are not so keen and poignant.

The author of "Manufactures improper Subjects of Taxation" employs himself in shewing, that it must be a ruinous policy that can ever lead us to load our manufactures with taxes, as such burthens must prove an effectual bar to their improvement, on which the riches and power of the nation, in a great degree depend. What he recommends in lieu of them is, a tax on the rents of lands and houses, to be paid by the tenant; on men servants, malt, and distillation, and on undivided commons.

"The Crisis; or immediate Concernments of the British Empire", is the production of a young mind, which comprehends a great variety of political reflections on America, the East India trade, the Emperor and the Dutch, Gibraltar, national debts and taxes, Ireland and the West Indies. These reflections convince us, that the author is by no means deficient in capacity, though he hath taken too large a scope for the proper display of his talents.

We hope to be excused in paying more particular attention to "An Essay on the Modes of Defence best adapted to the Situation and Circumstances of these Islands," &c. together with two other pamphlets to which it gave rise. The first of these publications was occasioned by the extensive plans formed by the duke of Richmond, for the purpose of fortifying our principal dock-yards: and is addressed by the author to the public at large, but particularly to the house of commons. Great as the acknowledged abilities and integrity of his grace are, his favourite plan of fortification was by no means popular among his warmest admirers. It seemed to imply in



it a diffidence of our naval strength and courage, which every Briton glories in, as the pride and protection of his country. And, on this account, the decision of the house of commons, which will be noticed in the history of the year 1786, perfectly coincided with the prejudices and feelings of Englishmen. The author of the present Essay is a rational and sensible advocate for these feelings; which are inseparable from the national character, and the strongest ground of our confidence and security. He is intimately acquainted with the subject on which he writes, and with professional arguments, which appear to us unanswerable, contends against the dangerous innovations of the noble duke. His principal positions are, that the furnishing of extensive fortifications with proper garrisons, would, on an invasion by the enemy, too much weaken the army necessary to act in the field; that such works, if insufficiently manned, would afford a secure lodgment for the enemy; that it being impossible to fortify all our coasts, the security of the island must depend on its navy; and that, supposing an enemy should be able to land, our best method of defence would be to impede his line of penetration, by hanging on his flanks, attacking his convoys, and harassing him at every opportunity which a superior knowledge of the country will afford; thus destroying his army in detail. To these positions are added directions for securing our dock-yards against the consequences of a bombardment; and for preserving our warlike stores against such a probable event.

Soon after the publication of this ingenious and well-written pamphlet, appeared "An Answer to a short Essay on the Modes of De-

fence," &c. in which another professional author undertakes the refutation of the principles advanced by the former. This pamphlet is written with great acuteness and plausibility; but we do not think that it overthrows the reasonings of our essayist. Our author accuses his antagonist of illiberality and misrepresentation; and with much irony, and strong assertions, pleads on behalf of the exploded system.

To this answer succeeded "A Reply, &c. in a Letter to his Grace the Duke of Richmond." Of this Reply, independent of the severe and personal reflections on the duke, who is supposed to be the author of the Answer, we think as highly as of the Essay. If we are not mistaken, our author's acquaintance with tactics has not been confined to the closet. He marshals his arguments, and secures the ground which he had occupied, with the intuition and practice of a veteran. We could wish, however, to see the question, which is the subject of these publications, discussed without asperity and personal allusions, as it is of such importance to the safety of our country.

The "Strictures upon Naval Departments," &c. seem to be written with good intentions, and with good information on the points to which the author directs his observations. His advice, particularly, to examine the bottoms of such ships as have been some time covered with copper, is deserving of attention. What he says relating to his own pretensions and disappointments in the service, is an additional proof of an evil which calls loudly for remedy; that the etiquette of office, or powerful connections, should more frequently lead to promotion, than long faithful services and substantial merit.

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The commercial regulations with Ireland, which were brought forwards in the English and Irish parliaments, gave occasion for much political discussion, and called forth the abilities of many well-informed and respectable writers. From lord Sheffield's pen the public received "Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and present State of Ireland." The great commercial knowledge of the noble lord, the industry and judgment with which he conducts his enquiries, and the independent spirit he avows in delivering his own sentiments, render these Observations deserving of the dispassionate attention of both kingdoms. His lordship, in severe and pointed language, condemns the propositions which had been brought forwards by administration. Lord Mountmorres, in his "Impartial Reflections upon the Question for equalizing the Duties upon the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland," is a strenuous advocate for the community of commercial privileges between the two countries; and though not partial to ministry, he is a friend to their plan, as favourable to such a principle. The ingenious dean of Gloucester hath likewise interested himself in this question. His "Reflections on the present Matters in Dispute between Great Britain and Ireland," appear to have originated in the same goodness of intention and public virtue, to which his former productions are to be ascribed. He appears, on the whole, to be a zealous friend to the propositions; and he warmly contends for the free and unlimited exercise of trade and navigation by the Irish, as what must necessarily be attended with advantages highly beneficial to England.

Sir Lucius O'Brien's "Letters concerning the Trade and Manufac-

tures of Ireland," were written with a view to expose the commercial alarms which had seized our English merchants on the introduction of the Irish propositions; and to shew, that the apprehensions which were entertained of Irish rivalry, were, to the last degree, groundless and chimerical. Our author examines also, with an accurate eye, the "facts and arguments set out by lord Sheffield" in his Observations; and in the most important particulars differs essentially from his lordship. The assertions and conclusions in these Letters have been controverted in a "Reply to Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart." &c. by Mr. Gibbons, an eminent iron manufacturer of Bristol. Our present author writes with much liberality and information; and is a warm advocate for an union between Great Britain and Ireland, as the only expedient to consolidate the interests of both.

Among the great variety of publications on this subject, the "Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade and foreign Plantations," will be found to contain much curious and important information. The author of "The proposed System of Trade with Ireland explained," &c. reasons judiciously and coolly on the advantages to both kingdoms to be derived from a free and liberal intercourse. On the same side of the question appeared, "A Short View of the Proposals lately made for a final Adjustment," &c. "The Arrangements with Ireland considered;" and Williams's "Loose Thoughts on the very important Situation of Ireland." In opposition to these we may rank "The commercial Regulations with Ireland explained and considered in

the Speech of the right honourable Mr. Orde," with observations made upon them by the committee of merchants and traders of the city of London; "A Reply to the Treasury Pamphlet, entitled, The proposed System of Trade with Ireland explained;" "A candid Review of Mr. Pitt's twenty Resolutions;" "An Address to the King and People of Ireland;" and "The Irish Protest to the ministerial Manifesto," &c. After mentioning these publications, it would be unjust to overlook Mr. Woodfall's "Impartial Sketch of the Debate in the House of Commons of Ireland," on Mr. Orde's motion for leave to bring in a bill for effectuating the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland. This production is rendered singularly valuable by the grand subject of discussion, the eloquence of the principal speakers, and the great abilities of the author in reporting parliamentary debates.

In Critical, Classical, and Polite Learning, the year 1785 hath not been very productive. We do not recollect any work in Oriental literature, besides Dr. Newcome's "Version of the Twelve Minor Prophets," which we have mentioned under another head, excepting "The Bhagvaat Geeta; or Dialogues of Kreesna and Arjoon; in eighteen Lectures, with Notes. Translated from the Original, in the Sanskreet or ancient Language of the Brahmans, by Charles Wilkins," &c. In this publication we have "a very curious specimen of the literature, the mythology, and morality of the ancient Hindoos. It is an episodical extract from the Mahabarat, a most voluminous poem, affirmed to have been written upwards of four thousand years ago, by Kreesna Dwypayen Veias, a

learned Bramin; to whom is also attributed the compilation of the four Vedes, or Bedes, the only existing original scriptures of the religion of Brama; and the composition of all the Poorans, which are to this day taught in their schools, and venerated as poems of divine inspiration." Such is the account of the nature of this work, given by Mr. Hastings, in a letter to the chairman of the East India company. When we consider the extreme care and jealousy with which the Bramins have been accustomed to conceal their sacred writings from Europeans, we look upon the translation before us as a great literary curiosity. It is with the truest satisfaction also that we learn, that this acquisition was obtained, cheerfully and gratuitously, from men of the most respectable characters for sanctity and learning in Bengal; and that the liberal treatment which the Bramins have received, and the mildness of our government, have established in their breasts a confidence in Englishmen, and removed almost every jealous prejudice from their minds. Under these circumstances, we expect great literary information and entertainment, from the society instituted by sir William Jones at Calcutta, for enquiring into the history, arts and sciences, and literature of Asia. The Bhagvaat Geeta we have carefully read, and admired many of its excellencies and beauties. We cannot, however, adopt the enthusiastic language of Mr. Hastings, and pronounce it a performance not only of great originality, but "of a sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction, almost unequalled." We meet frequently with a strange mixture of sense and nonsense; of sublime and striking imagery, and an inextricable confusion of words, to which no possible

possible idea can be annexed. The curiosity of our readers will, no doubt, be excited to peruse a work which claims to be of very high antiquity, and which Mr. Hallings, who is a competent judge, pronounces to be justly and faithfully translated.

Mr. Kidpath hath favoured the public with a translation of "Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy." This work was composed by the excellent author, who was a patrician and a senator of Rome in the sixth century, during his imprisonment at Pavia, whither he had been sent by Theodoric king of the Goths, on the unjust accusations of some persons of infamous characters. It was translated into the Saxon language by Alfred; and into English by Chaucer, by George Colville, by Elizabeth, and by lord Preston, secretary to James the Second. It affords us a fine specimen of the resources to which innocence can fly for consolation, under unmerited oppression, or in affliction. But it is not necessary to dwell on the merits of a work which is so well known and admired. We shall only add, that the present translation is executed with the greatest accuracy and perspicuity, and happily preserves the captivating air of pleasing melancholy, which so remarkably distinguishes the original.

We cannot pass the same favourable sentence on a translation of "Titus Livius's Roman History," &c. by William Gordon. The taste and manner of Mr. Gordon, exclusive of his acquaintance with the Latin tongue, appear by no means equal to the very difficult task which he had undertaken. A translation of so very beautiful a work should, like the original, be peccorated with all the graces and elegancies of style, or it must not

be expected to meet with acceptance.

In Poetical Criticism we meet with "Critical Essays on some of the Poems of several English Poets, by John Scott, esq." &c. To this volume is prefixed the Life of Mr. Scott, written with great elegance by Mr. Hoole. From this it appears, that he was a man of inoffensive, friendly manners, and of great benevolence of heart, which recommended him to the acquaintance of some of our first literary characters. Among those in the poetical world whose esteem he possessed, we find the names of Young, Lyttelton, Montague, Hawkesthworth, Johnson, and Beattie. The poetical abilities of our author were never splendid; we do not, however, conceive them to be much inferior to his critical. The poems on which his judgment is exercised in the volume before us, are Denham's Cooper's Hill, Milton's Lycidas, Pope's Windsor Forest, Dyer's Grongar Hill, and Ruins of Rome, Collins's Oriental Eclogues, Gray's Churchyard Elegy, Goldsmith's Deserted Village, and Thomson's Seasons. That in his examination of these poems he presents us with many just observations, and that he hath pointed out some real faults and blemishes in them, we are ready to allow; but we cannot justify the invariable minuteness and rigour with which he exercises his inquisitorial powers; they expose him to the charge of fastidious hypercriticism. Nor do we think that the alterations which he hath proposed in the arrangement of the stanzas, or the lines, in some of these poems, are any evidence of his poetical taste. In general, they would spoil the beauties of the compositions, and render them vapid and spiritless. Our author's style

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and language may, in many instances, be corrected to advantage, as the attentive reader will be able to point out frequent inelegancies, as well as some grammatical errors.

From Mr. Monk Mason's pen we receive "Comments on the last Edition of Shakspeare's Plays." We are informed by our author, that previous to the publication of Mr. Steevens's edition of our dramatist, he had been for some time engaged in collecting materials for such a work. But finding that many of the amendments and illustrations which he intended to suggest, were anticipated by that editor, he was obliged to relinquish his favourite design. Still, however, he thought it was in his power to contribute materially to the elucidation of our inimitable poet, and, therefore, hath submitted these Comments to the public. In this work Mr. Mason detects the mistakes of some former annotators, and explains difficult and corrupt passages with a success that proves him to be well versed in the depths of ancient lore. To those who put a value on the endeavours of literary and ingenious men, to exhibit our poet in his original sense and form, these comments will be an acceptable present.

"An Essay on Punctuation," we recommend to our readers as an elegant and useful treatise; affording a system of clear and practical rules on a subject, which, though a very important one, is too much neglected. The learned reader will be much pleased with the historical disquisition on the origin and gradual introduction of the points; and with the marks of erudition and just critical taste, which every part of the performance discovers. The examples by which our author il-

lustrates his rules, are well selected; and adapted to keep up, and to interest the attention of his readers. We have no objection to subscribe to the author's conclusion, that his "remarks and examples will enable any one, of a tolerable capacity, to form a competent idea of this important subject; and to divide his sentences, both in reading and writing, with greater accuracy and precision than they are usually divided in the generality of books, wherein the punctuation is arbitrary and capricious, and founded on no general principles."

In Heron's "Letters of Literature," we have the productions of a man, not wanting in abilities, but who, without any taste or judgment, disputes against the general sense of mankind, and bewilders himself in the mazes of the wildest absurdity. He endeavours to excite attention by his singularity, his self-conceit, and arrogance. He affects to despise those authors, both ancient and modern, on whom the consent of the world has fixed the highest value, and to raise mean and contemptible names from that oblivion to which they had deservedly been consigned. "Terence," says he, "is only the translator of Menander; Sallust, an imitator of Thucydides; Horace is an imitator, and almost a translator, in all his odes; style hath saved Virgil entirely, who hath not the most distant pretence to any other attribute of a poet." Dryden he despises, except in his Ode, which, in his opinion, raises him above Pindar; Addison is superficial, and Pope has no genius. Of Warburton he says, *nomen ipsum stultitia*; of lord Kaims, that he is a woeful book-maker; and of Johnson, that he was a fashionable writer, because he used a pedantic jargon of Roman English.

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The English language he pronounces to be infinitely more barbarous, in all respects, than it was in the days of Chaucer. Without any knowledge of the original, or an acquaintance with such commentators as might have given him information, he is daring enough to criticise on some parts of the Old Testament, and determine that to be consummate nonsense, on which he is not capable of passing an opinion. And his criticisms on Aristotle do equal honour to his modesty, and his acquaintance with the Greek language. These Letters of Literature may, from the peculiarities we have mentioned, gain a momentary attention, but they will soon be forgotten for ever.

"The Observer" is the production of Mr. Cumberland, a gentleman well known in the literary world; and consists of a variety of miscellaneous essays, written in imitation of the Spectator, and other collections of a similar kind. But the object to which the author is chiefly attentive, in several numbers of the work, is to give "a compressed and unmixed account" of the literature of the Greeks; "carrying down the history in a chain of anecdotes, from the earliest poets, to the death of Menander." In the papers relating to this subject, Mr. Cumberland appears to be, in general, a faithful and correct historian; and will afford his readers entertainment and instruction. He has likewise, considerable merit in his other essays, wherein he recommends morality and virtue; or expatiates on literary topics; or displays his knowledge of life and manners; or exercises his powers of wit and humour. We do not, however, bestow upon him indiscriminate praise,

His compositions are marked by many negligencies, vulgarisms, and false constructions, which are deserving of severe reprehension in an author who hath so frequently exposed himself to the lash of public criticism.

Mr. Gregory, in his "Essays Historical and Moral", treats on a variety of curious and important subjects. He offers many sensible and useful remarks on the progress of society and manners; the influence of physical and moral causes on the human mind; the character of the present times; superstition; moral prejudices; language; government; the principles of morals; education; suicide; and on slavery and the slave-trade. He appears to be possessed of solid judgment, and extensive philanthropy; and his labours will meet with approbation from the serious and thinking part of mankind; but his manner is too uniform and cold, to give him a place in the list of our popular writers.

Perhaps, the present is as proper as any place, in which to introduce the mention of "Sullivan's Philosophical Rhapsodies." This work is an irregular composition of just and accurate observation, and interesting and lively description; but attended with an occasional levity and licentiousness of sentiment that are truly reprehensible. It is drawn up in the form of unconnected and easy narrative; and contains much information respecting the customs of some of the eastern nations, with which our author was personally acquainted; and is pleasing, if not novel, in the miscellaneous reflections on the different nations and inhabitants of modern Europe. But if we are pleased with the liberality and good sense of our author, we do not ad-



mire the great credulity which he sometimes discovers; particularly in admitting the extravagant chronological pretensions of the Chinese and Hindoos. We are the more sensibly struck with this character of the philosophical rhapsodies as they carry a very sceptical appearance, when they glance at the infinitely more probable and consistent system of Moses. Independently of this and other parts of his work, wherein he seems too much disposed to admit prejudices against the authenticity or purity of revelation, we think it amusing and instructive.

"The Progress of Romance through Times, Countries, and Manners," &c. is the production of a lady, some of whose former labours have met with a favourable reception from the public. It is written in the dialogue form; and contains a history of this species of composition, from the earliest remains, to the close of the year 1770. Fact, she maintains, was the original ground of the romance; though, like the epic poem, it amplifies and embellishes its circumstances, and adds incidents which have no foundation but in the imagination. Homer she calls the parent of romance; and she expresses her astonishment that men of sense and learning, who admire and relish the beauties of the old classic poets, should ever speak contemptuously of this kind of writing. The classical enthusiast will ask for no farther evidence of the merits of this work; and will protest with indignation against the profane comparison. We cannot but acknowledge, however, that our author defends her opinion with much ingenuity. Her reading, in this department, seems to have been very extensive; and

if there do not appear any traces of deep penetration and philosophical discernment, in her delineation of the progress of the subject, we are, nevertheless, much indebted to her for recalling our attention to many authors long since forgotten by us, with which we hope again to enliven our solitary hours.

The undertaking of Mr. Robertson in his "Enquiry into the fine Arts," is very bold and difficult; and calls for much practical knowledge, as well as speculative reflection. He means, he tells us, not to follow the dry, technical, abstruse method of some, nor the less scientific method of others; who, instead of a treatise on the fine arts, give only criticisms on particular poems, pictures, buildings, &c. but on the contrary to "investigate a theory, distinguish a taste, give a history, and mark an influence upon mankind." The present volume contains only a part of his plan; and consists of an introductory discourse on the principle of the fine arts, together with a plan for treating of them; and an enquiry into the ancient and modern state of music, as the chief of the "fine arts which apply to the ear." Our author appears to have employed much labour and industry in this work; and to have made a liberal use of the advantages which several of the best writers on the theory of music afforded him. How far his selections and remarks are evidences of his judgment and taste we will not take upon ourselves to determine. We cannot, however, but express our wish, that his directions and language had been more determinate and perspicuous than we frequently find them to be. We doubt not, but that our author will be attentive to this remark in the prosecution



tion of his plan; and that he will avoid, likewise, such provincial expressions and barbarisms in style, as are disgraceful to a work of science.

"A Discourse delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Distribution of the Prizes, December 10th, 1784, by the President", is an addition to the many evidences in the hands of the public, of the great taste and judgment which Sir Joshua unites with his professional knowledge. "Method of Study" is the subject of this discourse; in which the president recommends industry and an eager desire to excel, rather than any fixed and invariable rule of study. Were he to recommend any particular method, it would be, "that young students should not think themselves qualified to invent, till they were acquainted with those stores of invention the world already possesses, and had by that means accumulated sufficient materials for the mind to work with." We need not add, that a discourse from the pen of so justly celebrated an artist, is an elegant one; or that his instructions to the students in his art, are highly deserving of their attention.

The Poetical publications of the year 1785 have been exceedingly numerous. But it will not be expected that we shall take notice of by far the greater part of them, which are already consigned to oblivion. Among such productions as are deserving of a distinct specification, we shall give the first place to an edition of "Poems on several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, by John Milton. With notes critical and explanatory, and other Illustrations, by Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity Col-

lege, and late Professor of Poetry at Oxford." Mr. Warton discovers the greatest industry and zeal in correcting the text of our invaluable poet; and we consider his success to be such as will do great honour to his accuracy and ingenuity. The notes which he hath added are partly historical, and partly explanatory; and tend, in our opinion, more satisfactorily to illustrate the sense and beauties of Milton, than the labours of any of his other commentators. His principal attention, for the present, is paid to *Lycidas*, and *Comus*; which, notwithstanding that they are attended with their faults, are to be distinguished by the energy and poetical fire of their unrivalled author. We indulge the hope that Mr. Warton will continue his endeavours to rescue the other remains of our poet from corruption and obscurity. It is a task perfectly congenial to his favourite studies; and for which his patience and acuteness in investigation render him peculiarly qualified.

Mr. Phillips hath republished a small volume of "Poetry, by Richard Crashaw, who was a Canon in the Chapel of Loretto, and died there in the Year 1650." Some few of the pieces in this volume have great merit; and, were they selected from the rest, would be entitled to a place in those collections which preserve the valuable relics of ancient poetry. Among these we may mention the *Sospetto d'Herode*; and that written in praise of "Lectius, his Rule of Health;" and "Music's Duel", which is a translation from Strada. But the present editor is an enthusiast in praise of Crashaw. He represents Milton as under the greatest obligations to him in some of the sublimest parts of his *Paradise*

Paradise lost; and in very unqualified terms, condemns Pope, Young, Gray, and "many other celebrated British Poets", for "dressing themselves in his borrowed robes, without the finallest acknowledgement." That Milton might have a perfect recollection of some of his beauties while penning his own immortal poem, will readily be allowed; but that he is indebted for any part of his fame to an unjustifiable use of this author, will hardly be suspected by any person who candidly compares their respective works. How far his charge against Pope is to be received, in its fullest extent, the impartial will be able to determine from the praise which the latter freely bestows upon Crashaw's epitaph upon Mr. Ashton. If Mr. Phillips had been careful to mark the particular passages in his author, on which he founded the charges of plagiarism against the other British poets, their admirers would have considered themselves obliged, either to vindicate them from the aspersions, or to acknowledge the justice of it.

In Boyd's "Translation of the Inferno of Dante Alighieri," we are presented with the whole of that extraordinary poem, in English verse. It is not easy to conceive of the difficulty of preserving the sense and spirit of the father of Italian poetry, in this production. Our translator, however, appears, on the whole, to have executed his task with fidelity and correctness. Not that he is always free from obscurity; or expresses all the force and animation of the original. Some few grammatical errors might likewise be pointed out, and a harshness in some of his verses and rhymes, which an attentive revision will enable him to correct. The life of Dante, trans-

lated from Leonardo Bruni, and the "Historical Essay on the State of Affairs in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries, with respect to the History of Florence," will be found entertaining and interesting to the reader.

Mr. Potter hath published a liberal poetical translation of "The Oracle concerning Babylon, and the Song of Exultation, from Isaiah, chap. xiii. and xiv." Our author's well known and established fame, as a poet, will suffer no diminution from the present performance. A considerable share of the beauty and spirit of the original is transfused throughout both these pieces. But we do not think it an easy matter to equal the grandeur and sublimity of the prophet, as he appears in the simple and unadorned language of our common version.

Mr. Butt's "Isaiah versified," is a very unequal production, which, in its best passages, hath no very high claim on our commendation. Some of the most interesting parts of the prophecy, the sense of which is clear and obvious in the original, lose all their spirit in his hands, and become obscure and perplexed. Since our author considers poetry as "the highest energy of human intellect, the last perfection of human language, and the surest embalmer of wisdom for all ages," we hope that, in his future compositions, he will correct his fondness for pompous and swelling expressions; and that he will consider it as one of the chief excellencies of good writing, to be connected and intelligible.

"The Task, a Poem in six Books, by William Cowper, of the Inner Temple, Esq." is a work abounding in originality of thought, pathetic representations, and poignancy of satire. We have seldom met

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with a publication of this kind, from which we have derived so much improvement and pleasure. The author informs us, that the following circumstance was the reason of its being called the Task. "A lady, fond of blank verse, demanded a poem of that kind from him, and gave him the sofa for a subject. He obeyed; and having much leisure, connected another subject with it; and pursuing the train of thought to which his situation and turn of mind led him, brought forth at length, instead of the trifle which he first intended, a serious affair—a volume." After devoting a small part of the first book to reflections, which carry in them some allusion to the sofa, our poet gives full scope to his lively and fertile imagination. It is not possible to accompany him, without being instructed and entertained by his striking and useful moral reflections; his generous and noble sentiments; the wit and humour which he successfully employs against vice and folly; and the great variety of beautiful description and scenery which he presents to us. We do not pronounce the Task to be a faultless poem; but its irregularity and trifling blemishes, are abundantly overbalanced by its numerous beauties. This volume contains, also, an epistle to Mr. Hill, which exposes the false pretenders to friendship; a poem, called Tirocinium, in which we meet with severe strictures on the mode of education in our public schools; and the facetious and much admired ballad of John Gilpin.

"The poetical Works of David Garrick, Esq. in two volumes," appear to contain a faithful collection of the fugitive pieces of our English Roscius. These volumes, indeed, are not published under the sanction of his executors, or of Mrs.

Garrick; but the editor is deserving of our thanks for his diligence, and the entertainment which he hath afforded his readers. The merits of Mr. Garrick, in his songs, prologues, and epilogues, and the occasional fugitive pieces which he produced, are too well known, to render our praise of them, in the least degree, necessary.

Among the "Poems on several Occasions, by the late Edward Lovibond, Esq." we meet with a few which possess considerable merit. The Tears of Old May Day, originally published in one of the numbers of the World, and the Mulberry-Tree, are particularly pleasing and elegant. But the author was not possessed of that variety and poetic fire, which give lasting reputation.

The "Poems on several Occasions, by Ann Yearsley, a milkwoman of Bristol," are entitled to a considerable share of praise, whether we consider them as the productions of an unlettered muse, or judge of them by their intrinsic worth. They carry in them evident marks of a strong and fervid imagination; and convince us, that the author's powers, had they enjoyed the benefit of cultivation, would have been equal to productions, that would have given her no small degree of credit in the poetical world. These poems are prefaced by a letter from miss Hannah Moore to Mrs. Montague, in which we have a curious account of the author, as well as some sensible and ingenious observations on her compositions.

We may consider Mr. Pratt's "Miscellanies" to be entitled to our notice in this place, as the two first volumes consist chiefly of poetry. This author writes with ease, and gives many proofs of a lively imagi-

imagination, and poetic energy. His "Sympathy," and the "Tears of Genius," are distinguished by many picturesque beauties, and instances of genuine pathos. But in none of his pieces do we meet with any strength of genius. His ideas appear exceedingly confused; and his language, besides being a perpetual offence against correctness and grammar, is rendered finical and unmeaning by an affectation of meretricious ornaments. In addition to his poems, these volumes consist of "The School for Vanity," a comedy; and Moral Tales, and Essays on various subjects. The comedy, if we consider its comparative merits, deserved a fairer trial from the public than one night's hearing could give it; and the Tales and Essays, if they display no great vigour of sentiment, may, nevertheless, be perused with advantage by his younger readers.

The "Elegies and Sonnets" of an anonymous author, afforded us considerable pleasure, during our perusal of them. They are written, professedly, after the manner of Hammond; and possess that tenderness and simplicity, which so powerfully recommend his productions. The sentiments are natural and easy; the language chaste and elegant, and in no one respect deserving of critical censure.

The "Probationary Odes, by the various Candidates for the Office of Poet-Laureate to his Majesty," &c. are written with the same spirit and humour, which distinguished the criticisms on the *Rolliad*; and are of the same political complexion. We have joined heartily in the laugh which the author's power of ridicule continually excite; while we regretted that so much ingenuity should be prostituted

to gratify the illiberality and spleen of party.

In the "Lyric Odes for the Year 1785," Peter Pindar, with more than his usual pleasantry, bestows his praise and censure on the royal academicians. We have been highly diverted with the peculiar oddities of this writer; and, did not his satire degenerate into personal abuses we should be happy in the frequent returns of that entertainment, which his brilliant genius is capable of affording.

Among the other poetical productions of the year, into the characters of which we cannot distinctly enter, we may mention "The Exodus, a Poem, by the rev. Samuel Hayes;" "The Wanderer;" "An Invocation to Melancholy;" "The Obsequies of Demetrius Poliorcetes, by Anne Francis;" "Sonnets, and other Poems, with a Verification of the six Bards of Ossian;" Collis's "Poet, a Poem, inscribed to Mr. Jerningham;" "The Veteran;" "Poetical Trifles, by Edward Trapp Pilgrim, Esq.;" Carwithin's "Seasons of Life;" "Pictures from Nature, in twelve Sonnets;" and "Picturesque Poetry," &c. by the rev. J. Teasdale.

With respect to the very few Dramatic publications which we have to mention, we shall follow our usual practice, and content ourselves with little more than barely announcing their names. In tragedy, "The Patriot," pretendedly published from a manuscript of the late Dr. Johnson, corrected by himself, was a literary imposition, which was detected and consigned to oblivion, at the moment of its birth. The comedies of the year were, Mr. Cumberland's "Natural Son," which continues in possession of the public favour; and "Fashionable

Lexi-

Levities," by Leonard Macnally, esq. It may be proper to mention, also, that Mr. Murphy has published a new and improved edition of his favourite comedy, "The Way to keep Him." The comic operas were, "The Fair American," by Mr. Pillon; "The Cholerick Fathers," by Mr. Holcroft; "Liberty Hall;" and "The Nun-nery." In farce, Mrs. Inchbald's pen produced "Appearance is against them."

Under the head of Miscellaneous Productions, the first place is due to Mr. Nichols's "Collection of Miscellaneous Tracts, by the late William Bowyer, Printer," &c. which the editor hath illustrated by occasional notes. Mr. Nichols applies himself with indefatigable industry, in collecting and preserving the remains of such valuable men as have been distinguished, either by their literary abilities, or their usefulness to mankind. We sincerely applaud the spirit which engages him in such an undertaking; and we view, with pleasure, such scattered features of their sentiments and characters, as may be collected from their epistolary correspondence.

In the volume before us, Mr. Bowyer's Remarks on Kennett's Roman Antiquities; Bladen's Translation of Cæsar; on the Roman History, Commerce, and Coin; on Middleton's Life of Cicero; and his abridgement of a very curious work, called *Pictor Errans*, are an additional testimony to his literary abilities and taste, and will afford much entertainment to his readers. The letters, likewise, of his friends, particularly of Gale, Clarke, and Maitland, will not be an unacceptable present to the public.

In our Register of last year, we expressed great satisfaction at the

endeavours of Mr. Ramsay, to meliorate the condition of the Negro slaves in our plantations; and our hopes that such benevolent endeavours would not prove wholly useless. His pamphlet, of which we then gave an account, has been warmly attacked by Mr. Tobin, of Bristol, in his "Cursory Remarks upon the rev. Mr. Ramsay's Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the Sugar Colonies." The design of this remarker is to shew, that Mr. Ramsay's descriptions of the hardships of the Negroes belonging to British subjects, and their comparative happiness in the French islands, are not founded in truth; that his motives in writing his Essay, were not those of humanity, but the effects of an irritable disposition, and personal pique; and that many parts of his plan are impolitical, inconsistent, and impracticable. We are ready to acknowledge that this author writes with great shrewdness and plausibility. But he has not been able to lessen our detestation of the inhuman custom of enslaving our fellow-creatures, which received a keener edge from the representations of Mr. Ramsay; nor can what he says of the peevishness of his temper, of his cruel treatment of his slaves, of his avarice, and of his neglect of duty as a clergyman, be considered as tending, in the least degree, to invalidate the principles for which he contends. To these "Remarks," Mr. Ramsay hath published a "Reply," in which, after quoting and answering many passages from Mr. Tobin's performance, he indulges to the same kind of personal invective, which we observed in the composition of his opponent. We wish to lose sight, entirely, of the asperities which have been very improperly admitted into this



this controversy; and to express our hopes, that the various efforts made in favour of the interests of humanity, will ultimately prove successful, in abolishing a practice inconsistent with the genuine spirit of the British constitution, and disgraceful to the improvement and liberality of the age.

In the next place we shall take notice of such miscellaneous publications as are intended to assist in the formation and improvement of young minds. In this class we may place Williams's "Letters on Education;" Birch's "Consilia; or Thoughts upon several Subjects," &c.; "Dialogues concerning the Ladies;" and "Moral and Sentimental Essays, on miscellaneous Subjects, written in Retirement," &c. Williams's "Letters on Education," contain such kind of information as may be found useful and agreeable to young minds. He has made frequent use of the thoughts of Bacon, Milton, Locke, Harris, and others, who have written on the same subject. His treatise, however, would have been more acceptable if it had not been loaded with such a number of quotations from the classics; in many instances they will be thought unnecessary, in others ostentatious and pedantic. Birch's "Consilia" appear to have been published from the best of motives, that of engaging the hearts of the young to the love of virtue and religion. On this account the author is deserving of commendation; and his labours, if they are not distinguished by any marks of novelty or literary excellence, may, nevertheless, prove an useful preservative against the vices and follies of the age. In the "Dialogues concerning the Ladies," we have a variety of subjects discussed, with a peculiar reference to the informa-

tion and improvement of the female mind. The subjects are, female dress, and the importance of some attention in the ladies to intellectual acquisitions; female literary characters and talents, and the different representations that have been given of them; marriage, and collateral topics; female politeness, gentleness, and meekness. These dialogues are interspersed with amusing anecdotes and observations from different authors; and are followed by an historical essay on the ancient Amazons. We recommend this little volume on account of the valuable and instructive sentiments conveyed in it, which are clothed in neat and perspicuous language. The "Moral and Sentimental Essays, on miscellaneous Subjects," &c. are likewise deserving our attention, on account of the many just sentiments to be met with in them, and the spirit with which they expose the levities and vices of the fashionable world.

The Novels and Romances of the year have been exceedingly numerous. But as it would be inconsistent with our plan to enter into their respective merits, we shall mention the titles only of such as have fallen under our eye. These are, "The History of Sir Henry Clarendon;" "The Conquests of the Heart, by a Lady;" "The Nabob;" "The Aerostatic Spy;" "Anna, or Memoirs of a Welch Heiress;" "Constance;" "Moreton Abbey;" "The Quaker," and "The Gamblers." The following are spoken of, by those who have read them, in terms of approbation: Walwyn's "Love in a Cottage," Potter's "Favourites of Felicity," "The Vale of Glendour, or Memoirs of Emily Westbrook," "Modern Times;" and more particularly so, "The



“The Adventures of six Princesses of Babylon;” “Maria,” “The History of the hon. Edward Mortimer;” “Interesting Memoirs, by a Lady;” “Eleonora, from the Sorrows of Werter;” and “Eugenius.”

We shall conclude our article of Domestic Literature with a brief notice of Dr. Burney’s “Account of the musical Performances in Westminster Abbey, and at the Pantheon, May the 26th, 27th, 29th, and June the 30th and 5th, 1784, in Commemoration of Handel.” When it was understood that our author was engaged to record the history of that grand musical epocha, the expectations of the public were raised to the highest pitch. His enthusiastic love of music, his professional knowledge, his elegant taste, and general learning, pointed him out as the fittest person to undertake that task. And his execution of it is such, as abundantly gratifies those expectations, and does

lasting honour to his abilities as an historian, and critic in his art. The Sketch, as he modestly calls it, which he hath given of the Life of Handel, is drawn with the same excellence, as his Account of the Commemoration; and the anecdotes which he hath mentioned of him, will be found interesting and entertaining.

In looking back upon the domestic productions of the year 1785, we find our articles not near so numerous as in some former years; particularly under the heads of biblical and polite Literature, pure Mathematics, History, Biography, and Antiquities. We are not conscious, however, of having omitted any publication, entitled to a place in our annual Catalogue. Should we be mistaken, we shall cheerfully embrace a future occasion of paying our attention to any work of merit which we may have overlooked.

FOREIGN

## FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1785.

**T**HE seven Catholic Epistles of the Apostles have been published in Russia, after the MSS. found at Moscow by professor Matthæi, with various readings, remarks, and Greek scholia, never before printed, together with the Vulgate Latin version of a MS. carefully examined. It is printed by Hartknoch, at Riga. The same author has published the Gospel according to St. Luke, in Greek and Latin; Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Titus, Philemon; the first and second Epistle to the Corinthians; the Epistles to the Hebrews and Colossians, each in Greek and Latin. It is now above four years since professor Matthæi began to publish his edition of the New Testament, according to the Moscow MSS. which perhaps he holds in too much veneration. The learned in theology will find many remarkable deviations in his opinions and decisions on various parts of the Scriptures. M. Jaenisch has given a "Treatise on the Cure of the Cancer," at Petersburg. M. Æpinus has printed a description of his new invented microscopes. The "Opuscula Analytica" of the great Euler, were published at Petersburg, in 1782, after his death. M. Pallas has published Tom. I. pars I. of his "Flora Russica," under the auspices of the empress, at whose expence the work is undertaken, and who gives all the copies away.

Each tree and plant has its name written in each of the European languages, and likewise in every dialect spoken throughout the Russian empire; a method extremely useful to the students of botany. "Anecdotes of Peter the Great," collected by Jacques de Stachling, have been published at Leipzig, many of which are curious, and descriptive of the singular and impetuous character of that remarkable man. That, for instance, which informs us, that the emperor being at church at Dantzick, and finding his head cold, took off the perriwig of the burgomaster that sat beside him, and put it on his own head. As also that of madame Borstein, whom he himself tapped for the dropsy. M. Nicholas Fufs read before the Royal Academicians of Petersburg the "Eulogy" of his great master Euler, which contains an abstract of his life and works. The labours of Euler are immense, and well known. He went from his native country, Switzerland, to Petersburg, whence he was invited by the late king of Prussia; and who (as we think very much to his disgrace) would scarcely permit Euler to leave Berlin, when he had once more a desire to return to Petersburg. The famous M. Turgot, comptroller-general of France, at the solicitation of the marquis of Condorcet, prevailed on the French monarch to present six thousand livres to Euler,

in reward for the benefit his discoveries had done to society; to which the empress of Russia, when she heard of it, added eight thousand more. Euler had thirteen children, five of which only arrived at puberty; three of them were sons, each famous for his learning and abilities: and the grandchildren of Euler were thirty-six, all living at the time of his death.

In Sweden a tract has been published, called "Trangrums Acten," which signifies the refuse of herrings after the oil has been extracted. The making of this oil is a branch of commerce extremely lucrative to Sweden, and it had been pretended that the refuse of the herrings, after the oil was made, being cast into the sea, injured both the fishery and navigation. The king accordingly issued an edict, prohibiting this refuse to be thrown into the sea. But this being destructive to the interests of the manufacturers, they obtained leave to make experiments, by which they have proved, that, instead of being injurious, this refuse, by being cast into the sea, was remarkably beneficial to the fishery, and no impediment to navigation.

Peter Frederic Suhm has written the History of Denmark, from 804 to 941, in which many interesting facts are to be found relative to the Russians, Germans, French, English, Irish, and Scotch. The author has therein given many well-established facts, hitherto unknown, of the invasions the Normans made on those kingdoms, and which will be of the utmost consequence to future historians. M. Suhm has likewise written a novel, or romance, called "Afsol", (printed at Copenhagen) which is in great repute, and shews how perfectly the

author is acquainted with the manners of the remote ages in which his supposed personages lived, as well as the power he has over the imagination and the heart.

M. Schmidts has published his third and fourth volumes of the "German History," which is to be continued. It is already supposed a work so well authenticated, that the emperor, in his late contest with the king of Prussia, quoted the authority of this historian.

We gave an account last year of M. de Rivarol's "Prize Memoir on the Universality of the French Language." The author of it took every possible means to make himself and his memoir known. M. Schwab, professor of Stuttgart, and a more modest man, between whom and M. de Rivarols the prize was divided, has likewise published his Memoir, and from the extracts we have seen, he appears to be a much better philosopher.

M. Goeze has given "A Historical Essay on Worms, found in the Intestines of Animals," in which are numerous, excellent, and new observations. The author's patience has been unconquerable; he has examined a vast number of animals and animalcula, with the help of the microscope, and his account of the solium, or tape worm, is written with great care.

M. Dobrizhoffer has printed three vols. of his "History of the Abbiponions," a warlike nation of Paraguay, in which, though the author has not that extended and philosophic mind so much to be desired in all writers, yet many very curious particulars may be found, as well relative to the natives as the Jesuits, to whom the author is a friend. Their settlements in that country, the good they have done, and the falsehood

of supposing they ever aspired at empire there, are insisted on. The work is altogether very curious.

The second volume of the "Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Dictionary," by Meninski, has been published at Vienna by careful editors.

A very learned work, in the form of a lexicon on ancient medals, has been composed by M. Rasche, to which M. Heyne has written an excellent preface; the first volume, from A to C, is printed at Leipzig.

"A Continuation of a Voyage to Ceylon," by M. Wolf, is published at Berlin, which chiefly relates to the life of the author, further accounts of Jaffanapatnam, new observations on elephants, white ants, a species of termites, which some of the inhabitants eat, the god Pew of the Malabars, the Cachou, the Malabar slaves, in the service of the Dutch, &c.

M. Jacquin has printed at Vienna "Memoirs on the Natural History of Birds," chiefly extracted from his father's papers, and containing observations on many of the American birds, and others found living in the Imperial menagery at Schoenbrun.

"Opuscula Academica" of the learned Heyne have appeared at Göttingen. The author had held the professor's chair 20 years in the year 1782, he therefore resolved to publish his Programa, which form a kind of annals of the universities; the first volume only is printed at present, and many critical remarks are found in it by the professor on his own performances and labours.

M. Reichenbach has begun to write and print "Memoirs on Swedish Pomerania." They are to be continued. The author possesses a philosophic spirit, as we are informed, and his researches are chiefly concerning population, agri-

culture, commerce, industry, the police, education, navigation, finances, and administration of justice in this country, which deserves to be better known and better cultivated.

M. Pfeffel, the historian, has printed, at Strasburg, "Commentarii de Limite Gallie," a learned work, and tending to establish the peace of nations, by determining their boundaries.

The "Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra," by Martin Gerbert, is a precious collection, made with incredible labour from the MSS. dispersed through Italy, France and Germany, and will give the curious vast information on the state of ecclesiastical music during the middle ages.

"Logarithmic Tables for the Use of Mathematicians," by M. Vagar, printed at Vienna, have been calculated with so much care, that a ducat is offered for every fault discovered in them capable of producing an error. If they are as correct as they are said to be, the work is almost invaluable. It is also published at a cheap price, that poor students may be able to purchase it.

"The first Part of a History of the Life and Government of Frederick II. late King of Prussia," has lately appeared at Leipzig, containing the six first years of his reign, the materials of which are well arranged.

M. Bock has ended his "Natural History of Prussia," by a fifth volume, which treats of insects and worms.

At Hanover M. Fischer has printed a first volume of his "History on the Commerce, Navigation, Fisheries, Inventions, Arts, &c. of Germany." The well-founded reputation of the author gives

gives every reason to suppose that this must be a most interesting work to all nations, but particularly to the Germans.

A new edition of "Lambert's System of the World," is published at Berlin, under the inspection of M. Merian. The genius of its author is more vast and poetic than philosophic, as the book may be read with pleasure as a history of things that may be, but of which we have no good proof that they are.

M. Habenstreit has published a Latin tract at Leipzig "On the Decomposition of Water," which contains many curious chemical experiments.

M. Busching has given the world "A comparative Essay on the Grecian and Modern Philosophy," printed at Berlin. The author appears somewhat prejudiced in favour of the ancients; his learning, however, is profound, and his subject rich, and equally capable of information and amusement to men of literature.

M. Bergmann has printed a pamphlet at Mentz, containing "An Enquiry into what Animals certainly are *not*, and what they probably *are*;" in which the long-contested subject of instinct is handled. The author, by comparing animals to machines made by men, and afterwards to men themselves, produces many arguments in favour of the souls of beasts, and to prove that they are not actuated by that blind instinct which has been so generally supposed.

Baron Hoffman has presented the world with "A Memoir on Iron Foundries," which the Goettingen reviewers praise as one of the best any where to be found. The author shews an incredible fund of knowledge of the utmost utility,

and gives numerous instructions for the multiplication and improvement of iron utensils.

M. Merk has printed at Darmstadt "A Second Letter on the fossil Bones of the Elephant and Rhinoceros, found in Germany; and particularly in Hesse-Darmstadt." It contains an account of new discoveries since the publication of his "First Letter." The head of a rhinoceros has been dug up at Lampertheim, near Worms; part of the head and jaw-bone of a rhinoceros, in the country of Rudolstadt; the teeth of a rhinoceros, near Mayence, with six rhinoceros's bones, dug up in Germany; all which the author supposes so many certain indications of the revolutions of the globe.

"The Geography, Topography, and History of the Cape of Good Hope, by M. Menzel," printed at Glogau, is a work of great merit for the exactitude and truth of the relations it contains. It is so very circumstantial as to be liable to offend many readers; but there are others to whom, for this very reason, it will give great pleasure, because, by this means, it transports them into the country, place, and situation of the author, at the moment he is writing. The first part has only appeared at present; when completed, it will, with Sparman's "Voyage," form an excellent history of the Cape.

John Bernoulli has published at Berlin the "Astronomical Observations of M. Wolf, made at Dantzic, from 1774 to 1784." At Marbourg, M. Curtius has printed "A Collection of historical Tracts, from 1783 to 1785," in which the secret views of the courts of Berlin, Hanover, and Vienna, are often exposed under a new point of view. The Cologne Gazette has announced;

ed, that the baron de Hupfeh, of Cologne, has been happy enough to discover that this city was one of, if not the first in which the art of printing was exercised; having found not only a page engraved in wood, according to the mode in which printing was originally performed, but also other proofs that this art was first practised at Cologne.

Professor Weber has given the learned world "A Treatise on common Air, and the Air that Bodies contain," in which work he has endeavoured to collect the various experiments of others, which are scattered, and distract the attention of young students, so as to form a whole. What is remarkable, in the midst of his researches into the properties of air, he has addressed himself to the feelings as well as the understanding, which he frequently has the art deeply to affect. Mr. Scherbern has collected various scattered tracts by the great Linnæus on medicine and botany, the eighth volume of which is lately printed at Erlang. A learned memoir, entitled "New Observations on Generation," was read by professor Bloumenbarch before the Academy of Sciences at Goettingen. The experiments and views of the author were worthy of the society to whom they were addressed. The first volume of the "Natural History of Austria, Saltzbourg, Passau, and Berchtes-Gaden," has been written and printed by M. Schrank, at Saltzbourg, and is a work of consequence to natural history.

At the Hague, "A Collection of Memoirs on the Analogy between Electricity and Magnetism, by Professor Van Swinden," has appeared, which does new honour to the intelligence and indefatigable industry of its author, and is highly worthy

of the enlightened philosophy of the present age. His exposition of the famous empiric Mesmer, and the manner in which he has developed the falsity of the Mesmerian system, does honour to himself and science. M. Dehu has reprinted at Helmstadt his "Treatise on the Tincture of Regulus of Antimony, saturated with caustic Salt, and its remarkable medical Properties, together with an Account of the Manner of preparing such Tinctures." J. Mauvillon, captain in the Hessian service, has published "An Historical Essay on the Art of War, during the war of thirty Years;" that is, the memorable war preceding the peace of Munster. The same author has written a more extensive and important work "On the Changes produced by the Invention of Gunpowder in the military Art," which perhaps places him among the first of military writers. At Leipzig, M. Breitkopf has printed his first part of "An Inquiry into the Origin of playing Cards, Paper made of Linen, and Wood Engravings." The work is accurate and acute: the two first articles only are treated of in the present publication. The Royal Society of Goettingen has published their "Transactions for the Year 1782," which contains four memoirs on natural philosophy. The first, observations on several classes of plants in the royal garden; some of which are new, others little known, by professor Murray: the second, on the acid springs of Driburg, by Gmelin: the third, concerning the history of sugar, by Beckman, in which he endeavours, with great probability, to prove that sugar was unknown to the ancients: the fourth contains anatomico-obstetrical observations on the structure of the human ovum and secundine, by professor Kiberg. They are learned,



ed, interesting, and original. These Transactions contain two memoirs on Mathematics, and five on History and Philology. The first, on the improvements made in military arms, since the time of the ancient Greeks, by professor Heyne: the second, on the time in which Michael Glycas lived, one of the Byzantine historians, by professor Walchius: the third, relative to certain works and fragments of the Socratic school, particularly the Dialogues of Æschyles, Plato's Epistles, those of his con-disciples, and the Table of Cebes, by professor Meiners, in which strong proofs are brought that they are most of them spurious: the fourth concerning Thrace, as described by Herodotus and Thucydides, by professor Gatterer: the fifth, an enquiry into the sources of information and authors, from whom Diodorus Siculus composed his history, written with infinite erudition by professor Heyne. M. de Hertzberg, minister of state to the late king of Prussia, and one of the Berlin academicians, has printed his "Discourse read on the King's Birth-Day, concerning Population in general, and on that of the Prussian Dominions in particular." The author is the known panegyrist of his royal master, and therefore must be read with caution. He pretends, that Frederic doubled the population of his hereditary dominions, and by means of his newly acquired provinces trebled that of the whole Prussian states; but we presume he must date from the conclusion of the last war his majesty waged against the house of Austria, when the population of the Prussian territories was miserably decreased. This pamphlet should be read with infinite caution; it may otherwise induce people, not sufficiently accustomed to consider such subjects, to believe that an ab-

solute monarchy is the best of governments; a detestable opinion, destructive of mankind, and which we are always sorry when we find learned men endeavouring to propagate.

The twenty-first and twenty-second volumes of the Haarlem Society have appeared, the latter of which contains a most excellent Dissertation, by professor Castillon, of Berlin, concerning the principles and characters of analogy, and how it ought to be applied in the investigation of physical and moral truths. Another Dissertation in the same volume is as contemptible as the above is excellent. It is an enquiry into the moral state of children after this life, by Lambert Meyer. The discussion of such a question cannot be read without pity, for the ill-directed labours of the author.

While speaking of German literature, let us mention two different works in French, consisting of translations from the German, from their most esteemed tragedies and comedies. The first, in twelve volumes, is completed. The authors were messieurs Freidel, and de Bonneville. Freidel was a German; and his part of the work chiefly consisted in procuring the pieces, and giving a mere literal translation to his fellow-labourer, whose task it was to bestow on them that spirit and elegance, without which such works are little likely to be read. This translation has been very successful. The second is by messieurs Junker and Leibault, four volumes of which are only yet printed; but the authors propose a continuation, if they meet the success they hope. A sketch likewise of a "New general Code of Laws for the Prussian States," has appeared at Berlin, and our accounts say is very much superior, as

far as it goes, to the Frederician Code.

"A New Arabic Lexicon, by John Willmet," is published at Rotterdam, former of the "Koran," "Hariri," and the "Life of Timur," three works which are supposed to be written in the purest Arabic. At Leyden, the chevalier Junei has published a "General History of the Kingdoms of Cyprus, Jerusalem, Armenia, and Egypt;" a work deserving all possible attention by those whose historical researches are this way bent. To this History is added the present State of Egypt, a Dissertation on their Hieroglyphics, and reflections on the proper means to conquer Egypt and Cyprus. This History is written in French.

Having thus given a brief account of all the works most deserving notice that have come within our knowledge, published in Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Holland, we shall now turn our attention southwards, and proceed with a recapitulation of the works of Italian authors which have appeared in the course of the year 1785, and such of 1784, as had not before come to hand.

M. Grimaldi has published several volumes of his "Annals of the Kingdom of Naples." The extracts we have seen are written with a free and philosophic spirit, which is always the more honourable to its author when exercised in a country inimical to liberty of speech and action. He has invited the learned to give him their assistance, with a promise to publish the names of those who shall contribute to his work. He has likewise greatly profited by our own famous historian, Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." The "History of Russia," written in French by

M. Levesque, is also translated into Italian. Perhaps it is the best history of Russia extant, and the translation is said to be faithful. The twelfth volume of Saccarelli's "Ecclesiastical History," in Latin, has appeared. The abbé Seftini has published seven volumes of "Letters, written from Sicily and Turkey, to his Friends in Tuscany." They are printed at Leghorn; and the abbé has paid particular attention to the private lives of the Turks, the natural and botanical productions of the countries he had passed through, and been careful to supply the defects of other travellers, who have had too much haste and too little attention to describe the Ottomans, and their empire, such as they really are. From Leghorn, likewise, John Mariti has sent his "Chronology of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem" into the world. It includes nearly four centuries, that is to say, from the proclamation of Godfrey in 1099, to the death of James the Posthumous, son of James the Bastard, in the year 1475.

In our last Register we mentioned a daring friar who had contested the legal rites of primacy of the pope; at present we must mention an author, who, with a more religious but less philosophic spirit, has written an answer, in which he has not spared his endeavours to load the aforesaid hardy friar with all the opprobrium in his power. "Piedmontese Biography, by Charles Tenirelli, Decade the First," has been printed at Turin, and contains the lives of eight kings of the Lombards, and two of Italy, born in Piedmont, or at least convoking the states there. M. Massa, advocate at Mantua, has published "A Treatise on Crimes and Punishments," which, in fact, is the work of the famous Beccaria,

ria re-translated from a French author, who himself had translated Beccaria from the Italian, but by another arrangement had made some improvements in the work. The present translator has added notes. The first volume is only yet printed, at Monaco, at the expense of the typographical society. The first volume of a "Historical-chronological Abstract of pontifical, imperial, and sectary Councils, with political and moral Reflections, Citations, and Remarks," has been written by M. Forci, and printed at Florence. Taste, precision, and learning, characterize this work, which is in reality a small library in its kind. Our readers perhaps will excuse, or perhaps thank us for noticing a tract contemptible in itself on account of its subject, but for that reason curious to the good free protestants of England. It is an oration by the abbé Traversari, in praise of the blessed Lorenzo de Brindisi. That they may judge we will translate a short passage, where the holy orator describes the victory gained by the Austrians over the Ottomans, under the favourable auspices and in consequence of the presence of Brindisi: "Oh, what a spectacle it was to behold him, inspired by God, animating by his presages the combatants; giving courage, by the sound of his voice, to chiefs who stood in suspense, and communicating his own ardour to the timid battalions. Spite of the inequality of troops, and the disadvantage of the situation of the posts, Lorenzo, in the name of the God of Armies, counselled the attack. Admire him! behold! he no more resembles a mortal and terrestrial being! All the confidence of Moses, praying on the mountain, shines in his face; his courage displays all the zeal of Joshua vanquishing the Amalekites. With

one hand he triumphant elevates the sign of the cross, with the other guides his courser, who, himself, directed by some superior virtue, winds and saves his rider in his swift course from the well-aimed blows of barbarian scymitars. Thus animating the troops of the faithful, he rapidly flies where wing the greatest number of inimical arrows, where thunders with loudest fury the enemy's artillery. Courageous chiefs, in vain would you intercept his career! Behold you not, descended from on high, the Almighty wars for him and you? What, though death, glanced from a thousand parts, comes to assault him, obedient to his voice, death stops, and with double fury returns to exterminate the reprovèd nation: See the unequal armies approach, they clash, they mingle, the fight grows hot, but soon the heavens declare for justice and the faithful; The barbarian ranks cannot withstand the Austrian valour, inspired and protected by heaven; they are broken and cast to the earth. God disperses and bows them down, the sword mows them, the proud Ottoman swims in a sea of blood, and views with terror twenty thousand of his slain warriors. Flight only can save him, and flight itself is rash and uncertain; mountains of slain, dust and smoke stop and confound him, and the exterminating angel pursues him, *Via illorum tenebræ et angelus Domini persequens eos.* (Psal. xxxv.) All is ruin and despair for the vanquished, all safety and triumph for the victor." Eloquence must be allowed the orator, but eloquence for the propagation of falsehood and glaring absurdity, becomes only the more ridiculous by its excellence. Count Charles Bettoni, equally to the honour of his heart and understanding, proposed a prize of a hundred

dred sequins to the author of twenty-four tales, which might best inspire youth with the love of virtue. This prize, on after-consideration, was offered for the best memoir on the Means of kindling and preserving the Love of Virtue among the young Nobility. The memoirs to be judged by the academicians of Padua. Somewhat to the disgrace of Italian literature, the prize memoir was written by M. Lieberkuhn, and the two second best by messieurs Villaume and Hottinger, all three Germans. At Naples the first volume of Captain Cook's Voyages is translated and published, and is said to be well executed. A Prospectus also of an Italian Cyclopædia has appeared there. At Ferrara the abbé Aimerich has written in Latin "An Enquiry concerning the Works of ancient Authors that have been lost in part, or wholly." The work is erudite and acute, and will give pleasure to lovers of classic learning. Abbé Denina has collected and augmented his "Dissertations on the Revolutions of Literature," and published the first volume of the third edition. The canon Mario Lupo, known for his profound erudition, has presented the world with the first volume of his "Codex Diplomaticus, Civitatis et Ecclesiæ Bergomensis," printed in folio at Bergamo; a learned and useful work for law students. Father Delfini at Turin, has given a "Relation of the Expedition of the French Fleet in the East Indies during the years 1781, 2, and 3, under the Command of M. de Suffrein;" the following is a quotation from his work: "Three sailors brought me a young officer wounded and dying, whom I entreated in his last moments to hope in God; the poor youth with a faint voice

said, "Alas there is no more hope!" and expired. With the help of a sailor I took his body, and was carrying him to one of the gunners to have him thrown into the sea; meanwhile a ball brushed by my head, and another almost touched me a little below the waist: an officer seeing me, called out, reverend Sir, get to your post; I am going, replied I, I am not fool enough to stay here."

M. Pignotii has given a fifth edition at Lucca, of his "Fables and Poems," which we mention, because among the things added, is a short poem called "the Tomb of Shakspeare." The fame of our immortal bard will in time be spread over the whole earth. The Abbé Sestini has printed at Florence, a small but apparently valuable work, on "Turkish Gardening, Agriculture, and Hunting, as practised on the canal of Constantinople." The "*Flora Piedmonta*, by M. Allioni, superintendant of the Botany Garden and Museum," has appeared at Turin. The work was impatiently expected; it is in two volumes folio, with ninety two plates, containing figures of new or rare plants, to the number of two hundred and twenty eight; his plants are all natives of Piedmont, and amount to more than two thousand eight hundred, his system the same as in his fifth volume of "Miscellanies of the Royal Society of Turin." The second volume of the "Elements of Canonical Jurisprudence" has at length appeared at Bologna, containing subjects in alphabetical arrangement, from the letter D, to the letter I. The same clearness and precision which distinguished the first volume, are apparent in the second.

The Abbé Campserver has published

lished a short work on "Cosmography, and the present state of the World," (meant as a prospectus to an intended large one) which he has executed with method, learning, and intelligence. The Abbé Curiazio, member of the Royal Academy of Naples, has published a "Memoir on Mulberry Trees and Silk Worms," very useful to all concerned in the culture of those objects, because the observations are made in a country where this culture has been brought to the highest perfection; it is printed at Rome. The first volume of "Letters on Meteorology" have been published by Abbé Cavalli at Rome, which form the first part of a complete elementary treatise on that science, with directions how to choose the best instruments, and make observations least liable to error. At the same city, the Abbé Marini has published "The Ancient Inscriptions of the Palaces and Country Houses of the Albani Family," with notes; which is said to be one of the most curious in its kind that has ever appeared. "An Eulogy in honour of Captain Cook," read before the Royal Academy at Florence, has appeared at that city; the author is M. Giannetti. At Faenza, M. Zaccaria has republished, in two volumes, the "Dissertations Sacred and Profane," of the learned Florentine antiquarian, P. Lupi; whose character is well known. At Florence the second volume "On Navigation Laws" has appeared, and the impatience with which those who had read the first waited for this work, is a presage of its merit and success. A beautiful edition of "Anacreon, with a Latin version," has been given from the royal press at Parma, and is said to equal any thing which the typographical art

has hitherto produced. The learned editor Bodoni has, with no common erudition, written "An Essay on the Life, Character, and Death of Anacreon, his Writings, and the Age in which he lived." An equally beautiful edition of "Hesiod" has issued from the same press, with the excellent Latin version of Abbé Zamagna. The Italians, and the learned world in general, are indebted for both to the royal munificence of the arch-duke Ferdinand.

The Abbé Seraffi has published "A Life of Tasso," of which the Italian reviewers speak in high terms. "The Phaoniad," a translation of new found hymns and odes of Sappho, from Greek into Italian verse, has appeared at Naples without a date; the probabilities are, that they are spurious. M. Ossur, one of the literati of Petersburg, on board a Russian vessel in the Ægean Sea, arrived at the ancient Leucata, whence, from the top of a rock, the unhappy Sappho is said to have cast herself. M. Ossur was desirous to observe if any remains of the famous Leucadian Temple of Apollo still existed; his curiosity was completely satisfied. Among other monuments, he found a fragment with an ancient inscription, importing that Sappho had been buried there. Desirous of farther discoveries, he caused excavations to be made in the environs, where he had the happiness to find a hollow stone, in which papers were enclosed containing the verses of the present translation. This appears very apochryphal, yet supposes a considerable fund of Greek erudition in the impostor, and a refined taste. He pretends the original Greek is now at Petersburg, among the papers of the late M. Ossur, recently dead; the learned would be glad



glad they were made public. The second and last volume of M. Pagano's "Political Essays" have appeared at Naples, and discover considerable acuteness and knowledge; but perhaps not sufficient attention to the liberties of mankind, which writers on such subjects ought, but dare not always pay.

M. D'Iturriaga having been attacked for dishonouring himself, his country, and all mankind, by writing against religious tolerance, has been weak enough to defend himself and doctrine, in a new pamphlet issued from Rome; the original cause of which was, the celebrated circular letter in favour of toleration by the bishop of Königgratz.

The twelfth and last volume of "The Florentine Law Decisions," have appeared; a work in high estimation among the Italian lawyers. Dr. Paolini has published at Florence a "Treatise on the Legitimate Freedom of Commerce," written with the best views, and in a simple and clear style.

M. Sestini, beforementioned, has also written "Letters of a Voyage in the Levant, and along the Coast of Asia, opposite Constantinople." They contain many curious particulars; more especially a description of Mount Olympus, in the neighbourhood of Brussa, a celebrated town of Bythia. At Colle, in Tuscany, "Memoirs of the Life of Metastasio, and a Eulogy on Jomelli," by M. Matti, have appeared, which have every appearance of being a faithful relation of facts. The eulogy contains a historical parallel of the progress of theatrical music and poetry. P. Biagi has published two learned works, the one on "Grecian Remains," and the other on "Athenian Decrees," both extracted from the celebrated museum of the Na-

ni family at Venice, which display deep erudition, and elucidate the manners of the ancient Greeks. They are both printed at Rome. The work on "Tuscan Antiquities," is continued at Florence, where volumes XX. and XXI. have lately appeared. P. Ildephonsa is indefatigable in his researches, and by his knowledge and industry throws light on subjects that to persons less erudite would be totally inexplicable. The Abbé Zandrini has printed at Venice, "Reflections on the Origin of the Hebrew Language," tending to prove it was not the language of Adam, but of the Egyptians, in whose country the descendants of Jacob remained four hundred years. At Rome a course of philosophy, under the title of "Philosophic Dissertations," by the Abbé Lascaris, is publishing; the first and second volumes have appeared. The celebrated Abbe Giordani has published "Memoirs of Alexander Sforza," well authenticated, and curious; they are printed at Pesora. Abbé Carli, secretary of the Royal Society of Mantua, has written two dissertations, the one on the "Argonaut Expedition," and the other on "an Antique Basso Relievo, representing the Medea of Euripides," preserved in the Academy's museum. The fourth volume, containing the "Basso Relievos of the Museum of the Capitol at Rome," has appeared, and is one of the most magnificent works of the age, for which antiquaries, artists, and connoisseurs, have been impatiently waiting these thirty years.

From Italian literature, we must now proceed to the French, which we shall pass over as briefly as possible. Our want of room will not suffer us to pay all the attention to the numerous works that king-

dom



dom has produced which those works might merit. The Abbé Proyart has written the "History of Stanislaus, I. King of Poland." His materials are said to be good, his style simple and clear; but, from the extracts we have seen, we are mistaken if there is not a spirit of bigotry in the work, that will prevent its obtaining any great rank in the world of literature. The "Aerostatic Experiments and Memoirs of M. Faujas de Saint Fond," are many of them curious. The enquiries since the first ascent of balloons, made by the learned, to find if some such experiments or invention had never before taken place, have led to various discoveries. Among the rest we shall extract the following as curious in its kind. The experiments made at Lisbon with the Montgolfier-balloon, incited the literati of Portugal to make numerous researches on the subject: in consequence of which they pretend that the honour of the invention is due to Portugal. They say that in 1720 a Brazilian Jesuit, named Bartholomew Gusmao, possessed of abilities, imagination, and address, by permission of John V. fabricated a balloon in a place contiguous to the royal palace, and one day, in presence of their majesties and an immense croud of spectators, raised himself, by means of fire lighted in the machine, as high as the cornice of the building; but through the negligence and want of experience of those who held the cords, the machine took an oblique direction, and, touching the cornice, burst and fell. The balloon was in the form of a bird with a tail and wings. The inventor proposed to make new experiments, but chagrined at the railleries of the common people, who called him wiz-

zard, and terrified by the inquisition, he took the advice of his friends, burnt his manuscripts, disguised himself, and fled to Spain, where he soon after died in a hospital. They added, that several learned men, French and English, who had been to Lisbon to verify the fact, had made enquiries in the Carmelite monastery, where Gusmao had a brother, who had preserved some of his manuscripts, on the manner of constructing aerostatic machines. Various living persons affirm, they were present at the Jesuit's experiment, and that he received the surname of *Voador*, or the flying man. "The Works of Du Val, Keeper of the Imperial Cabinet of Medals, with his Life and Letters," will invite but few people to read them, who suppose that they only treat on medals and antiquities; but the man himself was so extraordinary, though so little known, that we imagine his memoirs may please all readers. He was the son of a poor day-labourer, an orphan at ten years of age, and, for want of work, obliged to leave his country at fourteen. The hardships he underwent to procure food, and acquire knowledge, were truly astonishing. He was at last, however, so far rewarded, as to be protected by, and live in the court of the emperor, at Vienna, with whom he was on terms of the utmost familiarity; yet so little was he dazzled or delighted by the splendor of a palace, that one day when the archduchesses passed by him, their brother, the emperor, asked Du Val if he knew those ladies; to which he with naiveté answered, No. I am not surprised you do not, replied the prince, my sisters are not antiques. His life contains a thousand astonishing and curious particulars.

•A small

A small mythological work has been published at Paris, written by M. de Landine, entitled "The Hell of the Ancients, or, A History of their Infernal Deities, &c." The apologues and tales of the Abbé Blanchet are known in England, by the best of them having been already translated; they are entitled "Tales, Anecdotes, Apologues, &c." M. Savary's "Letters on Egypt," are now completed in three volumes; they have had the greatest success in France, which they justly deserved. The author's knowledge of ancient literature, aided by his travels into the country he describes, make his work truly valuable; "The Memoirs of the famous Baron de Tott" have scarcely found more readers in France, than "The Letters on Egypt." The academic collection of "Select Memoirs of the most celebrated Societies in Europe," printed at Paris, is still continued; the VII. VIII. and IXth volumes have appeared. M. Berrenger has given a continuation of his "Letters on Provence;" they are descriptive of this part of France and its natural productions. The III. and IVth volumes of M. Mustel's "Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Vegetation," are published at Rouen and Paris; the work is highly esteemed, and the author's knowledge of agriculture and gardening, have obtained him the respect of Europe.

The "Philosophic and literary Miscellanies" of counsellor Gin are the work rather of a laborious man than a man of genius. France abounds in periodical works: at present a universal collection of memoirs particularly relative to the history of France are coming out monthly at Paris. The French journalists praise the

editors highly for their care, judgment and taste in the selection.

"Letters on France, England and Italy, by Count H. Chamberlain to his Imperial Majesty," appear from the extracts we have seen, to be written with considerable taste and intelligence. They are published at Geneva and Leige. The Abbé Brizard has given a small tract on the love of Henry IV. for literature. It had usually been supposed this favourite monarch of the French was but little addicted to letters. The Abbé, jealous of the glory of the good king, has endeavoured to rescue his memory from the wrong which he conceives done to it by this opinion. The first, second, and third volumes of a historical essay on the Teutonic order of knighthood have appeared at Paris, and contain a fund of historical knowledge, and a multiplicity of interesting facts but little known. The second part of the Memoirs of the academy of Dijon, for the year 1783 contains many valuable memoirs. "The Life of Andrea Doria," written by M. Richer, is interesting from its subject. The same author has written the lives of John Bart, Cornelius Van Tromp, Duguay Trouin, and De Forbin. The famous Marmontel has given the world his "Memoir on Languages," read before the French academy, where it met all the applause an author of such established fame had reason to expect. We cannot, however, forbear saying, the learned secretary succeeds much better when analyzing his own language than those of foreign nations; the English especially, concerning which we dare affirm he is frequently erroneous. Messieurs de la Chau and la Blond have presented the connoisseurs with their second

cond volume of engraved precious stones in the cabinet of the duke of Orleans, which, we are informed, is with regard to the plates, one of the best executed of the kind. M. Hefsen has printed a "Memoir on the Art of Watch-making," with the approbation of the royal academy of sciences at Paris. A quarto pamphlet by M. Vicq-d'azyr, containing the eulogies of Messieurs Fothergill, Montigny, Du Hamel, Pringle, Dr. Hunter, and Sanchez, all medical men, has been given from one of the royal presses at Paris. The fourth volume of sermons of father Elysee is published. The author is acknowledged to be one of the most eloquent of the French preachers of the present age, and the character of his discourses is rather that of reason, precision, and mildness, than of the thundering oratory of Bourdaloue or the enthusiasm of Massillon. M. de Chabanon, of Paris has given his countrymen "A treatise on Music considered in itself, and the relation it bears to Words, Languages, Poetry, and the theatre. The author's literary talents are well known, and there is little doubt of the value of the present performance. The XIX. and XXth. volumes of the Abbé Berault-Bercastel's church history appertain to the year 1785, and conclude the work. These two volumes comprehend a general history of the church from the council of Trent to the year 1630. Madame de Genlis "Theatre" for the Use of young Persons is known in England by a translation under the title of "Sacred Dramas." The high and well deserved reputation of the author leaves no doubt concerning the merits of the work;

her writings are in general such as parents, guardians and teachers should encourage youth to read by every means in their power. "A Catalogue of the Works on Mineral Waters in general, and on those of France in particular, by M. Carriere Paris." The title of the author would scarcely leave the reader to imagine that a character of each work is given, but such is the fact. "The classic Books of China collected by father Noel, preceded by Observations, Paris, volumes III. and IV." The two first volumes were written by Abbé Pluquet. "An Abstract of the Life and Works of Francis le Fort, prime Minister of Peter the Great." The nature of the subject makes this work interesting, if the materials are authentic, as they are said to be. To la Fort the revolutions made in, and the civilization of Russia, may be attributed, at least so his biographer asserts, and he has not been the first who made this assertion. La Fort was a citizen of Geneva. "An Abstract of the Experiments made on Corn, by Order of Louis XV. at Trianon;" a short but excellent Pamphlet, printed by Moutard, at Paris. "Letters by an Algerine Captive freed from Slavery by the Canons of Saint Trinity, Paris." The Marquis de Condorcet, so well and so deservedly known to the literary world, has published "An Essay on the analytic Application of the Probability of Decisions by a Plurality of Voices." This work bears, very justly, a high character among the French mathematicians. A most remarkable poem has appeared by M. de Pils on the imitative harmony of the French language. We say remarkable, because in search of harmony its author seems to have run

run into every kind of error. One of his chief modes of producing harmony is by harsh and eternal alliteration, which, though one of the inferior beauties of poetry, when introduced by a master of his art, is one of its greatest defects, thus employed. M. de Piis, notwithstanding, possesses considerable entnusiastm and invention, two of the first qualities of a poet, but he has bestowed them either improperly, or on a barren subject. "Letters critical and political, on the Colonies and Commerce of the maritime Towns of France, addressed to the Abbe Raynal, Paris." The intention of the work is to controvert some of the Abbe Raynal's strictures and opinions respecting France and her colonies.

"An Account of the Works of Gasper Schott Jesuit," by the Abbé de St. Leger, Paris. Gasper Schott was a famous experimental philosopher, and searcher into the secrets of nature and arts; believed many fables, rejected others, and endeavoured frequently to promote the interests of science; he died in 1666. M. Boissi has published "Critical Dissertations on the Jewish History," by way of supplement to Basnage. The Abbé Tettier has also published "Experiments on the Smut in Wheat;" from which he deduces that quick-lime is the only agent that can effectually prevent the disease. The proportions are nine pounds of new quick-lime to about fifty quarts of water, for two hundred and forty pounds weight of wheat. "An Historical Account of the Genius and Character of the French Literati, with a Collection of their Sayings and Literary Anecdotes," by M. Taillefer, Paris. A work useful to the collectors of anecdotes and lovers of biography. M. Garnier con-

tinues publishing his "History of France," the XXIX. and XXX. volumes have appeared. One of the chief amusements of the French at present, is to elucidate synonymous words. The Abbé Girard's excellent work on that subject has long been known. A respectable rival has lately risen; the Abbé Roubaud has published "French Synonymes," in four volumes, and his work has met the applause of his nation. The "Adventures of Friso" is a French translation from a Dutch epic poem. A small tract called "An Essay on Love," printed at Amsterdam, but to be had at Paris likewise, is said to be a work of taste, feeling, and philosophy. "Caroline of Lichtfield" is a novel that has deservedly had the greatest success in France; it has already run through several editions, and its best property is, that while it delights the mind and affects the heart, it does no injury to moral conduct; but on the contray, inspires a true and sincere love of virtue. It is already known in England by a translation. Historical and Critical Memoirs of the life and writings of Voltaire, is another translation from the French of a very entertaining and authentic work.

Spanish literature though it does not stand still, makes not the rapid advances that might be wished. The means of procuring Spanish books being few, we shall just give a list of such as have come to our knowledge. The first volume of a "History of the European Colonies," by Odoardo Mala de Luque, that is to say, the anagram being interpreted, the duke of Almodovar, said to be a good work. "Essai of a Spanish Library," or rather on Spanish literature, volume the first, by

by Don Sempere, contains, as far as it goes, a good account of Spanish authors and their progress in the arts and sciences. "Rudiments of Naval Tactics," by Don Salazar. The "Poems of Don Valdez;" "A Volume of New Comedies;" "A Collection of Chronicles, or Memoirs on Spanish History," many of them from scarce MSS. "Odes" by Leon D'Arroixal. All the above are published at Madrid. "Political, Military, and Moral Instructions," by Don Copons, printed at Murcia. "A Tract on the Art of making Wine," by Don Joseph Navaro, Barcelona; "Discourses read before the Royal Society of Oviedo," Madrid. "Memoirs of the economical Royal Society of Majorca,"

printed at Palma, in the island of Majorca. The above are the publications come to our knowledge, besides which there is a "Periodical Journal" published at Madrid monthly, containing meteorological, medical, and chirurgical observations; an account of what passes in the royal academy of Madrid; theses and other scholastic exercises of the universities; a description of the festivals, religious and others; extracts of royal edicts; a list of theatrical exhibitions; accounts of fires, new buildings, and other temporary matters; together with a list of new publications, but without any character of them whatever: such are the contents of this journal.

F I N I S.

